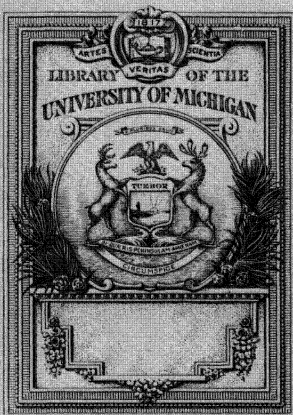


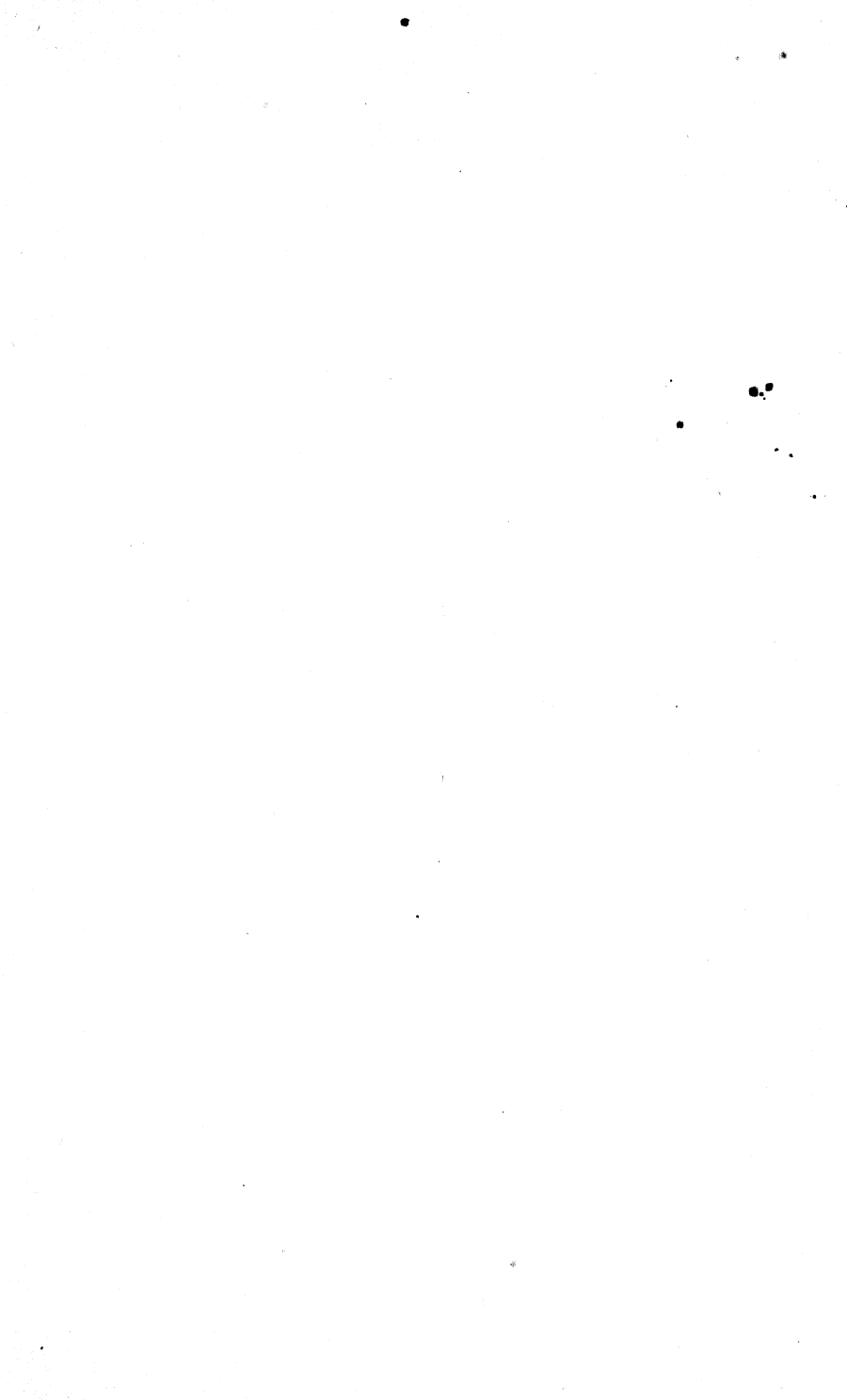
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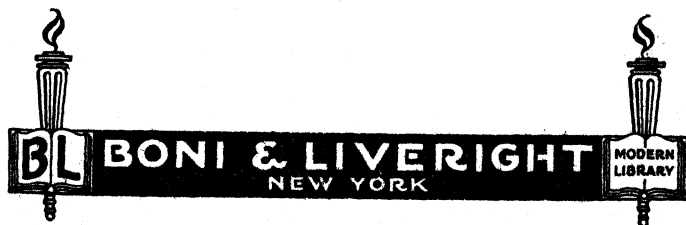
THE COURSE OF EMPIRE

THE COURSE OF EMPIRE

AN OFFICIAL RECORD

BY *Richard Franklin*
SENATOR R. F. PETTIGREW
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

INTRODUCTION BY
SCOTT NEARING



combination of like and unlike industries) was the form in which the business world answered the demand for a new method of coördinating business relations. The Standard Oil Company had been organized in 1870. Other businesses had followed this lead, and now, in the years that followed the 1893 holocaust, there was a vast increase in corporation development that culminated in the organization of the master corporation—the United States Steel Corporation—in 1901. The theory of the advantage of competition had been definitely abandoned. In its place was a new formula,—“Business men, unite!”

This change in the viewpoint of the industrial leaders coincided with their accession to a point of political ascendancy. The years preceding 1893 had witnessed a bitter struggle between western farmers and eastern bankers. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890, were passed at the behest of the rural community which desired by these means to punish its exploiters, the railroads and the trusts. The Greenbackers, the Populists and the Free Silverites were the spokesmen of the same movement of independent countrymen against the money powers centered in the cities. The Spanish-American War, with its triumph for the imperial policy inaugurated under President McKinley, ended the hopes of those who had dreamed of continuing the Republic on the old individualistic basis laid down by Jefferson and his fellow statesmen. The acquisition of the Spanish possession ended American isolation and marked her as a coming world power.

Until about the year 1900 the United States was a borrowing nation. Great Britain, Belgium, France and even Germany could boast extended investments in American resources, railroads and industrial enterprises. Great Britain had more money invested in the United States than in any other single country in the world.

The end of the nineteenth century marked the end of the dependence of American industry upon foreign support. From that time forward the surplus produced in the United States was sufficient to take care of the internal needs of the

country and to make a beginning in foreign investment fields. The end of the nineteenth century marked the end of American dependence upon foreign capital and the beginning of a policy which, by 1920, had placed the world in America's debt by something like sixteen or eighteen billions of dollars.

The Hawaiian "revolution" occurred in 1893. Hawaii was annexed to the United States in 1898.

The war with Spain occurred in 1898, involving the conquest of Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippine Islands. Within two years a decision had been reached to retain Porto Rico and the Philippines and to release Cuba for an independent existence limited by the leading strings of the Platt Amendment.

When the Hawaiian revolution occurred in 1893 the American people were still strongly anti-imperialistic. When the United States Steel Corporation was organized in 1901 the United States had inaugurated a policy of acquiring "possessions" in tropical territory.

This change marked a departure from the traditions that had dominated American public life since the Civil War. Up to 1860, while American public policy was dictated from the South, the United States had followed an imperialistic course. The Southwest was secured by purchase from the French and by conquest from Mexico and from the Indians. There was strong talk of the annexation of Cuba and of other portions of the West Indies in which slavery could be perpetuated on a paying basis. The triumph of the North in 1865 turned the energies of the United States into a new direction. Southern statesmen had been forced to look for new land on which to plant cotton and tobacco. The civilization of the North, built on the new industrial order, found in the mountains of the east and west vast stores of iron, copper, coal, oil and timber upon which to expend its surplus wealth. From 1865 to 1898 the business world was busy with the development of internal improvements. During the succeeding years, for the first time since the Civil War, American surplus was freed for foreign investment.

American bankers and business men were still busy with

internal improvements in 1893. By 1901 they had begun to turn their eyes abroad. The big business enterprises were still on a precarious foundation in 1893. In 1901 they expressed themselves in their most highly organized form in the United States Steel Corporation. The policy of the United States, still dictated by the rural districts in 1893, was based upon isolation and self-sufficiency. By 1901 the United States was already in possession of extensive tropical territories. During this period "individualism" was finally laid to rest and organized business took the center of the stage.

The anti-imperialists were vigorous in their opposition to this policy during the years that immediately preceded and followed the Spanish-American War. More than half a million of them were organized into a League, the stated object of which was "to aid in holding the United States true to the Principles of the Declaration of Independence. It seeks the preservation of the rights of the people as guaranteed to them by the Constitution. Its members hold self-government to be fundamental, and good government to be but incidental. It is its purpose to oppose by all proper means the extension of the sovereignty of the United States over subject peoples. It will contribute to the defeat of any candidate or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people." (Declaration of Principles, 1899.)

The anti-Imperialist League held conferences in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Indianapolis, Boston and other large cities. An extensive pamphlet literature was published and circulated at these conferences and through the protest meetings that were being organized throughout the country. Imperialism was the burning issue and the forces that favored a continuance of the traditional policy of non-annexation of peoples and of territories that could not form an integral part of the United States were able to muster very large support and to command the interest of some of the ablest men then in the forefront of American public life.

Among the leaders in this anti-imperialist campaign was United States Senator R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota, a pioneer in the wilderness of the Middle West. Elected as a

Republican, Senator Pettigrew soon found himself out of harmony with the imperial policy of McKinley and the domination of the Republican Party by Mark Hanna. Senator Pettigrew fought the annexation of Hawaii from the time of the Hawaiian Revolution of 1893 until annexation was made possible by the war hysteria of 1898. He opposed the conquest of the Philippines by American soldiers and insisted upon the right of self-determination for the inhabitants of these and other newly acquired possessions of the United States. He fought against imperial policy at home as vigorously as he fought against it abroad—knowing that an imperial class must establish its power at home in order to protect its international interests. He was equally emphatic in condemning the practice of imperialism by Great Britain in Ireland, in South Africa and in the other portions of her Empire. His speeches reiterate the dangers of imperialism to the United States and the necessity, if liberties are to be preserved, of adhering to the traditions that had dominated American public life for more than a century. Senator Pettigrew brought the spirit of the pioneer West into the Senate Chamber and kept it there during twelve eventful years.

Although delivered at different times and under widely varying circumstances, Senator Pettigrew's speeches fall into three groups:—those that were concerned with the Hawaiian Islands, the Revolution and the struggle for annexation; those that were concerned with the conquest and annexation of the Philippines; and those that deal with the sturdy opposition of the West to the imperial policies of the Eastern banking and business syndicates. A pioneer in an unsettled country; a man of the people; an eager observer; an energetic reader; widely acquainted with men and events during the most eventful period of modern American history, Senator Pettigrew was able to build his speeches upon a broad foundation of fact and to put behind them an enthusiasm born of a profound faith in the integrity of American institutions.

Senator Pettigrew's speeches contain a wealth of data bearing upon a part of American history that is as yet little known and less understood. Men and women who are at a

loss to grasp the significant changes that have recently come to the surface of American public life will find many of their questions answered by a careful study of the public events that transpired during the nineties.

Senator Pettigrew was intimate with public affairs at home during these years. He made a trip to the East, and in Hawaii, Japan and China saw the situation at first hand. He held up the record of previous experiments in imperialism and warned the American people to pause before it was too late. Like many other men who have foreseen events, he was vilified and denounced, called unpatriotic and disloyal, accused of being pro-Spanish and pro-Philippino. His counsel was not followed but his predictions already are coming true.

The period from 1901 to 1917 has been a period of harvest from the sowing of 1893-1901. Any one who will acquaint himself with the story of this period set down in the following pages as a running comment on imperial tendencies in the United States will have gone a long distance toward an understanding of the bewildering changes in American public events and policies during the past five years.

SCOTT NEARING.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION BY SCOTT NEARING	V

PART I—HAWAII

CHAPTER		
I	THE ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE	I
II	INDUSTRY AND TRADE	17
III	LABOR IN HAWAII	64
IV	WHO OWNS HAWAII?	76
V	THE "REVOLUTION" OF 1893	84
VI	THE HAWAIIAN "REPUBLIC"	125
VII	THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF HAWAII	137
VIII	ANNEXATION AND IMPERIALISM	163

PART II—THE ACQUISITION OF THE PHILIPPINES

IX	WHO STARTED THE WAR?	198
X	DEWEY AND AGUINALDO	216
XI	THE PHILIPPINE REVOLT	232
XII	ATROCITIES	272
XIII	THE SULTAN OF SULU	305
XIV	THE FAILURE OF IMPERIALISM	317
XV	THE RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT	341

PART III—IMPERIALISM AT HOME

XVI	FREE LAND AND A FREE PEOPLE	362
XVII	THE RAILROADS	396
XVIII	MORGAN AND CO.	450
XIX	THE TRUSTS	472
XX	BIG BUSINESS IN POLITICS	529
XXI	WHO PAYS THE TAX?	545
XXII	SUMMING IT UP	558

APPENDICES

PAGE

I	THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	583
II	SOME NEW ENGLAND ATROCITIES	617
III	THE BOER WAR	629
IV	THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO	669
V	CENSORSHIP IN THE PHILIPPINES	676
VI	WHAT IS A PROTECTIONIST?	685
VII	CIVILIZATION—TWO LETTERS	687
VIII	THE PRESS	689
INDEX		691

THE COURSE OF EMPIRE

THE COURSE OF EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE

IT¹ seems to me absurd for the Senator from California and the other advocates of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to assert upon this floor that the prevailing opinion concerning the character of the people who inhabit those islands is founded on ignorance. The allegation of a lack of information is generally made by Impudence in its effort "to make the worse appear the better reason." Probably the Americans and other white people who have emigrated to the islands are very good people; they are certainly smart and shifty, aggressive, bright, and prosperous. They went there to convert the savages to Christianity.

The first of them was the distinguished Captain Cook. Cook seems to have belonged to the church militant. He had quarreled with everybody in England whom he had anything to do with and went to sea because he could not live any longer on land. He cruised around a good deal, converting people more or less to his way of thinking, and when he struck the Sandwich Islands immediately put in operation his reformatory methods. One of his yawls drifted away from the ship in the night and one of the barbarians picked it up. Captain Cook immediately concluded that the island was inhabited only by thieves, and in order to cure that propensity he immediately stole the king, thus establishing a distinguished precedent for the method adopted by our late minister resident, John L. Stevens. Cook led a body of marines ashore,

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

seized the person of His Majesty, dragged him to the wharf, and there, just before the great revolution was effected, was himself killed by a mob of these inconsiderate savages who preferred their own form of government.

This effort to establish Cook's variety of a republic took place during the American Revolution, and since that unfortunate attempt the work has been steadily going on. A good many other Captain Cooks have landed there, sometimes in the guise of speculators, sometimes under the cloak of missionaries. They have carried thither not only theories of the universe which were novel to the islanders, but cannon, powder, rum, tobacco, opium, and a series of complicated and odious diseases of which they had never dreamed. The net result of this determined effort of the white man to reform and improve the condition of the natives is that the population has been reduced about three-quarters.

Mr. Charles Nordhoff, who wrote up the Sandwich Islands with a very friendly pen for the New York *Herald*, says:

In 1832 the islands had a population of 130,315 souls; in 1836 there were but 108,579; in 1840, only 84,165, of whom 1,962 were foreigners; in 1850, 69,800, of whom 3,216 were foreigners; and in 1860, 62,959, of whom 4,194 were foreigners. The native population has decreased over 60 per cent in forty years.

Since 1860 they have still further diminished, and the present population is 90,000, of whom 40,500 are natives and 49,500 are foreigners. It will be noticed that the natives have decreased as the foreigners have increased. The representatives of Christian nations who entered the Sandwich Islands with Captain Cook and his followers have taught some of the natives to read, write, and cipher, and to wear a good deal of unnecessary clothing, which has diminished their power of resistance to disease by relaxing their systems, and have introduced there special and insidious diseases, corrupting the blood and transmitting corruption to the progeny. The touch of the white man since Cook has had the same blighting effect in Honolulu that the touch of the white man since Pizarro has had in Peru.

And now it is seriously proposed to annex this impoverished, degraded people—for they are as impoverished as they are degraded. The missionaries have not only looked out for their morals, but for their property. They long ago succeeded in gaining title to nearly all the land, and now they have captured the Government and set up a Government of their own which has no resemblance whatever to what we call a republic. Under Queen Liliuokalani they had a Limited Monarchy; under Dole they have a Limited Republic—limited to about four men. A republic is adapted only to a people who live between the latitudes of 30° and 55° , where competition is sharp; where work is indispensable to life; where the incessant struggle for existence goes on; where the necessity of defending the home fireside from the depredations of winter makes existence difficult. The Hawaiian Islands lie outside of that shining belt of the earth where the constant fight with nature brings out all that is masterful in man, and where, therefore, he finds himself capable of self-government.

All that a man in the Hawaiian Islands is obliged to do to gain a living is to plant a banana tree and steal a fish line. A republic implies intelligence, education, mutual forbearance, tireless energy, enterprise, tremendous industry, the flowering of the domestic virtues. We must not forget that. A monarchy is the best possible form of government for a people who are not fit for anything better. The natives of the Hawaiian Islands to-day dress in calico nightgowns, and, as when Captain Cook's shadow first cursed that summer land, they sleep in grass huts and lazily live on fish and poi.

In the Hawaiian Islands¹ are found the most contradictory conditions. In a small belt along the coast and in the few low-lying valleys the conditions of life are easy, for the heated air makes clothing unnecessary, and the fertile soil enables all tropical fruits and vegetables to grow almost without the planting; but in all the rest of the islands exists the temperature of our Northern winter. Having an area about as large as Massachusetts, and a population about a quarter as large as that of the city of Washington, these islands are

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

mostly composed of volcanic scoria, about as unadapted to vegetation as so much cast iron. It is the crater of the vastest volcano in the world, desolated with ice and fire, generally either too hot or too cold for human endurance. Nothing which the face of the planet presents to man is more bleak barren, inhospitable, menacing, and terrible than the tremendous area which constitutes the peak of this mountain of flame. So, while the maintenance of life in the valleys and along the hot coast seems easy, Hawaii presents no more temptation to the enterprising emigrant than Ecuador or the equatorial regions of South America, where the mango matures with ease and man with difficulty.

* * * * *

The ¹ Hawaiian Islands are fifteen in number. Five of them are inhabited. They lie between longitude 154° and 160° west, and between latitude 18° and 22° north. The island of Neehau contains 97 square miles and a population of fourteen families. It has an area of 62,000 acres. It is the first of the group to the westward that has any population. It is owned by a citizen of Great Britain, a New Zealander, who bought it from the King many years ago and uses it for grazing purposes. Upon it are raised from thirty to forty thousand sheep, and their wool is admitted to the United States free of duty, although we impose a high duty upon wool from every other country in the world. Certainly no American interest is promoted by our method of dealing with the island of Neehau.

Kauai, the next island, has 590 square miles, and contains 377,000 acres of land, and a population of 15,392. It is owned almost exclusively by German planters, who are raising sugar by the employment of Asiatic labor, and their products are imported to the United States free of duty. There is no American plantation upon this island. Some of the stock in the German companies is owned by the so-called American citizens of Hawaii, but no American citizen owns any property on this island whatever. Yet the people of the United States are taxed to sustain the remission of duties to the extent

1. Speech in the Senate June 23, 1898.

of millions of dollars, and the only purpose served through this favoritism is that their products come in free and they profit enormously on the one side through an abatement of duty on our part and through the medium of contract or slave labor on the part of the planters.

Oahu is an island of 600 square miles, containing 384,000 acres, and it has a population of 40,205 people. On this island is situated the city of Honolulu, containing about 30,000 people. The island also contains many sugar plantations, owned almost entirely by natives of the Hawaiian Islands, men whose fathers or grandfathers were citizens of the United States, who were born on the island, whose ancestors went there to confer upon those people the blessings of civilization, and whose sons have beaten them out of their property and out of their Government.

Molokai is an island of 270 square miles, containing 172,800 acres, with a population of 2,307, 1,200 of whom are lepers. This island is a leper colony. On one side it is fertile. There are one or two sugar plantations, but the island is given up almost entirely to the custody and care of lepers. They are isolated, and have been placed upon this island because the disease is contagious.

I notice, as one of the assets paraded by the advocates of annexation, the cost of this leper plant. It is given as one reason why we should annex the island that this is a part of the property we will acquire if the Government takes Hawaii. It is a wonderful, a most desirable, asset! There are 1,200 lepers, and as an inducement for us to accept the island these enterprising sons of missionaries throw in among the assets the value of this leper colony plant.

Maui is an island of 760 square miles, containing 467,000 acres, with a population of 17,726, engaged in the production of sugar. This island is exceedingly fertile, and there are vast areas yet uncultivated and capable of producing sugar, and upon it there is considerable in the way of American interests. Upon this island are the plantations of Spreckels and his boy,

and the stock in those companies is quite largely held in this country.

Lanai is an island of 150 square miles, containing 96,000 acres, and has a population of 105 people. There is no American interest there. It is a grazing island.

Hawaii, which is the principal island of the group, has an area of 4,210 square miles, or 2,649,000 acres. Its population is 33,285. This island, like all the others, is a product of volcanic action. They were thrown up from the bed of the Pacific. The island of Hawaii is 14,000 feet in height, and has upon it one of the greatest volcanoes in the world. The crater upon the summit, which is 13,600 feet above the sea, and Kilauea, the crater upon its side, being 4,000 feet above the sea, are always active. This island is exceedingly rich. There are vast areas of tropical vegetation capable of producing great quantities of the products of tropical lands.

The total area of all these islands is 6,677 square miles, or 4,208,000 acres. The Hawaiian Islands are within the Tropics. They are capable of producing only the products of the Tropics. They are susceptible of great development beyond that which has already occurred. They are capable of maintaining, in my opinion, three or four times the population that they now possess.

It was argued by the friends of annexation when the debate opened upon the treaty presented for the annexation of these islands that they were enormously rich; that they would produce a valuable trade, and would therefore confer a great benefit upon the people of the United States. I am willing to accept that statement.

Now it is argued that we only need a coaling station and that the islands are barren, volcanic rocks, not capable of population, and therefore that question is unimportant, hardly worthy of consideration. We will, however, go into that subject farther along.

* * * * *

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ I propose to show the character of the people who inhabit the Sandwich Islands; I propose to show

1. Speech in the Senate March 2, 1895.

that they are unfit and incapable of self-government, and that no such climate ever produced a great race of men. A few great men have been produced as near the tropics as the Hawaiian Islands; but you can not in the world anywhere produce a dominant race of men near the tropics. The people who live in that latitude are only fit to be governed by others of hardier birth; for them equal suffrage is impossible. I propose to show by the missionaries themselves that the people who inhabit those islands are utterly worthless, utterly incompetent, and not capable of self-government. I propose to show by the official reports the character of the contract laborers, that they are the scum of the world; and then I propose to show that the dominant invaders, the men who rule that country to-day, the 630 Americans, are also unfit to live in a republic.

I have in my hand the report of C. M. Hyde, the only resident missionary of the Board of Foreign Missions, and here is what he says about the native population of the Hawaiian Islands:

Here is one incident of recent occurrences: The acting pastor of a church on Maui found that the Sunday-school superintendent was drinking heavily of sweet-potato beer and was often drunk. He brought the case before the deacons, but they decided that they would do nothing about it, for two reasons assigned: (1) Sweet-potato beer was the common food of the people; (2) drunkenness was so common that it could not be treated as an offense. Thereupon the pastor on the succeeding Sunday proceeded to read a long proclamation after the fashion set by the Provincial Government, deposing the Sunday-school superintendent for reasons assigned, as unworthy of his official position.

The people of Kaumakapili Church in this city who do not like the well-known opposition of their pastor to the late Queen and her misrule, presented a petition for his removal. The chief reason assigned was that they had not paid him his salary in full for the last two years, and this violation of their contract they acknowledged and made it the basis of their petition that he should be removed from the pastorate.

He says further:

The number of superannuated missionaries has constantly diminished till now there are only three surviving, only one of these an ordained preacher. The management of the churches has fallen entirely into the

hands of the native pastors, with no direct continuous personal supervision. What I can do by correspondence or by chance visits and what Mr. Emerson can do by similar means (only in his case these are official and in some places semi-annual)—this constitutes all that we two workers can well do for the 57 Hawaiian evangelical churches, with their members of 5,427 communicants out of a total population (native) of 34,436, with only one foreign pastor (Rev. H. H. Parker, of Kawaiajao Church, Honolulu) among the whole number (34) of pastors. The native churches are growing poorer and feebler each year, less able and willing to support the native pastorate.

The old system will not work in its want of adaptation to the present civilization of the country.

Rev. Mr. Hyde, in describing the character of the people of the islands, makes the following further statement:

We can not trust business interests to the decision of a Hawaiian jury. In the management of the Kamehameha estate, of which I speak from personal knowledge as one of the trustees under the will of the late Mrs. C. R. Bishop, we are forced to put up with an inefficient administration of much of the property, because no Hawaiian jury would be likely to give us a verdict according to the law and evidence. Take what occurred at the last session of the circuit court in Kau. A Hawaiian jury brought in a verdict standing 10 to 2. The judge said that it was proper; according to the law 9 to 3 would be accepted as valid. On the next case, when the jury came to a decision they were unanimous. But some sapient juror remarked that the judge had just said a verdict of 9 to 3 was valid, so they talked and talked till finally three jurors changed their votes, and then their verdict was reported to the judge.

Rev. S. E. Bishop read to the Honolulu Social Science Association in November, 1888, a paper on the cause of the decline of the race of Hawaiians. He says:

Yet it is the strange fact—in view of the amiable and attractive qualities of Polynesians, the distressingly sad fact—that, simultaneously with the arrival of white men in these islands, the Hawaiian people began rapidly to melt away, and that this waste has continued up to the present with substantial steadiness. At the date of the discovery, Captain Cook estimated the population at 400,000. Later historians have leaned to the more moderate estimate of 250,000. My father, who was one of the first party of white men to travel around Hawaii in 1824, then observed such evidences of recent extensive depopulation in all parts of that island that he very decidedly supported the estimate of Cook. There are now less than 40,000 pure Hawaiians surviving. The later counts have been taken with reasonable accuracy. * * *

It may be said in general that chastity had absolutely no recognition. It was simply a thing unknown and unthought of as a virtue in the old domestic life of Hawaii. A woman who withheld herself was counted sour and ungracious. This did not exclude more or less of marital proprietorship, involving an invasion of the husband's right in enjoying his property without his consent. There was no impurity in it any more than among brute animals.

* * * * *

There can be no doubt that the advent of foreigners in large numbers was attended by an immense increase of debased and bestial living. Ten thousand reckless seamen of the whaling fleet annually frequented these islands and used it as their great brothel. This enormously aggravated and inflamed the normal unchastity of the people. In the presence of the white hordes life became hideously brutalized. To multitudes of young women, gathered into the seaports for profit, from half the households in the country, life became a continuous orgie of beastly excess. All the former slender limitations and restrictions upon an indiscriminate commerce fell to pieces. The stormy and reckless passion of the white man, exulting in his unwonted license, imparted itself to the warm but sluggish Hawaiian nature. Life became a wasteful riot of impurity, propagated from the seaports to the end of the land. There was thus no defense against the new and trying conditions of life through any existing sentiment of the sacredness of chastity. The inevitable consequence was depopulation. The population of brothels and slums has no internal power of multiplying.

Then he goes on further in regard to drunkenness among the people:

With the foreigner came the products of the still. Only then did drunkenness begin to reign. Drunken orgies were an essential part of the beach-comber's paradise on Hawaiian shores. He found the Hawaiian an apt disciple, save that, like all savages, he did not know how to stop. The story of the early missionaries is one of constant impediment in their labors from the inebriety of the King and chiefs and of frequent annoyance and disturbance from the riotous orgies of the common people.

The contribution of drunkenness to depopulation was mainly indirect, although powerful. It tended to overturn and destroy whatever remains of wholesome social order and domestic life survived the general wreck consequent upon foreign intercourse. It stimulated the passions; it solved the remaining bonds of self-restraint; it flung prudence to the winds; thus it enhanced the effectiveness of the causes previously described. Intemperance is always a chief ally of impurity. The gin mill and the brothel are close partners.

Now I propose to read a portion of the address of the Rev. Mr. Bishop, who spent his life among these people, and my apology for reading it is that inasmuch as there is a great effort to annex those people to this country, and perhaps make the islands a State of this Union, the people of this country have a right to know the character of the population we propose to annex. Under the head of "Wifeless Chinese" Mr. Bishop says:

This is an evil of recent growth, which acts most perniciously upon the social life of Hawaiians. There are some 20,000 Chinamen of the lowest class, without their women, distributed throughout the islands in close contact with the natives, and in many districts outnumbering the Hawaiian males. The effect is necessarily very destructive to the purity of native families, although not more so than the presence of a similar number of unmarried whites would be. There is no doubt but that many native households in all parts of the country are maintained in comparative affluence by the intimacy of Chinese with their females. Some of the heads of these families are members in good standing in the Protestant churches, whose easy-going native pastors lack the energy and authority to deal with the offenders, while the moral sentiment prevailing both within and outside of the church is too feeble to put them to shame.

That is the character of the 40,000 natives upon those islands. What other population have we to deal with? The contract laborers who have been brought there from different parts of the world to serve a length of service stipulated in the contract. Those men came there without their families. On those islands there are nearly 60,000 males and 31,000 females. The predominance of males exists in every single race. The contract laborers are little less than slaves. The Portuguese are not Portuguese after all, and while they speak the language of the Portuguese they have been recruited from the Madeira and Azores islands, and are a mixture of races—Portuguese and blacks and the other races of Africa. They are the lowest of all the population upon the islands except, perhaps, it be the natives themselves.

These contracts provide for compelling the laborer to work faithfully by fines and damage suits brought by the planters against them, with the right on the part of the planter to deduct the damages and cost

of suit out of the laborer's wages. They also provide for compelling the laborer to remain with the planter during the contract term. They are sanctioned by law and enforced by civil remedies and penal laws.

They imprison the natives and deduct the cost from their pay, if they will not work. The total American male population is 1,298. The total American population, males and females, is 1,900.

The ¹ commissioner of the United States sent out to investigate the causes of the so-called revolution says:

The Portuguese who inhabit the islands amount to 8,602. They have been brought here from time to time from the Madeira and Cape Verde Islands by the Hawaiian Government as laborers on plantations just as has been done in relation to Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, etc. They are the most ignorant of all imported laborers, and reported to be very thievish. They are not pure Europeans, but a commingling of many races, especially the negro. They intermarry with the natives and belong to the laboring classes. Very few of them can read and write. Their children are being taught in the public schools, as all races are. It is wrong to class them as Europeans.

The character of the people of these islands is and must be overwhelmingly Asiatic. Let it not be imagined that the Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese disappear at the end of their contract term. From the report of the inspector in chief of Japanese immigrants on March 31, 1892, it appears that twenty "lots" of Japanese immigrants have been brought here by the Hawaiian Government, numbering 21,110. Of these 2,517 have returned to Japan; 8,592, having worked out their contract term, remain, and 9,626 are still working out their contract term. More than 75 per cent may be said to locate here permanently.

There are 13,067 Chinamen engaged in various occupations, to wit: 8,763 laborers, 1,479 farmers, 133 fishermen, 74 drivers and teamsters, 564 mechanics, 42 planters and ranchers, 776 merchants and traders, 164 clerks and salesmen, 12 professional men and teachers, and 1,056 in various other occupations.

The number of merchants and traders in the entire country is 1,238. Of this number 776 are Chinamen and 81 are Americans. The largest part of the retail trade seems to be conducted by Chinamen.

The Portuguese population in 1884 amounted to 9,377 and in 1890 to 8,602—a loss of 775. These have been leaving in considerable numbers for the past eighteen months, making their way generally to the United States. In 1890 the males were classified as to occupation thus:

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

Laborers, 2,653; farmers, 136; fishermen, 3; mariners, 10; drivers and teamsters, 63; mechanics, 167; planters and ranchers, 17; merchants and traders, 56; clerks and salesmen, 13; professional men and teachers, 11; other occupations, 123; total, 3,266. On the cane plantations there are of male Portuguese, 277 under contract and 1,651 day laborers.

Of the population in 1892, 20,536 were laborers on sugar-cane plantations, 16,723 being Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese. Of the whole number 10,991 are contract laborers. The remainder are designated as day laborers. The total number of laborers in the islands by the census of 1890 was 25,466.

In 1890 there were 23,863 male laborers. Of this number 18,728 were Chinese and Japanese. At this period there were 41,073 persons of all occupations. Of this number 24,432 were Chinese and Japanese.

Of the total number of persons in the various avocations of European and American origin, it appears that 1,106 were Americans, 819 British, 518 Germans, 45 French, and 200 Norwegians, making a total of 2,688 persons.

The natives furnished 8,871 persons and the half castes 884. The Hawaiians therefore may be said to have furnished 9,755.

There are 196 persons designated as planters and ranchers. Of this number 18 are Americans, 30 are British, and 6 are Germans. The remainder are principally Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, and Hawaiians.

There are 5,181 persons designated as farmers. Of these, 3,392 are natives and half-castes and 1,500 are Chinese. These two furnish 4,779, leaving a residue of 402 taken from all other nationalities. Of these, 26 are Americans.

It will be interesting, if not pleasing, to examine the number of the various sexes by nationalities.

The grand total of the population is 89,990. The male population is 58,714; the females are 31,276.

The natives and half-castes furnish 21,449 males and 19,174 females.

The Chinese furnish 14,522 males and 779 females.

The Japanese furnish 10,079 males and 2,281 females.

The Portuguese furnish 4,770 males and 3,832 females.

The American males are 1,298, females 630.

The British males are 982, females 362.

The German males are 729, females 305.

This disparity of the sexes applies to all nationalities, save the native race.

The most striking feature is that the Chinese men outnumber the women by more than 18 to 1.

The Japanese men outnumber their women by nearly 5 to 1. In all

foreign nationalities the males largely exceed the females in numbers.

The natives and half-castes furnish nearly two-thirds of the women.

There is a very compact statement of the condition of affairs on these islands. It shows that the home, the heart of American institutions, is almost unknown to the people.

* * * * *

In ¹ 1875 we made a treaty with these people by which we stimulated an industry in such a manner and to such an extent as no other industry was ever stimulated in the world. We admitted their sugar free of duty. We remitted in duties more than it cost to produce the sugar. It is claimed that we did it in the interest of the missionaries who had gone there to convert the people to Christianity and, having abandoned their job, had proceeded to steal their land and steal their Government. Did more Americans go? The climate had no attractions for them. The population of Americans in the islands has not increased materially under this wonderful stimulus. Let us see what is the nationality of the inhabitants of the islands. Is it desirable; does manifest destiny compel us to take in such people?

In Hawaii in 1890 there were 34,436 natives; in 1896 there were 31,019. Of part Hawaiians in 1890 there were 6,186; in 1896 there were 8,485. Of Americans in 1890 there were 1,928; in 1896 there were 3,086.

Now, let me explain these figures. That shows a great increase. The fellows who are running that Government are the shrewdest lot I ever knew. Their fathers had no communion with the devil, and their sons have to have enough of that sort of fellowship to make up for the whole family. They have taken in the census of 1890 only those Americans who they claimed were American born, and have left out the 820 of American blood who were Hawaiian born and Hawaiian citizens.

Then they made an extra class in 1890, and they said Hawaiian-born foreigners, but in 1896 they took all the Hawaiian-born Americans and put them into the class of

1. Speech in the Senate June 23, 1898.

Americans. So it was with the British, the Germans, French, and Norwegians. The scheme was to make it appear that there had been a wonderful increase in the population of Europeans from 1890 to 1896, when in reality there has been no increase in the population of Americans in those islands, except what was furnished by the fellows they took there from San Francisco to arm in order that they might maintain their tyranny after they overthrew the Government in 1893.

They say in 1890 there were 1,344 British; in 1896, 2,250; of Germans in 1890 there were 1,034; in 1896, 1,432; of French in 1890 there were 70; in 1896, 101; of Norwegians in 1890 there were 227; in 1896, 378.

So, much less than 3 per cent of the population is of American descent. About 4 per cent of the population is British, German, French, and Norwegian.

Of Portuguese in 1890 there were 8,602; in 1896, 15,191. But that apparent increase of Portuguese is fictitious.

The real facts of the matter are that in 1890 the Portuguese-born in the islands under the head of Hawaiian they classed at 7,495, while in 1896 they classed all the Portuguese-born in the island the same as they did the Americans, under the head of Portuguese, making an apparent large increase, although there was no immigration of Portuguese to the islands during that time any more than there was of Americans. There were of Japanese in 1890, 12,360; in 1896, 24,407; there were of Chinese, in 1890, 15,301; in 1896, 21,616; of Polynesians there were 588 in 1890 and 455 in 1896; of other nationalities there were 419 in 1890 and 600 in 1896; of Hawaiian-born foreigners, none in 1896 and 7,495 in 1890.

It will be noticed that there is an enormous increase of the Asiatic population. If you look at their commerce, you will find that there has been an enormous increase of commerce between these islands and Asia and a decrease of commerce between these islands and the United States since 1890. Why? Because the population is Asiatic and they want nothing that we produce. They live upon rice and they wear

different clothes from what we wear. There is nothing that the United States produces that the laborers of those islands want. They are the dominant population, and therefore the dream of enormous commerce fritters away. But what kind of people are they? The same kind of people you would expect in the Tropics. What is the difference between the number of males and females? That is interesting. Is a population where there is a disparity between the sexes desirable? Here are the figures:

Table of sex, by nationality

[From latest census returns, 1896]

Nationality	Hawaiian-born of foreign parents			Whole population		
	Males	Fe-males	Total	Males	Fe-males	Total
Hawaiian.....				16,399	14,620	31,019
Part Hawaiian.....				4,249	4,236	8,485
American.....	401	419	820	1,975	1,111	3,086
British.....	352	360	712	1,406	844	2,250
German.....	252	268	520	866	566	1,432
French.....	10	16	26	56	45	101
Norwegian.....	71	91	162	216	162	378

Here you notice a wonderful disparity between the males and females, Americans, British, Norwegians, French, and Germans; and if you look over the population of every tropical country in the world, you will find the same disparity; you will find a preponderance of males among the whites. In other words, our race does not live in that climate; it can not. I have investigated a large number of tropical countries, and find as to the character and sexes of the population of Europeans, as a rule, there are from one-fourth to two-thirds more males than females. It seems to me that that is comment enough. But let us see what is worse.

Nationality	Hawaiian-born of foreign parents			Whole population		
	Males	Fe- males	Total	Males	Fe- males	Total
Portuguese.....	3,606	3,353	6,959	8,202	6,989	15,191
Japanese.....	1,054	1,024	2,078	19,212	5,195	24,407
Chinese.....	1,204	1,030	2,234	19,167	2,449	21,616
South Sea Islanders.....	21	25	46	321	134	455
Other nationalities.....	87	89	176	448	152	600
Total.....	7,058	6,675	13,733	72,517	36,503	109,020

This shows a preponderance of two to one; twice as many males as females. That is the kind of a population you propose to admit in this Union on an equal footing with the rest of us.

CHAPTER II

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

I AM¹ tired of hearing Senators upon this floor, whenever they wish to put through a measure which they advocate, talk to the American people about the fear of England. England is the most vulnerable nation upon the globe. Half of her wealth is afloat upon the waters of the earth, and if she entered into a contest with the United States we would sweep her commerce from the seas; and the wealth and genius and the enterprise of our people would do her such vast damage that she would never recover. There is no danger of war with England. Besides, if she should build the cable and engage in a combat with us, the first thing we would do would be to send our legions of men to overrun and capture Canada and capture the cable which she had built, and overrun and take control of her property.

Do we fear annexation by England? If England should secure the Hawaiian Islands, I think they would be an element of weakness, for they would be hard to defend. The water is deep; there are fourteen islands in the group; the largest ships can sail close to their shores anywhere, and a swift cruiser could destroy this so-called Gibraltar of the Pacific in a day, destroying every village and every plantation; and dodging around through the deep channels between the islands, she would be hard to capture, thus requiring a large fleet for their defense.

This fear of England is absurd and ridiculous. The argument is one which has disgusted me often. It has been used when the Nicaraguan Canal project was before the Senate, and no matter what the scheme may be which may be advo-

1. Speech in the Senate March 2, 1895.

cated upon this floor, the fear of England is set up before our eyes—this bugaboo of sophomores, who are everlastingly “hoisting” the American flag, and dying before they will allow it to be pulled down! The season of this spread-eagle oratory has long passed away in the Congress of the United States—we listen patiently to it when it breaks out, and congratulate the orator who has secured applause by alluding to the flag.

If England should bombard New York to-day she would destroy as much English as American property. If England should destroy the banks and insurance companies, and, for that matter, some of the New York newspapers [laughter], she would only be destroying the property of those who are more in sympathy with the people of England than with the people of the United States; but, further, if she should destroy American property, we could recoup out of the vast sums which we owe England and leave her to settle with her own people. So, fear of England is the most absurd and ridiculous proposition ever presented upon this floor—it is mere ranting, rot, and roorback!

The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations has presented the only argument besides the fear of England yet presented. He says it is very essential that we should have the Hawaiian Islands as a port from which to protect the seals in Bering Sea. In the first place, Honolulu is as far from Unalaska as San Francisco, and 800 miles further from Unalaska than the ports on Puget Sound. Unalaska, on Unalaska Island, is the chief harbor at the main entrance into the Bering Sea from the Pacific Ocean from the eastward, and it is already our property. That is a magnificent harbor, always free from ice, and capable of accommodating the commerce of the world. From that port, near to our own coal mines, our operations are carried on in Bering Sea. So that argument answers itself; but yet I am inclined to enter somewhat into that question.

In a speech a few days ago, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Morgan] said:

Now, Mr. President, I do not wish to present any pictures of imagination here, for if I were to draw upon my weak and impoverished

imagination to the full extent of my capacity I should not by any means be capable of describing to the Senate the value and importance of the fisheries of the Bering Sea. I will just say this (and if any Senator desires me to prove it hereafter I will bring him the evidence of it in the most tangible form), that the fisheries of what we call the Bering Sea, as compared in value with the fisheries of the northeastern coast, are not less than five or six times greater than those ever were. The fisheries that we own there to-day are worth more for food and for other sea productions to the people of the United States by five times than the fisheries of the northeastern coast, including those around Newfoundland.

The Senator further said:

Notwithstanding some recent efforts to produce the impression upon the minds of the people of the United States that the fur-seal fisheries in Bering Sea are unprofitable and are actually destroyed, and without adverting at all to the methods by which they say the destruction has been wrought, I undertake to dispute that proposition out and out. We have there a nursery of fur seals protected by two lines of protection, which, if the Government of the United States will according to its plain powers and duties execute, the fur-seal fisheries of the Pribilof group of islands will be worth to us in the course of fifty years \$300,000,000.

* * * * *

The representations which are made to alarm the American mind into a belief that those fisheries are not valuable, and that therefore some man may as well come in and pocket them, had better be looked at with a good deal of caution. I insist, Mr. President, that including the fur seals, or even without including the fur seals, we have not such an important fishery interest in the world, and no nation has one so important as we have in the Bering Sea. It will draw fleets of ships there.

And all this for the purpose of showing the importance of a harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, from which we can gather this vast crop of wealth, a harbor which it requires 2,000 miles of extra sailing to reach, where there is no coal whatever, and which would be utterly useless; worse than that, those islands would be an element of weakness to us in every respect.

But let us see if we have such valuable property in Bering Sea that it is necessary to acquire the Hawaiian Islands. I refer to the official report made by the Secretary of the Treas-

ury in relation to this subject, in which he says in obedience to a request made by the House of Representatives dated January 23, 1895:

The alarming increase in the number of seals killed by pelagic sealers and the further fact that in four or five weeks the vessels in Bering Sea, only about one-third of the total number, killed more seals than were taken in the four months' sealing on the American side of the North Pacific, emphasize the conclusion expressed in my annual report to Congress that long before the expiration of the five years, when the regulations enacted by the Tribunal of Arbitration are to be submitted to the respective Governments for re-examination, the fur seal will have been practically exterminated.

My answer to the first inquiry is, therefore, that the operation of the articles of the Bering Sea Tribunal for the regulation of the fur-seal industry of Alaska has not resulted in saving the fur-seal herd from that destruction which those articles were intended to prevent.

With reference to the present condition of the fur-seal herds on the Pribilof Islands, I have to report a dangerous decrease. Information on file in the Department indicates a falling off of at least one-half during the past four seasons. It thus appears that the condition of the Alaskan fur-seal herd is most critical. All facts point to its speedy extermination unless the present regulations, enacted in the award of the Paris Tribunal, are changed at an early date, so as to afford a greater measure of protection to the seal herd.

In reply to the inquiry concerning the revenue derived by the Government from the fur-seal herds during the past season, and the expenditures during the same period in executing the requirements of the Paris award, I have to state that 15,000 seals were taken on the Pribilof Islands in the year last past, and 1,031 remained on hand from last year. The amount to be paid by the lessees of the islands, according to the provisions of their contract, on or before April 1 next, will be \$214,298.37, the items being as follows:

Rental.....	\$60,000.00
Tax of \$2 per skin on 16,031 skins.....	32,062.00
Bonus of \$7.625 per skin on 16,031 skins.....	122,236.37

As to expenses, I have to state that the honorable the Secretary of the Navy reports that the expenditures incident to the presence of the United States naval vessels in Bering Sea during the past year was \$158,188.25. The expenses attending the presence of the revenue steamers *Bear*, *Corwin*, and *Rush* aggregate \$40,116.24. The amounts named do not include the pay of officers or men or the rations supplied to them. Of the \$1,500 appropriated to enable the Secretary of the

Treasury to pay the necessary expenses of enforcing the provisions of section 4 of the act approved April 6, 1894, under which two experts were employed to examine and classify pelagic seal skins, the sum of \$250 has been expended. The salaries and expenses of the agents of the seal islands, whose duties would require them to be present on said islands without regard to the Bering Sea controversy, have not been included in preparing this answer to the resolution. The aggregate expense would, therefore, seem to be \$198,554.49.

To this must be added \$150,000 for salaries of officers and men and rations; for salaries of seal-island agents and expenses, \$20,000; for support of seal-island natives, \$19,000, and for Fish Commission steamer, \$15,000, making a total annual expense of \$402,000 for the purpose of carrying out the regulations of the Paris Tribunal, and which returned to the Treasury but little over \$200,000 last year, and which will not return \$50,000 this coming season. Meanwhile, the Canadian hunters, under the license of these Paris regulations, will finish what we have left in two or three more seasons of this "protection" secured by the Bering Sea Tribunal, and for which the Senator from Alabama appears as the wise and prophetic interpreter. He is the only man, however, who has the hardihood to still declare them worth the paper upon which they are written. His associates at Paris have retired from public view in silence and in shame.

Besides all this, it is clearly shown by the reports that over 20,000 pups starved upon the rookeries last year, their mothers having been butchered by the Canadian butchers in Bering Sea during the last season.

This certainly is a splendid "nursery" of fur seals! It is very important and very necessary that we should acquire the Hawaiian Islands in order to reap that enormous deficit of \$200,000 a year alone upon this industry, which the report of the Secretary of the Treasury declares so emphatically to be the case.

In his speech of Friday, February 8, 1895, the Senator from Alabama says that there is a very valuable whaling industry in Bering Sea, and "getting more valuable every day." The whales have been run out of Bering Sea ever since 1866; there has been no whaling there to mention since that date.

The whales have all been hunted since 1865 in the Arctic Ocean above Bering Straits, in the open lanes of water in the ice floes of that region, between Herald Island and Point Barrow. There has been no whaling in the North Pacific Ocean to speak of since 1860; and all this misinformation and all this imagination to bolster up the miserable project of annexation! In proof of this I refer to the reports of the United States Fish Commission.

The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations says that "the fisheries of Bering Sea are five times as extensive and valuable as those of the northeastern coast, including those around Newfoundland." The Fish Commission reports declare that there is no fishing in Bering Sea that amounts to one-hundredth part of the value of the Atlantic fisheries returned at Gloucester, Mass., alone.

The salmon fisheries of Alaska, so famous, save two small canneries, are not on the shores of Bering Sea at all; they lie at the mouths of the small rivers on Kodiak Island and in Cook's Inlet, and along the coast of the North Pacific Ocean between the Alaskan peninsula and Sitka.

The Senator from Alabama says that we have been confronted with some "recent efforts to prove that the fur-seal fisheries in Bering Sea are unprofitable and are virtually destroyed. Without adverting at all to the methods by which they say the destruction has been wrought, I undertake to dispute that proposition out and out. We have here a nursery of fur seals, protected by two lines of protection."

The distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, in his report from which I have read, stands as a witness against the assertion of the Senator from Alabama. Under date of January 21, 1895, he tells the House of Representatives that the rules and regulations of the Paris Tribunal are a flat failure. Secretary Carlisle declares:

From these figures it becomes evident that during the present season there has been an unprecedented increase over preceding years in the number of seals killed by pelagic sealers, both in American and Asiatic waters. This increase has caused an alarming decrease in the number of seals on the islands, as hereinafter explained. A significant fact in

this connection is the unprecedented number of dead pups found on the islands this season, which presumably died of starvation, their mothers being killed at sea. Our agent counted over 12,000 on the accessible portions of the rookeries alone. He estimates, upon said count, a total of nearly 20,000. It should be remembered that at the close of the season of 1893, when pelagic sealing was prohibited in Bering Sea, less than 1,000 were found on St. Paul Island—no count having been made on the Island of St. George.

The alarming increase in the number of seals killed by pelagic sealers and the further fact that in four or five weeks the vessels in Bering Sea, only about one-third of the total number, killed more seals than were taken in the four months sealing on the American side of the North Pacific, emphasize the conclusion expressed in my annual report to Congress that long before the expiration of the five years, when the regulations enacted by the Tribunal of Arbitration are to be submitted to the respective Governments for re-examination, the fur seal will have been practically exterminated.

My answer to the first inquiry is, therefore, that the operation of the articles of the Bering Sea Tribunal for the regulation of the fur-seal industry of Alaska has not resulted in saving the fur-seal herd from that destruction which those articles were intended to prevent.

This is a wonderful "nursery of fur seals"; this is protection with a vengeance! Twenty thousand infants starved to death last season in this "nursery" of the Senator from Alabama, "protected with two lines of protection!" When the Senator finds a third line of such protection the seals will all be enabled to decently starve at once, and that will make the sense of the Senator's statement complete as to the value of our fur-seal fisheries.

Secretary Carlisle does not draw on his own imagination, but he has his reports from the officers of this Government and from the officers of the Fish Commission who have visited the seal islands during the last year.

The long and the short of the whole matter is that we were cheated in the Paris Tribunal. Perhaps I should not say that we were cheated, but our diplomats were certainly outwitted. It seems to me in the face of these facts, in the face of the ultimate destruction of the seals, in the face of the fact that our regulations have only hastened that destruction, that it is not a physical combat with England that we ought to fear; it seems to me that the chairman of the Committee on

Foreign Relations ought rather to shun a mental combat with Great Britain. We have no reason to fear her armed men and her guns and ships of war, but it seems we have reason to fear her diplomats.

The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations proposes, in the face of all this overwhelming evidence furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury and the President of the United States, that the American people shall sit stupidly down and as stupidly submit to the further destruction of the entire seal herd. The seals which are left upon those islands, or which will go there next summer, are worth at least from ten to twelve million dollars, and if we had passed the bill which I have had referred to the Finance Committee it would settle this whole controversy and be in the interests of humanity, of decency, and national self-respect.

I am utterly disgusted with this business after an examination of the whole matter and after a review of the abortive operations of the Paris Tribunal, which alone cost this country about \$230,000. I believe it is time to end this whole miserable business and get it out of our sight. The only people who have profited are the arbitrators and their clerks and attachés, the lawyers who mulcted us in outrageous fees for imbecile advice, and the poachers who have stolen the seals and ruined our property, while we are called upon to pay them for doing it. I will say further, the reason why the Paris Tribunal failed was because we gave away our case before we entered into the arbitration.

On the 2d of March, 1889, the Senate passed a bill for the better protection of the salmon fisheries of Alaska, to which the House adopted this amendment:

That section 1956 of the Revised Statutes of the United States was intended to include and apply, and is hereby declared to include and apply, to all the waters of Bering Sea in Alaska embraced within the boundary lines mentioned and described in the treaty with Russia, dated March 20, 1867.

To this amendment the Senate refused to agree, and the present chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations said, in substance, upon this floor, that we were not ready to insist

upon that contention, and yet our arbitrators went to Paris instructed to insist upon a close sea within the boundaries of Bering Sea. They were instructed also to insist, second, that the seals were a special property; that as such we had a right to protect them wherever they were.

The first position they were driven from at once by reference to the records of the Senate, and obliged to abandon it. When we abandon that position there is nothing left but to protect our property without arbitration. The absurdity of claiming property in wild animals was so apparent that our agents at Paris were soon driven from that position. Of all wild animals the fur seal is one of the very wildest. There is not one and never was one that was domesticated. There is not one in any zoological garden throughout the world. They voluntarily starve themselves to death when in captivity. But, worse than that, if we could claim property in these wild animals, then the Canadians might equally as well claim property in all of the salmon which swim up those rivers of Alaska which empty into the Pacific Ocean through the "30-mile" strip between the foot of Mount St. Elias and Fort Simpson, British Columbia, a stretch of coast 500 miles long, and streams too numerous to mention.

Each year the salmon pass up over our territory and up to the headwaters of these streams in British ground to spawn, and there they raise their young. The seals coming up from the Southern Pacific in June and July go on the Pribilof Islands, in Bering Sea, and there rear their young.

If we could maintain our claims in these seals wherever they are found, then England could maintain her right to property in the salmon, for it is well known that the salmon always returns to the place of its birth, and we would be liable for catching a single salmon in that great expanse of the ocean and in that strip of Alaska through which these rivers run. The Senators from Maryland would violate an international law if they killed a canvasback duck on the Chesapeake which the summer before had its nest in Canada. So we were forced from that position. There was nothing left but to devise some

mutual agreement or regulations which might save our fur-seal herd from indecent and cruel slaughter.

After much confabulation by the tribunal, of which the Senator from Alabama was a member, these regulations were agreed upon, and published on the 16th of August, 1893, at Paris, to the world. The entire personnel of the American case broke out into loud and joyous acclaim, declaring that they had won a great victory for the seals; that these regulations had saved these valuable interests of our Government on the Pribilof Islands from ruin.

How they have saved the seals is now well known, and the shameful failure of the Paris Tribunal is universally understood in this country.

I have thus fully discussed the argument based upon our interests in Alaska because it was presented by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and is the only argument I have heard except the fear of England. Take a map of the Pacific Ocean and you will find that the Hawaiian Islands are within 18° of the equator, that the Aleutian Islands are in 55° north latitude, that Port Townsend is at the entrance of Puget Sound in 49° north latitude, and that the distance from Port Townsend to Unalaska, at the entrance of Bering Sea, is but 1,500 miles, while the distance from Honolulu to Unalaska is 2,086 miles. You will also see that the shortest route for ships from San Francisco to Japan or China goes within 100 miles of Unalaska, the distance from San Francisco to Yokohama, Japan, being 4,536 miles, and from Port Townsend 4,202 miles, as against 5,530 miles by way of Hawaii to Japan from San Francisco and 6,100 miles from Port Townsend to Japan. If we are going to build a cable in the Pacific we should build it from Port Townsend to Juneau and Sitka and Unalaska and thence to Japan, saving over a thousand miles of cable and reaching our own possessions, accommodating our own people.

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In¹ executive session and in the public prints we have been told of the great commercial interests of these islands

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1898.

and that their trade with the United States would increase. That was the argument made when the reciprocity treaty was adopted in 1875, twenty-three years ago—immense trade relations, enormous commerce. What has been the result? The goods we ship to the Hawaiian Islands to-day are less in value than those ten years ago. The population of the islands has doubled. They ship to us commodities about three times in value of what they did then, but our export trade with those islands has fallen off. Why is it? Because their increase in population has been from Asia—from China and Japan. Those people do not consume the goods we produce. They live upon rice; they wear oriental clothing. Commerce has been augmented with Asia and not with the United States, and so it will be in the future.

As the sugar industry grows, coolies are imported in constantly increasing numbers to cultivate the sugar, and less and less of the products of this country will be consumed. Americans will not cultivate sugar; they have not gone to those islands as laborers; and although in 1895 there were eighty-four men of American blood employed upon sugar plantations, in 1897 there was not one. Why? Because the Japanese—skillful, able—would fill the places of our bookkeepers and our superintendents for \$15 a month, while the Americans must have \$50 or \$75. So no matter what you do, if you annex the islands they will not furnish homes for American toilers or American population. It must be Asiatic. No Anglo-Saxon ever yet toiled in the sugar-cane fields or produced coffee.

But they say there are great shipping interests. I desire to have the Secretary read an interview with Claus Spreckels on this subject. I take it from the *San Francisco Call* of Tuesday, April 27, 1897. At that time they were agitating the repeal of the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii.

The Secretary read as follows:

SPRECKELS TALKS OF THE TREATY—WAS OPPOSED
TO HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY FROM THE START—
WAS A SCHEME OF THE TRUST—HAS NEVER BEEN
AND IS NOT CONTROLLED BY THE SUGAR COM-

BINE—WORKING FOR THE INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY—MONEY PAID FOR HAWAIIAN SUGAR FLOWS MOSTLY INTO THE COFFERS OF EUROPEANS.

[From the *San Francisco Call*, Tuesday, April 27, 1897.]

Claus Spreckels has every reason, he declared in an interview yesterday, to believe that the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty will be abrogated. His confidence in such an outcome, he said, is due to the fact that right and reason were on the side of those who favored the discontinuance of the existing convention.

"Reciprocity," he continued, "means an exchange of benefits that have some approach to being equal on both sides. No one, I believe, will attempt to controvert such an interpretation of the term. Now, I claim, and existing facts and circumstances will bear me out fully, that the treaty in force between this country and Hawaii is reciprocal in name only, and that all the advantages arising under it are enjoyed by Hawaii, or rather the foreigners resident there.

"At the present time the balance of trade between the United States and Hawaii is \$8,000,000 per annum, and no effort is made by the Hawaiian Government to encourage more trading with the United States. On the contrary, everything that is done tends to the encouragement of trade with other countries—notably Canada, Germany, and England. They have even withdrawn the subsidy formerly paid to the Oceanic Steamship Company, an American line which has done more to develop the islands than any other transportation company.

"I noticed a statement in one of the local papers that our commerce with Hawaii was a great factor in giving employment to American vessels, and that the American shipping engaged in this traffic has a valuation of \$18,000,000. Anyone who will take the trouble to look over the custom-house records can learn for himself that the value of all vessels carrying between this port and Hawaii will not exceed \$2,000,000.

"Much has been said about the trust being interested in the beet-sugar factory at Watsonville, and of its being opposed to the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty. It is claimed by the advocates of the treaty that if the Hawaiian free sugar is prevented from coming here, the trust would be able to shut down one of the refineries. That is simply nonsense. The Watsonville factory is turning out 20,000 tons of sugar annually, and the Salinas factory, in course of construction, will have a capacity of 60,000 tons. Thus these two factories alone will be capable of manufacturing enough sugar to supply the people of the Pacific coast, and all this sugar will be refined on the coast.

"But in addition to these factories there are two others, which pro-

duce between 20,000 and 30,000 tons per year. All this will also be refined here, and this will mean not a curtailing of the refining capacity, but an increase of it. It would not pay to ship the raw sugar East, have it refined there, and then have it sent back to the consumer.

"The result will be the establishment of more refineries in California; and instead of the California product being used as a supply for the Pacific coast States and Territories, it will go to consumers in the Missouri River territory, and perhaps eventually as far east as Chicago.

"This means employment in California of additional thousands of people, the great enhancement in value of farming property in the sugar-beet sections, and added prosperity for the State at large.

"Let me call attention to a phase of the situation that is entirely lost sight of. We are taking from Hawaii its entire crop of sugar, which will this year be about 235,000 tons, for which we will pay in round figures \$15,000,000. Of this product not to exceed 70,000 tons are turned out by Americans, while the money for the remaining 165,000 tons is paid to German and English planters and manufacturers, and out of the 70,000 tons credited to Americans, 45,000 tons are produced from the plantations in which I am interested.

"My course in this matter is prompted simply and solely by my desire to see the sugar industry of California fostered and improved. My opposition to the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty is inspired by the desire to encourage the investment of American capital in this State instead of paying millions each year to the foreigners—not Hawaiians—who largely control the sugar product of the islands. Not even the workmen employed on the sugar plantations and in the factories are native Hawaiians, but Chinese and Japanese coolies and Portuguese, who receive from \$12 to \$15 a month and must find themselves.

"Those who are standing for a continuance of the treaty I am sure are not aware of the fact that the money we pay for Hawaiian sugar does not benefit the islands, for it eventually mostly flows to England, Germany, China, and Japan. My contention is that the money can be and should be kept in this country, and this can be accomplished by the abrogation of the existing treaty with Hawaii and by placing the same duty on Hawaiian sugar that is placed on any other similar foreign product.

"Another popular fallacy that is being circulated is that I was always strongly in favor of the treaty. That is not so. No one was more bitterly opposed to it when it was under consideration than I, and I spent at one time about \$2,800 in sending a petition, with a long list of signatures attached, to Washington in 1876 in opposition to it.

"At that time I was importing the raw material from Manila and Batavia and had to pay duty on it. There was a combination at that time between the sugar trust, with Searles at its head, the sugar

planters of Hawaii, and the owners of the American Sugar Refinery of this city against me because I would not go into the trust.

"For self-protection I proceeded to the islands and soon became the largest sugar raiser there, with the ultimate result of not only beating the trust and its combination on the coast, but of invading its best territory in the East and erecting a refinery in Philadelphia. I have never allowed the trust to control me in the past and it does not control me now. While it has an interest in the Watsonville factory, that fact still leaves me an independent factor in the sugar market, and this position I propose to always maintain.

"While still owning large interests in Hawaii, I began experimenting with sugar-beet growing in California, as I never felt just right to have my capital, mostly made in California, invested in a foreign country. My experiments proved highly successful and the result is now before the world.

"I have sacrificed large interests in Hawaii, and stand ready to make further sacrifices. I feel that I owe my first duty to this country, and have always endeavored to perform it to the utmost of my ability. I have at last succeeded in transferring the major part of my interests to this State and the benefits that have accrued to the Commonwealth I think I can safely leave to the people of the San Joaquin, Pajaro, and Salinas valleys to tell.

"I am confident that when the people of the United States are put in possession of the facts connected with the Hawaiian treaty there will be an almost unanimous sentiment in favor of its abrogation. If we continue the treaty, it will be equivalent to putting at least \$15,000,000 annually into the pockets of a number of English and German sugar producers and the coolies whom they employ, instead of keeping this vast amount of money in this country to be distributed among our farmers and the people employed in our own sugar plantations, factories, and refineries."

MR. PETTIGREW: It seems from this interview with Mr. Spreckels that \$2,000,000 is the total value of all vessels engaged exclusively in the Hawaiian trade. The shipping interest, then, is worth less than one-fourth the value of a wheat crop in one county in North Dakota at a reasonable price, and yet this nation is called upon to abandon its policy of a century and absorb a people against their will and govern them. * * *

In 1876 we made a treaty with the Hawaiian Islands by which we agreed that their product should come into this country free of duty. The duty was then 2 cents a pound on sugar. It was said that there was little sugar produced there

and that it would never compete seriously with the United States. Finally we made a treaty by which they agreed to admit our products free of duty and we agreed to admit their products free of duty.

Now we are informed that they have become the greatest producers of wealth in the world per capita. No wonder! They put forth each year a sugar crop worth, in the United States, \$15,000,000, and one-half of that value is in the duties which we remit. It is a clear gift of \$7,500,000 a year, not to the people, but to the planters, to the missionary planters of Hawaii. The treaty has taken seven and a half million dollars per annum out of the pockets of the people of the United States in order to confer this gratuity upon an alien people. Wonderful producers! They create a crop of seven and a half million dollars in value, and we give them seven and a half million dollars, and they say they produce that and then say that the people of Hawaii, according to their population, are the greatest producers of wealth in the world.

We made a treaty in 1876 by which we agreed to admit their products free of duty—their fruit, their wool, their sugar. What has been the consequence? It will bear recording. It will be well for every Senator to remember the fact. Since that time we have sold to the Hawaiian people \$66,000,000 worth of goods. We have remitted in duties \$78,000,000. We have given them, then, as a direct present, everything they bought of us and \$12,000,000 in money besides; and yet it is said we should annex the islands to perpetuate this iniquity because of the trade relations. Marvelous, is it not, that a nation will continue such a policy? We have taken out of the pockets of the people of the United States \$78,000,000, because Hawaiian sugar never reduced the price of sugar to the American consumer one particle. We have taken \$78,000,000 by taxation out of the pockets of our people and given it to those sugar planters, and yet we have steadfastly refused to abrogate the treaty, and now we propose to annex the islands so that this process shall go on forever.

Yet it is said that the sugar trust is the only influence

behind the men who oppose annexation. Let us see what interest the sugar trust has in this matter. The continued free importation of Hawaiian sugar will kill the beet-sugar industry in this country absolutely. It can go no further. It can enlarge no more. The beet-sugar factory refines the sugar. There is no necessity for refining it after the factory is done with it. It is claimed by sugar experts that cane sugar can not be successfully refined in a factory where raw sugar is made—that is, has to be remelted and refined—but beet sugar is successfully refined and the factories which produce it turn out the finished product.

Therefore, if we build up the beet-sugar industry in this country and it supplies the United States with sugar, the sugar trust is out of business; there is no further use whatever for its refineries. The sugar trust does not manufacture sugar. It merely refines the crude product of cane-sugar mills. Abrogate the Hawaiian treaty, close the doors to the Hawaiian sugar, and in ten years the United States will produce its own sugar from the sugar beet and the sugar trust will be a thing of the past. Its interest is absolutely in favor of the annexation of these islands, whose province it is to create raw sugar for them to refine. You annex those islands so as to kill the growing beet-sugar industry in this country, and you leave the trust in command of the American market.

The world knows what members of this body have been the special champions of the sugar trust in the past, and knows that every one of them is in favor of annexation. What further answer is needed to that miserable argument? What interest is there in favor of this annexation? I read in the morning paper that the Ewa plantation stock of Hawaii is worth 400 cents on the dollar—four times what it was originally worth; that it went from 300 to 400 cents on the passage of the joint resolution through the House of Representatives. Who can afford to spend money in order to perpetuate a system by which the sugar planters of Hawaii get \$7,500,000 a year?

Who has the money to spend? The men in favor of annexation, who took from the people of this country in remitted

duties last year \$7,500,000, who have received in remitted duties since 1876 \$78,149,000. If the sugar trust were here trying to defeat this joint resolution, do you think the three papers in this town would all be on the other side? Have they exhibited such vast and marvelous virtue in the past as to leave them incorruptible in the presence of the thrifty sugar trust? The opponents of annexation have no organ, and the impatience of one of the papers here would indicate that instead of receiving part of the remitted duties in cash it has a contingent fee.

The *Star* draws upon its imagination for its facts; and, as everybody knows, its editor has no imagination, therefore they have no facts. And yet, impatiently, falsely, they continue to attack those who oppose the annexation of the islands, and to attribute to them corrupt motives and pursue the debate—no, not the debate, Mr. President—they pursue a course such as no lawyer, no newspaper would pursue if they were conducting an honest contest. No one would be so impatient, no one would be so willing to resort to falsehood, unless impelled by a contingent fee, something dependent upon success not quite in the grasp, that is eagerly reaching forward, hoping by success to secure the corrupt price of their services. That is the only thing which would induce the *New York Sun* and the *Evening Star* to pursue the course they have pursued. They are advocating the cause of the men who got the \$78,000,000. They are advocating the cause of the men who want reciprocity because it results in our presenting them not only all the goods they have bought of us, but in twenty years \$12,000,000 in cash besides.

Let me state our trade in 1891. In that year we sold to the people of Hawaii \$4,935,911 worth of domestic goods and \$171,301 worth of foreign goods, a total of \$5,107,212. In 1896 we sold to them \$3,985,000 worth. We imported from Hawaii in 1891 \$13,161,000 worth of stuff. We sold to them over \$5,000,000 worth of stuff. In 1896 we sold to them \$3,985,000, or a million dollars less than we sold to them in 1891, and we bought of them \$15,098,000 worth of goods. So while our purchases and the amount of duties

which we remit constantly increase, their purchases from us decline, because their population is becoming more and more Asiatic, and Asiatic people do not consume the things we produce. * * *

This remission of duties, this enormous bonus which we have conferred upon Hawaiian industries has gone not to the people of the United States but to foreigners. It has not served to pay a single American laborer. It has been used to pay Asiatic labor under contract—slave labor; and two-thirds of the profit has gone to Germans, Englishmen, Scandinavians, and native Hawaiians, and less than one-third of it to citizens of the United States. Less than one-third of the sugar plantations of those islands are owned by Americans; two-thirds are owned by other people. So we have remitted this vast sum of \$78,000,000, and two-thirds of it has gone to men who are not citizens of the United States. Yet one of the arguments which has been used to justify this miserable business is that the sugar was produced by American citizens!

It has been argued that the beet-sugar industry would not be interfered with by the annexation of these islands or by allowing the sugar of the islands to come in free. I propose to take up that subject and show that the Hawaiian Islands now produce a sufficient quantity of sugar to supply all the United States west of the Missouri River, including Texas. I also propose to show that those islands can produce twice as much sugar, if not four times as much, as they now produce; that last year they shipped to this country 500,000,000 pounds of sugar; that when they double that they will ship to this country 1,000,000,000 pounds of sugar; and that the consumption of sugar west of the Missouri River last year was only 530,000,000 pounds. I may not have the figures exactly right, but it was between 500,000,000 and 600,000,000 pounds. I also propose to show that the increase in Hawaii, stimulated by the pending resolution, if the islands are annexed, will more than supply that country for all time to come.

To-day the seat of the beet-sugar industry in this country is west of the Missouri River. That region can produce the

sugar beet in sufficient quantity to supply the people of the United States with sugar; but, Mr. President, it can not do it in competition with Asiatic labor. The Asiatic worker toils in the cane field for \$12 a month and boards himself. He is the best agricultural laborer in the world. He comes from Japan under our treaty with Japan. That treaty is to continue for twelve years. We can not exclude that labor from the United States. It will come to those islands and come continuously, for we have made a treaty with Japan which goes into effect a year from this month, and is to continue twelve years, by which they are on an equal footing with the nations of Europe.

Our people have a right to go to Japan and go into business; their people have a right to come to the United States. You will notice in the joint resolution now before the Senate that there is a provision prohibiting Chinese from immigrating to the islands after they are annexed, but there is no provision prohibiting the importation of Japanese. Why? Because it would be a violation of our treaty to do it. The fact is that the Jap is a cheaper man, because he is a better laborer, and there are to-day 30,000 Japanese laborers in the Hawaiian Islands and 24,000 Chinese. As the Chinese contract term expires his place will be filled by Japanese, and we can not stop it under existing treaties. So the lands of the islands will be occupied with sugar plantations to the absolute ruin of the beet-sugar industry in our own country.

It is said that the area that will produce sugar is exhausted. Let us see with regard to that. I read again from Thrum's Annual of Hawaii, in which the total amount of Government land is given, which may be classified as follows:

Cane land, 25,000 acres still held by the Government; average production of sugar in Hawaii, 4 tons to the acre; Ewa plantation produces 8 tons to the acre; 25,000 acres will produce 100,000 tons.

Also the following:

The total amount of Government land may be roughly classified as follows:

Classification of Government Lands

	Acres
Valuable building lots.....	145
Cane land.....	25,626
Coffee land.....	76,270
Rice land.....	977
Homesteads, Government interest in.....	20,000
Grazing lands, various qualities.....	451,200
Forest lands, high.....	681,282
Rugged mountain tracts.....	227,000
Barren lands, estimated.....	300,000
Total.....	1,782,500

MR. CAFFERY: Will the Senator from South Dakota permit me to make an inquiry in this connection? He speaks of the crown lands, 25,000 acres of which are given to making sugar. I desire to know whether the crown lands of Hawaii are not under lease for long periods of time to the sugar planters?

MR. PETTIGREW: Some of them undoubtedly are.

MR. CAFFERY: Does not the evidence gathered by Mr. Blount show the fact that the crown lands have been leased over to the sugar planters for very long periods of time?

MR. PETTIGREW: I think so; not all of them. I am speaking of the Government lands. On the Ewa plantation they claim there are 10,000 acres; 2,000 acres are in cultivation. There are 8,000 acres yet that can be planted with sugar. In my opinion the vast areas now devoted to coffee, and said to be good coffee land, are sugar lands, and that with this enormous stimulus, with the admission of those islands into the Union, there are at least 200,000 acres of the lands that may yet be devoted to the production of sugar in addition to that already in use.

On the island of Hawaii there is a vast belt of tropical forest, tree ferns 30 feet in height, with trunks 2 feet through, mangoes and every tropical fruit growing in marvelous profusion, with wild bananas and vines that grow only in a tropical climate. It is the most fertile soil in the world. These lands will be subjected to the cultivation of sugar, in my opin-

ion, under this provision. I see no reason why the present production of 500,000,000 pounds, enough to supply the people west of the Missouri River, shall not be increased to two or three billion pounds by Asiatic labor at \$12 a month. They can produce sugar for less than a cent and a half a pound, and I venture to say it can not be produced in Louisiana for less than $3\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound. They raise in Louisiana a ton and a half to the acre, as against 4 tons in these marvelously rich islands. In Louisiana they must pay American citizens and American laborers, but in Hawaii they employ contract slave labor—Asiatic labor.

In the Hawaiian Annual I find the following:

I see no reason, from present conditions of the sugar industry or from any outlook, to believe that it is not to continue to be the leading and profitable industry of these islands for years to come. With annexation there should a somewhat more extended cultivation of sugar cane be made possible by artesian wells and pumping plants; hence a larger output than at present; but I would not, at the same time, neglect any other industry that offered a fair return for the capital invested.

One can not doubt that the present prosperity of the islands is due almost wholly to its sugar industry. Contrast, if you please, the condition of the whole country in 1860 and now.

So I say, Mr. President, that there is no doubt, after investigating these islands—and I visited nearly every one of them—that the sugar industry there can be increased to at least four times its present dimensions; and, if that is done, there is no possible hope for the beet-sugar industry of this country. It is the death knell of an industry which has already attracted the attention of our people and caused the investment of millions of dollars.

I want to say in this connection that it is the beet-sugar people who are opposing annexation, if there is any lobby here whatever. I have met people who are engaged in the production of beet sugar in Nebraska and in California, and I do not blame those people for doing what they can to protect from ruin a productive vocation in which they have invested large sums of money; but that they are not using money to

influence this contest is proved conclusively by the fact that they have not a newspaper in this city advocating their cause. You say the newspapers are too good. They prove that they are not.

MR. CAFFERY: I ask the Senator from South Dakota to permit me at this point to suggest to him that the American Sugar Refining Company imports only raw cane sugar, unless it is for the purpose of filling a temporary vacuum in their supply of that article; that they control the markets of the world as to raw sugar, and of course control the price of raw sugar. So little beet sugar is being raised in the United States. They thereby control the price of both. Is it not manifest that if the home production of beet sugar ever attains the proportion of supplying the home demand, the sugar trust will have to loosen its grasp upon the markets of the United States; and that, therefore, the more raw cane sugar they can control and bring into the United States free of duty, the greater will be their grasp upon the home market for their refined article?

MR. PETTIGREW: There is no question about that, Mr. President. On the contrary, it is absolutely true, and they know it, that if the beet-sugar industry grows so as to supply the market of the United States, their business is gone forever, for a beet-sugar factory makes refined sugar.

What does the sugar trust do? It refines raw sugar. Where? Along the coast, in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, perhaps in Maryland, and up in Maine. Every one of the refinery companies in those States and all the representatives of those States are in favor of annexation. Did you ever hear of their abandoning the interests of the sugar trust in any contest? No; and they have not done so in this. The sugar trust, residing as it does and having all its stock held in those States, is enabled to command the vote even of those who might be opposed to annexation. What nonsense to talk about the sugar trust being opposed to annexation when every vote which represents their side and their interest is in favor of annexation! I am tired of this talk about the sugar trust's opposition to annexation.

Mr. President, when I offered an amendment to the last tariff bill striking off the eighth of a cent extra duty on refined sugar, which had been imposed purely and absolutely in the interest of the sugar trust, known by everybody to be a trust, I did not get a vote for my amendment from the States where the sugar trust is located. They knew, and the sugar trust knew, that if the beet-sugar industry of the West supplied the people of this country with sugar their factories would become silent, refining by them will be at an end, and this infamous and odious corrupter of men would be out of business. Beet sugar is what they fear. Cane sugar, as I said before, requires remelting. Beet sugar can be made refined sugar by one continuous process, the beets going in at one end of the factory and coming out refined, white, granulated sugar at the other end of the factory in eighteen hours. That is the process the sugar trust fears. But if this annexation is accomplished, if Hawaiian sugar continues to come in free, it will be the end of the beet-sugar industry in this country.

But you say the Hawaiian Islands will not produce enough to compete with the beet sugar of the United States. This same controversy was up before. In 1876, when this treaty was adopted, some one objected that if we remitted duties to the amount of 2 cents a pound the sugar industry would grow upon these islands enormously. The friends of the treaty in 1876 took this position, and I will read from the majority report on the Hawaiian treaty, March 2, 1876, page 1419, volume 4, part 2, first session Forty-fourth Congress.

When the treaty of 1876 was made, it was objected that it remitted the duty upon Hawaiian sugar, and that this sugar, coming in free of duty, would supplant the production of sugar in this country and result in an enormous loss of revenue to the Treasury. This presentation of the case was urged by the opponents of the treaty of 1876, but without avail, for the reason that the friends of the treaty—those who advocated the measure—made statements which were apparently unanswerable. They predicted that the sugar industry could never grow in the Hawaiian Islands to more than 135,000,000 pounds a year; and that was the wildest dream of any dreamer.

The assurance was that the Hawaiians were producing 23,000,000 pounds at that time and never would produce over 50,000,000 pounds, and therefore the loss of revenue could be only slight, and it would not interfere with the production of sugar from beets in the West.

I am going to read these predictions because the same statement is now made. Fifty millions, they told us, was all that ever could be produced; and yet last year the islands produced 500,000,000 pounds and shipped it to the United States. Five hundred million pounds is ten times as great as the production predicted by the friends of the treaty when it was made.

I say, then, it is within the bounds of reason to say, after visiting these islands, that the present production of sugar within the next ten years will increase to four times its present amount, and that, instead of 500,000,000 pounds, they will ship to this country 2,000,000,000 pounds; and that means the absolute destruction of the beet-sugar industry in the United States.

Do our laborers favor this treaty? Not a labor organization in the United States favors it. Do our farmers favor this treaty of annexation? I have heard of none. A special interest favors the Hawaiian and American sugar trust, and the President of the United States falls into line because he wishes his name to go down in history as having acquired territory. That is a craze which has seized more than one President. A great President will go down in history anyhow, but a small President can simulate greatness only when his name is transmitted to posterity along with a piece of land added to the area of the country. So great Presidents are not annexationists and little Presidents are.

I am going to read the predictions. This is the majority report of the Committee on the Hawaiian Treaty, March 2, 1876, page 1419, volume 4, part 2, first session Forty-fourth Congress:

Importations of Sugar from Hawaii

	Pounds
1873.....	14,808,000
1874.....	13,574,000
1875.....	17,888,000

It is not possible that Hawaiian sugar can ever find its way to the Atlantic States—

And yet in 1896, 49,000 tons of Hawaiian sugar found their way direct to the port of New York—

The cost of transportation would exclude it; nor can there be fear of any great increase in the production of this sugar, in view of the steadily diminishing population of the islands.

From the time we offered a bonus of 2 cents a pound more than the total cost of sugar, the population of the island began to increase by leaps and bounds, not through the acquisition of American toilers, but by accessions of Asiatic laborers.

It has been said that the United States will surely have this trade, if they do nothing to encourage it.

This is an entire mistake, for production must diminish and trade lessen by the impoverished condition of the people, or they will be compelled to make commercial relations with some other country.

That is the report of the majority of the committee of the House of Representatives in favor of the treaty of 1876, by which sugar was admitted free of duty. They said it was impossible for the industry to increase, and we would lose the trade by an impoverishment of the people if we did not give them this reciprocity treaty, as they called it; and yet under the treaty our trade has fallen off since 1891, the population has increased, and the trade with Asiatic countries has doubled.

Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, who was the chief advocate of this treaty in the Senate in 1876, said, as appears by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Appendix, page 154, first session Forty-fourth Congress:

The consumption of sugar on the Pacific coast in 1873, or rather on that part of the Pacific coast supplied from San Francisco, Cal., and Portland, Ore., was 75,005,005 pounds, while of this amount but little in excess of one-fifth, or 15,743,146 pounds, came from the Sandwich Islands, although this constituted two-thirds of the whole sugar production of the islands for that year, the whole amount being little in excess of 23,000,000 pounds. So that, even should the amount of sugar consumed on the Pacific coast annually not increase from year to year, which is far wide of the actual fact, it would be necessary that the annual production of the islands should be increased over four-

fold, and in addition to this that, instead of our coast getting but two-thirds it should get every pound of that production in order that the demand of the Pacific coast alone should be met; and until this is done and a surplus remains to force its way into the free ports of the Atlantic or the Gulf, how, I would inquire, would the sugar interests of this country be affected?

But, Mr. President, this is not all. It is a fact that must be borne in mind that the annual increase in the consumption of sugar on the Pacific coast each year above the preceding is in itself almost equal in amount to the present importations to the ports of that coast from the Sandwich Islands. In the year 1862 the amount consumed was, or rather the total amount of importations was, 62,861,460 pounds, while in the year 1873, the year following, it was 75,007,005 pounds—

I think the other date must be 1872, although the print is 1862—

or an excess of 12,145,545 pounds, while during the past year the importations were still greater in proportion. The Secretary of the Treasury, in speaking of this large annual increase and of the probable effect of this treaty on the interest and revenues of the Government, says—

I call special attention to the fact that they had the Secretary of the Treasury in as a witness then as now. Whenever the Administration wants to do anything its Secretaries are always brought forward to bolster up the cause, and they always give that which is necessary in order to sustain the argument. We have now the testimony of the Secretary of Agriculture in relation to the beet-sugar industry, and then we have this statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, and let us see how far it is borne out by the facts:

This increasing importation and consumption, therefore, causes the question to stand not so much as one of diminution of present revenues, but rather as a check to their increase to the extent of the importation of sugar and other dutiable articles made free. The lack of natural facilities for developing the production of sugar in the islands embraced in the treaty would keep down the future proportions of this check.

Senator Mitchell proceeds:

"But," says the Southern planter who has not informed himself properly on the subject, and who is perhaps somewhat befogged by

interested and wild statements of the sugar refiners, "throw your American ports open to the producers of the islands and the annual productions will soon increase to 150,000,000 pounds, an amount more than necessary to supply the demands of the people of the Pacific States and Territories." This, Mr. President, I deny: and one principal reason why I deny it is because it is a physical impossibility, besides there are many reasons of minor importance abundantly forcible to sustain my position. I will proceed to show why it is a physical impossibility.

Now, let us see. The opponents of the treaty which proposed to admit Hawaiian sugar free of duty said that the production would grow to 150,000,000 pounds, and they were ridiculed and were told that they were interested in the sugar refiners, just as we are now, and the friends of the treaty undertook to show then that it was physically impossible. What are the facts? The importation of sugar from Hawaii, instead of increasing to 150,000,000 pounds, increased to 500,000,000 pounds last year. The enemies of the treaty in 1876 predicted that enough would be imported to supply the people of the Western States and Territories, and last year they imported enough to supply the States and Territories west of the Missouri River.

Senator Mitchell goes on to say:

According to the uniform statement of historians, supported by the census tables of the Hawaiian Government, the whole area of tillable and grazing lands on all the islands does not exceed 500,000 acres—

On the contrary, it is more than 2,500,000 acres—

and of this amount not over 100,000 acres, at the very most, are susceptible of sugar cultivation, while a portion of this area is so destitute of water and means of irrigation as to render its profitable cultivation extremely problematical. To-day the whole number of acres in sugar cultivation is only about 23,000, producing on an average about 1,000,000 pounds to every 1,000 acres. It therefore follows that if every foot of soil on the island capable of producing sugar were put in cultivation, the production would fall far short of the estimate made by the refiners and would not exceed even then the amount in pounds that will be consumed the present year on the Pacific coast alone.

But how improbable is the statement that the annual production of the islands will be doubled even during the next seven years, the limit

of the proposed treaty. Where is the labor to come from sufficient to work such a revolution in the production of these islands? . . . Or will the simple release from the payment of an annual duty of less than \$400,000 be sufficient to work such a revolution in the industry and material prosperity of these islands so as to increase its productions to any very appreciable amount? The idea is preposterous and can not be sustained by either facts or argument.

This was what was said in answer to the prediction of the Louisiana sugar producers that the production of sugar in the islands would increase under the treaty so as to endanger their industry. They were ridiculed; they were charged with being in with the refiners, and yet the facts are that their prediction was less than one-third of the fact. The facts are that while they said the production would grow from 23,000,000 to 150,000,000 pounds, it has grown from 23,000,000 pounds to 500,000,000 pounds a year, and it will continue to grow with Asiatic labor, and the purchases of goods from this country will continue to fall off just in proportion as the increase in sugar continues.

Senator Booth, in the United States Senate, March 18, 1875, page 160 of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Appendix, first session Forty-fourth Congress, said:

Their [Hawaiian Islands] exports to the United States in 1874 amounted in round numbers to a million dollars, of which sugar constituted something more than nine-tenths in value. The entire production of sugar in the islands in that year was about 28,000,000 pounds, of which the United States received more than one-half. Under the existing tariff 14,000,000 pounds of "Sandwich Island sugar" would pay an average of 3 cents per pound, and the loss to the Treasury by admitting it duty free would be \$420,000; but under the provisions of the treaty we should receive the entire crop of the islands, and the loss next year would be \$840,000.

Last year it was \$7,500,000. No wonder there has been an unequal distribution of wealth in this country. No wonder great fortunes are built up when legislation—legislation, pure and simple—has taken \$78,000,000 out of the pockets of the American people within the last twenty years and put it into the pockets of those interested in sugar planting in Hawaii. What we ought to do is to abrogate the treaty of 1875, leave

the islands to govern themselves, and collect the \$7,500,000 of duty a year from their sugar, and if necessary use the money to protect our coasts, use it to encourage our merchant marine, use it to build a navy instead of giving it to the missionary sugar planters of Hawaii.

Senator Booth continues:

It was admitted and even argued by the Senator from Maine, Mr. Hamlin, in support of the treaty that the production of the islands at their maximum capacity bore so small a proportion to the consumption in the United States that its admission duty free would not influence the price of sugar in our markets. Last year the Hawaiians supplied us with less than 1 per cent of our entire consumption, and under the most favorable circumstances could not send us more than 6 per cent. Last year the consumption of sugar in the United States was 1,600,000,000 pounds, and the estimated annual increase is 30,000,000 pounds. I believe this argument of the Senator is correct, and that this proportion would be found true even if our importation from the islands should exceed the largest estimate.

Even the opponents of the treaty were overcome by the constant statements that the production of sugar could not increase in the islands. Yet it did increase more than forty-fold under the stimulus of the treaty, until it has grown to 500,000,000 pounds a year.

The commissioners who represent the Hawaiian Government estimate the probable production at 50,000,000 pounds, and certain gentlemen in San Francisco who are familiar with the subject estimate it at 135,000,000 pounds. The average annual production during the seven years this treaty is to continue would certainly not be less than 50,000,000 pounds, and the annual loss to our Treasury \$1,500,000 (I think it would be much more), without any advantage to consumers.

It is suggested that by creating a demand for American capital, enterprise, and labor, in extending our protective tariff over Sandwich Island sugar, an immigration will be drawn to the islands from the United States which will eventually control the Hawaiian Government; that an American colony will be first established in sentiment, afterwards in fact. If the limitations placed upon the capacity of the islands to produce sugar by the supporters of this treaty, when they estimate loss of revenue, are correct, this colony would be far too small to accomplish any such purpose.

Mr. Booth was entirely right. The argument in favor of the treaty was that it would stimulate American labor, that it would send Americans to those islands to produce sugar. Several hundred went there after the treaty was made, but to-day not one single American laborer of any sort is employed upon any sugar plantation in those islands. There are fewer American citizens in each thousand of the population to-day than in 1876. The American colony did not grow. It did not become large enough to take control of the Government. It is true that it secured control, but it accomplished that feat by the landing of the marines from our battleship, by the landing of armed men, by the overthrow of the Government by the armed forces of the United States; and control has been maintained from that day to this by the armed force of the United States.

Not a day since that Government was set up by us has there been absent from the harbor an American battleship with shotted guns bearing directly on the city, commanding its public buildings and public streets, overawing its people. When the war broke out, Hawaii could not declare neutrality because our ship would have been compelled to vacate the harbor, and they dared not have it leave. They had to keep it there in order to maintain them in their power, in order to maintain them in their usurpation. I should like to know what Senators think of overthrowing a friendly government by the arms of the United States and then setting up a puppet to treat with and assuming title against the will of the inhabitants without consulting them.

These facts, if nothing else, ought to make the American people turn their backs upon this whole scheme. Suppose a few filibusters, two or three hundred men, American citizens, went down to Venezuela, created a disturbance; that three or four of our great war ships were in that harbor, and that at the request of those men they would land United States forces, land their Gatling gun, land their marines, put up our flag, and overthrow and overturn the government. Would the people, would you, would any other honest man, would any Senator under such circumstances take the title to that coun-

try? And yet that is exactly what we have done in Hawaii.

I challenge contradiction. No wonder the friends of annexation refuse to talk. No wonder they dare not enter this debate. I say here, and it is unchallenged and it will be undisputed, that we overturned the friendly Hawaiian Government by landing the armed forces of the United States; that the revolutionists had no troops, not one, not a gun; that they read their pretended constitution right under the guns and within 75 yards of the armed forces of the United States, and that when they had done it the Queen surrendered to the Government of the United States and said she would submit the question to Washington; that we then have treated with our puppets, treated with the men we set up and maintained by the force of arms for the title to the Queen's country and the country of her people, although seven-eighths of them are opposed to this scheme and opposed to annexation.

How dare you to vote for annexation in the face of these facts? They are facts which you are called upon to face before the American people. Our flag went up in dishonor and came down in honor on the Hawaiian Islands, and if we plant it there again, under the circumstances, it goes up in infamy and in shame and we join the ranks of the robber nations of the world. Some other nation might treat with this Government which has been maintained by us for five years, but in good morals we can not treat with it unless we submit the proposition of annexation to a vote of the people of those islands. I shall offer an amendment to the joint resolution providing that every native-born Hawaiian and every person naturalized under the Hawaiian law shall first have a chance to register his vote for or against the joint resolution before the islands shall be annexed to the United States; and I expect you will go to see the President and find out what he wants you to do, and then vote it down, and more brigadier-generals will be appointed.

The Secretary of the Treasury, March 2, 1876, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1423, volume 4, part 2, first session Forty-fourth Congress, says:

The effect on the revenue of admitting the articles named in the schedule free of duty is first to remit the amount levied on sugar. At 2 cents per pound it amounts to \$320,345. This is the average for three years ending with 1873.

Should the sugar product so released increase to 25,000,000 pounds yearly, the export trade would probably equal it in value.

Congressman Wood, in the House, March 2, 1876, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1423, volume 4, part 2, first session Forty-fourth Congress, said:

When they go further and estimate a much larger probable loss by predicting an increase of the population so as to raise, as they say, an aggregate of 50,000,000 tons of sugar, my reply is, those islands can not produce it. The population has decreased from 400,000 in 1779 to less than 50,000, including 6,000 foreigners, in 1875. No sugar can be produced except by the manual labor of the natives of those islands—

Yet to-day there is scarcely a pound of sugar produced by the natives. It is produced by Asiatics. Twenty-three thousand laborers—all Asiatics except about 1,584, who are natives—are employed upon these plantations—

. . . and gentlemen are frightened at this product of a handful of starving natives lest it may interfere with the revenues of this nation.

These were the predictions made when this improvident and unwise treaty was under consideration.

Congressman Morrison, March 6, 1876, page 1491, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 2, first session Forty-fourth Congress, said:

The duties imposed on the import of such sugars as the Sandwich Islands are likely to send to the United States will be about 2½ cents per pound, which will be equivalent to a bounty of about 50 per cent on the average market price at Honolulu. . . . The area of arable land in the islands is limited. The Sandwich Islands commissioners think the product can not be increased beyond 50,000,000 pounds per annum.

Of course the commissioners who were here to secure the treaty made all sorts of predictions, and they are here again in the same interest, making the same predictions, that the sugar

industry can not increase; and yet if it does not increase, the loss is seven and a half million dollars a year to the United States.

Senator Booth states on authority of California experts that the product can be pushed to 135,000,000 pounds per annum. Mr. Nordhoff says there is room for about seventy-five to eighty more plantations on the scale now common, or about three times as many as now exist. It is therefore reasonable to assume that an import of at least 50,000,000 pounds, on which the United States will give a bounty and suffer a reduction of revenue from sugar to the extent of \$1,200,000, may be anticipated. . . . The import of Sandwich Islands sugar is only about 1 per cent of the consumption of the United States. It can never exceed 5 or 6 per cent of our consumption.

Even the enemies did not anticipate seven and a half million dollars a year of remitted duties. I tried to have the treaty abrogated in 1893, when the Wilson bill was pending, and to collect duties on the sugar. I tried again in 1897, when the Dingley bill was being considered. I tried it when the McKinley bill was pending, but the Senate always refused, for some reason, to levy a duty on Hawaiian sugar.

Mr. President, I have shown that when this treaty was made in 1876, by which we admitted Hawaiian sugar free, the wildest prediction as to the production was 150,000,000 pounds, and that prediction was made by the enemies of the treaty. I have shown that the friends, those who were advocating the admission of the islands, insisted that it could never exceed 50,000,000 pounds. I now propose to put into the RECORD as a part of my remarks a letter from the Treasury Department, dated May 17, 1896, showing the gradual growth of the production in and importation of sugar from Hawaii:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1896.

SIR: In response to your communication of the 14th instant to the Treasury Department, referred to this office, I transmit to you herewith reports showing the imports of sugar into the United States, by grades, from 1884 to 1896, and the amount of duty paid thereon; also a report showing our trade with the Hawaiian Islands, our imports therefrom

and exports thereto, showing separately the imports of sugar, covering the series of years named in your letter.

Respectfully, yours,

J. N. WHITNEY,

Acting Chief of Bureau.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,
United States Senate.

Table showing the quantity and value of sugar imported into the United States from the Hawaiian Islands during the years ending June 30, 1877 to 1896, inclusive.

Year	Dutch standard in color	
	Pounds	Value
1877.....	30,642,081	\$2,108,473
1878.....	30,368,328	2,274,430
1879.....	41,693,069	2,811,193
1880.....	61,556,324	4,135,487
1881.....	76,909,207	4,927,021
1882.....	106,181,858	6,918,048
1883.....	114,132,670	7,340,033
1884.....	125,148,680	7,108,292
1885.....	169,652,783	8,198,144
1886.....	191,733,175	9,166,826
1887.....	218,290,835	9,255,351
1888.....	228,540,513	10,260,048
1889.....	243,324,683	12,078,518
1890.....	224,457,011	11,549,828
1891.....	79,657,426	2,826,244
1892.....	262,612,405	7,442,047
1893.....	{ Free....	288,517,929
	{ Dutiable	1,035,600
1894.....	{ Free....	324,726,584
	{ Dutiable	1,848,000
1895.....	{ Free....	274,219,828
	{ Dutiable	165,400
1896.....	352,175,269	11,336,796
1897.....	496,175,000	15,336,000
Total.....	3,998,000,000	170,302,000

I have added in my own figures the importations for 1897.

We have imported from those islands in the twenty-one years 3,998,000,000 pounds of sugar, upon which we have remitted duties to the amount of \$78,000,000.

I am of the opinion that if the Hawaiian Islands are annexed, they will produce most of the sugar used by the people of the United States and that the annexation of these islands means the destruction of the growing beet-sugar industry in this country. It means the turning over to Asiatic labor the production of \$100,000,000 worth of sugar, that being the value of the sugar consumed by the people of the United States each year. It means an abandonment of the theory of protection, upon which the Republican party is founded and to which it owns its being.

But what more? While New England Senators will vote without hesitation for the destruction of the beet-sugar industry, what effect will it have upon their manufacturing industry? The Hawaiian Islands are in the Tropics. The Japanese laborer is a tropical laborer. He is a Malay. He is an artist. He is industrious. He can toil under a tropical sun. You can employ him for 20 cents a day as a skilled laborer, and from that to 30, never more. You can employ the men at from 20 to 30 cents a day and the women at from 8 to 20 cents a day. They are great manufacturers. I visited woolen mills and cotton mills in Ozaka, Japan, as great as any in this country. There are within 100 miles of Ozaka 16,000,000 Japanese. In that city there are 5,000 modern factories. They can produce everything that we can just as well as we can do it, and they are doing it to-day.

Annex these islands, and I advise any man who has money to purchase a woolen mill at once and start for Hawaii, import his labor from Japan, import his wool from Australia, and make woolen goods in competition with New England by labor worth from 20 to 30 cents a day, labor as good as theirs, labor as skillful. I visited a woolen mill in Ozaka last summer that employed 350 people. It was a modern mill; it had the latest possible improved machinery. They were

making as good woolen goods as were ever made anywhere in the United States.

A man can take \$100,000 and go to Hawaii, if this resolution is adopted, and make \$100,000 a year. He can double it every twelve months with Asiatic labor. He will pay duty on his wool, but he will pay one-third for labor—and that is the principal cost the New England manufacturer has to pay—and drive the New England manufacturer out of the market. The freight charge from Hawaii to New York is only \$5 a ton. You can get all the ships you want. That is what they pay for carrying sugar around the Horn, and that is what they would pay for carrying manufactured goods and landing them right at the door of the New England mills. It would bankrupt every one of them.

What limit can there be where there are 45,000,000 people to draw from in Japan? The Japanese will go to this island because it is in the Tropics, where people wear but little clothing, and it is adapted to the food they eat. There are 25,000 there already, and those who go will be drawn thither by kindred and friends. If you can put up a woolen mill, you can put up any other mill you choose, and where is your theory of protection?

Oh, I suppose the next cry will be, "On to the Philippines!" and you will take in 8,000,000 of Malays. But I shall not enlarge upon this subject. At a later time in this debate I shall go fully into the question of Asiatic competition. It is pertinent to this issue. I shall show what I saw in China and Japan, and the wages they pay and the goods they are turning out.

I do not know but New England has reached the point Old England has reached. Old England is interested, not in her manufacturers, but in her money lenders. Perhaps New England has reached a point where she is willing to sacrifice her laborers and live on her interest money, on her dividends on stocks, on her manipulation of the lines of transportation and accumulated capital. I half suspect it. The creditor never cares what becomes of the laborer. England cares not that her industries perish so she can maintain the gold

standard and her creditors can thereby reap more and more of an unearned increment. Perhaps New England has reached that point. Perhaps that is the cause of her indifference in regard to these questions, which certainly must encroach terribly upon her industries. * * *

Some have questioned the possibility of the production of beet sugar successfully in this country. Beet sugar was first produced in Germany in the latter part of the last century. France soon followed, but the industry did not prosper until Napoleon, desirous of making France independent, began giving large bounties to beet-sugar growers, which stimulated the industry so that improved methods were introduced, and, between 1815 and 1828, 103 factories were built in France, which produced 3,375 tons in 1828. In 1868 the production in France was 152,475 tons. Higher duties were producing their effect, and the next year there was produced 266,922 tons, an increase of 75 per cent. In 1879 the product was 370,000 tons; in 1889, 466,000 tons; in 1896, 780,000 tons. Tariff and bounty on exports have produced these results.

Germany has made greater progress than France, and this was caused by her system of bounties and rebates, and her production amounts to over 1,000,000 tons per annum.

Austria produces 900,000 tons, and pays \$3,640,000 in bounties. All European countries give small bounties to beet-sugar producers, and the result shows the wisdom of their course.

In 1879 the total product of beet sugar in Europe was 1,558,000 tons; in 1884, 2,360,000 tons; in 1889, 2,785,000 tons; in 1896, 4,675,000 tons.

We use 2,000,000 tons of sugar in the United States, and pay about \$100,000,000 annually for it. We should produce every pound of that product in the United States.

I have read these figures of the growth of this industry in Europe to show that we can produce from beets all the sugar used in this country if we will pursue a protective policy. I shall now briefly show what we have done in this direction:

Statement showing beet sugar production in California, 1888 to 1898, inclusive.

Year	Beets		Sugar produced
	Acreage	Price	
		<i>Cents</i>	<i>Tons</i>
1888.....	2,100	4.83	1,460
1889.....	2,735	4.75	2,457
1890.....	4,220	4.50	3,530
1891.....	4,192	4.95	4,036
1892.....	9,308	5	10,948
1893.....	12,391	5	17,512
1894.....	18,687	4.50	19,752
1895.....	17,165	4.13	24,000
1896.....	21,910	4	32,278
1897.....	29,060	4	*35,000
1898.....	78,500	.....	*90,000

* Estimated.

I contend that if the Hawaiian Islands are annexed and Asiatic labor is allowed to compete there will be no more factories built, and that those which are in operation will become unprofitable, because as the production of sugar in Hawaii approaches American consumption competition must wipe out the beet-sugar industry. The fact that they produce in Hawaii to-day enough to supply all the people west of the Missouri River, where all the beet sugar is produced, already menaces that industry and must result in its ruin, because that region, being nearest to Hawaii, is the region in which they will most effectively compete. They can sell the sugar in that country below the cost of producing it from beets and ultimately ruin the industry.

I ask the Secretary to read a very interesting letter on this subject with regard to the production of beets in California, written by Mr. Howard, who is president of the Alameda Sugar Company, of California. I requested him to write

me this letter and give me the facts contained therein. The letter is dated May 18, 1897.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. HANSBROUGH in the chair): The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

ALAMEDA SUGAR COMPANY,

No. 132 Market Street, San Francisco, May 18, 1897.

DEAR SIR: Having been interested during the past ten years in the oldest beet-sugar factory in the country, one which remains independent of the sugar trust, and, in competition therewith, manufactures white sugar and sells direct to the consumer, we beg respectfully to submit a few considerations upon tariff and annexation.

Let us dismiss for the moment the many-sided issues with which these questions have been designedly obscured.

There are two gigantic sugar trusts. The one has monopolized 70 per cent of our total refining trade; the other, helped by coolie contract labor and the productiveness of its soil, produces the cheapest sugar in the world.

These two monopolies soon found a *modus vivendi* by which to divide the great spoil offered by our National Legislature in granting free entry to Hawaiian sugar.

The basis they agreed upon was, say, one-fifth to the American trust and four-fifths to the Hawaiian trust. The spirit of this exemption was that the Pacific coast might enjoy cheaper sugar, while, in point of fact, this intended benefit has inured solely to these two trusts.

In further evidence, by their last contract the trust pays the planter "the New York price, less one-fourth cent per pound," which price always includes all duty.

Thus in 1896 they divided as follows, viz:

To the sugar trust (one-fourth cent on 227,000 tons)	\$1,135,000
To the Hawaiian planter (about)	5,000,000

For reasons inscrutable to the public these two sugar trusts are to-day in apparent open hostility. The contract under which they have conspired to fleece the American people expires this year of 1897, and it is stated that the American sugar trust will not renew upon the same terms, but insists upon a greater share in the division of the yearly spoil.

This American sugar trust is an association of American citizens—wholesale grocers and capitalists.

The Hawaiian sugar trust is largely composed of German and of English capital as well as of what was once American capital, but which, having now sought investment beyond our borders and thus escaped our taxation, is no longer American capital, but foreign capital, equally with its German and English associates.

The sugar trust of America at least gives employment to some American labor and pays some tax to the American Government; but the Hawaiian sugar trust receives everything, but gives nothing in return. The whole value of their imports from us does not equal one-half the duty yearly remitted by the United States.

The sugar trust of America, being a national industry, is entitled to a reasonable protection.

The labor which this sugar trust employs in refining only bears to the labor necessary to produce from the ground up the nation's sugar the ratio of $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 38.

As a labor proposition to America the comparison is as follows, viz:

Hawaiian sugar	minus..	36 $\frac{2}{3}$
Sugar trust (refining).....	plus..	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
Native-grown sugar	plus..	38

or, reckoning by the known figures of beet-sugar production, these 227,000 tons of Hawaiian cooly-made sugar now yearly displace the best product of 165,000 acres of American land and rob 10,750 American farmers of their most profitable crop. But the American people are to-day awakening to the fact that at last they can be freed from the domination of both of these trusts, and in the promise of a new and rising industry the dignity of American labor sees its coming deliverance.

In 1875 the Hawaiian Islands raised 16,000 tons of sugar; in 1896 it exported 227,000 tons. In 1875 no native sugar was made on the Pacific coast. In 1897 California alone will produce upward of 50,000 tons, while the whole consumption is but 75,000 tons.

There will remain, therefore, a scant 25,000 tons to be supplied, and this balance will be more than supplied in 1898 by new factories now in actual construction.

A charitable fund is being solicited in San Francisco and has reached the sum of \$30,644.41 for building an unnecessary boulevard, in order to provide work for the idle, while we are giving away our birth-right, namely, the right to labor for and to supply our own markets.

The Hawaiian bureau, organized in San Francisco to influence legislation, sent the State Labor Commissioner, E. L. Fitzgerald, to those islands to report in their favor. The San Francisco *Bulletin*, in its issue of May 12, has the following, viz:

"Labor Commissioner Fitzgerald returned to-day from Honolulu with every assurance that a market for American labor will surely be opened there in the very near future. . . . A very large majority of the planters have pledged me their word that they will employ American laborers as fast as room can be made for them on the several plantations."

Alas! and has America sunk so low? Is our beloved country now compelled to deport her own citizens to beg work from Hawaii and take the place of coolly labor at "\$3 per month and found," instead of working for fair wages at home?

The population of the eight Hawaiian Islands numbers 109,020. Of these 24,407 are Japanese, 21,616 are Chinese, 15,191 are Portuguese, 39,504 are Hawaiians, leaving a balance of only 8,202, and of these about 3,500 are from America. "This census indicates the class of people who are being favored at the expense of the white farmers of California," and for which heterogeneous population, 2,100 miles away, these sugar monopolists are now seeking annexation in order to accomplish the perpetuation of their privileges.

Among disinterested well-informed people in San Francisco there is a well-grounded belief that the recent attempt to create excitement over Japanese naval intervention in Hawaii is only another clever scheme of these would-be Hawaiian sugar annexationists.

We are not opposed to a reciprocity treaty so far as to grant them "the most-favored-nation clause," but we do not see how other sugar-producing nations of the first class and their dependencies may not justly feel aggrieved if we grant a total exemption from duty. Is the name Hawaii a fetich, that no duty must be placed upon its product?

Were it not better to grant sugar bounty to some other country with whom our trade relations are undeniably reciprocal, rather than to Hawaii, where trade relations are so disproportioned?

The people of the United States are practically paying to Hawaiian sugar planters a bounty of \$30 per ton, when in 1894 they withdrew the same from their domestic sugar producers and broke faith with their own citizens.

The eight leading sugar-producing nations of Europe protect their home markets for their native industry to the extent of from 3.9 to 8.88 cents per pound.

The American sugar producer asks barely half this protection from Congress to-day. Let this reasonable protection be granted and no undue favoritism be shown to any Asiatic or other contract-labor product, and a new era will dawn upon America.

A more profitable crop than any we now raise will be found for 1,500,000 acres of land and direct employment at good wages created for at least 200,000 American workmen, while allied industries in every walk of life will receive new impetus and upward of \$100,000,000 be yearly saved to the national exchequer.

Very respectfully,

J. L. HOWARD, *President*,
JAMES COFFIN, *Secretary*.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MR. PETTIGREW: We had hoped, when the McKinley bill passed in 1890 giving a bounty of 2 cents a pound upon beet sugar, that that industry would grow and flourish in the United States, and that the day was not distant when the States of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and the States west of those States to the Pacific Ocean would be the scene of a great industry, producing \$100,000,000 worth of sugar per year. That hope was badly blighted by the enactment of the Wilson law of 1893, which repealed the bounty and placed a slight duty upon sugar, but not sufficient to materially stimulate the industry. Between 1890 and 1893 many beet-sugar factories were built in that region, two in Nebraska, and very many more were contemplated. But the Wilson tariff law checked the industry.

However, when we passed the Dingley Act last year and increased the duties upon sugar, we hoped this industry would increase, but owing to Hawaiian competition we now see that it is bound to be absolutely ruined and destroyed. We had supposed that the stories they had told us with regard to the limit of production in Hawaii were true. We now find that they were not true. Hawaiian production increased from 1895 to 1897 from 350,000,000 pounds to 500,000,000 pounds. The same increase must supply the country where beet sugar is now produced through all time to come. We believe that increase is imminent, and therefore those who attempt to produce beet sugar in this country must surrender, if the pending resolution passes and the Hawaiian Islands are annexed. There is no getting around it; and every man from sugar-producing Western States who votes for this resolution deliberately, with his eyes open, with the facts undisputed, votes to destroy the beet-sugar industry in his country. There is no getting around it, no chance to avoid it, and no chance to plead ignorance.

In 1876, when we adopted this treaty and remitted the duties on Hawaiian sugar, a Senator could escape the charge that he intended to destroy the American sugar industry, because the friends and foes alike of the treaty claimed that it was not possible to produce more than 150,000,000 pounds

of sugar in Hawaii, and it was generally conceded that they could not produce over 50,000,000 pounds; but now the facts are undisputed and stare us in the face that the islands have produced 500,000,000 pounds and with every prospect of their being able to produce four times as much; and I believe they can, because I examined those coffee lands in that broad belt from the ocean up the side of Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea, on the Island of Hawaii, now covered with dense tropical forests, partially planted with coffee, and they will, in my opinion, successfully grow sugar, every acre, and while it is broken land and the fields can not be large, the profit is so enormous, owing to the duty we remitted and the Asiatic labor they employ, that they can afford to cultivate sugar on fields but a few acres in extent, and they can afford to till the soil by hand, and spade it up with a spade, for the remitted duties alone on the crop of the Ewa plantation last year amounted to over \$300 an acre, and they produced 8 tons to the acre.

No wonder it is profitable, no wonder the industry so grows. I say every Senator who votes for this resolution votes with his eyes open, intending to destroy the beet-sugar industry of our country. I contend for that industry. I want to see it grow and thrive. I want to see sugar mills built in my State, but none will ever be built there if we annex Hawaii.

Mr. James Coffin, who is secretary of the Alameda Sugar Company, wrote me a letter furnishing certain facts with regard to the beet-sugar industry in California. I will send it to the desk and ask to have it read.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

ALAMEDA SUGAR COMPANY,

No. 132 Market Street, San Francisco, April 26, 1897.

DEAR SIR: The Alameda Sugar Company, an association of 65 American stockholders, with a paid-up capital of \$600,000, begs to present the following plea: Last year we manufactured 4,700 tons refined sugar from 3,500 acres, grown by 228 different farmers. This year we

expect 9,000 tons refined sugar from 6,600 acres, grown by 430 different farmers.

From the Hawaiian Islands, under the falsely called reciprocity treaty, there came in free of duty last year 227,000 tons of sugar.

This equals the product of twenty-five such factories as ours. These 227,000 tons displaced the most profitable product of 165,000 acres of land and robbed 10,750 American farmers of their most profitable crop.

The manual labor which these 10,750 American farmers would have employed in the intensive farming which the cultivation of the sugar beet requires is still another consideration.

The factory labor yet another.

To refine a ton of duty-free Hawaiian sugar requires the labor of one man for one and one-third days. To grow from the soil up and manufacture one ton of refined sugar requires the labor of one man for thirty-eight days.

This 227,000 tons of Hawaiian duty-free sugar yearly displaces in money value for factory labor, \$1,135,000; for farm labor and rentals, \$9,000,000; for limestone, \$400,000; for coal, \$1,500,000; for other supplies \$650,000.

The labor of allied industries, foundries, jute and cotton mills, etc., remains still to be reckoned on, and all this native labor displaced that a cooly-made contract labor product may thrive in a foreign island.

The three localities in California where the three beet-sugar factories are already established are the only really prosperous agricultural communities in that State to-day.

Domestic exports to Hawaii in 1895 were not so large as in 1883, less by nearly \$1,000,000 than in 1890, and less by over a million and a quarter than in 1891.

1883.....	\$3,683,000
1890.....	4,606,000
1891.....	4,935,000
1892.....	3,781,000
1895.....	3,648,000

In 1895-96 the value of Hawaiian sugar imported was over \$19,000,000, upon which the duty, at 40 per cent, would have been \$7,600,000.

For the sake of maintaining a foreign commerce of \$3,648,000, and in order that a few shipping houses of San Francisco may benefit by the trade and keep control of the large cash balances of Hawaiian planters, the nation at large must give up \$7,600,000 of revenue.

For the sake that coolies may work in a foreign climate which white labor can not stand, and where the white and dominant race forms

about 3 per cent only of the population, the laboring men of San Francisco now parade its streets calling for work, and a charitable fund aggregating \$25,000 is daily published in its newspapers, and is now being disbursed to an idle crowd who clamor for the tickets doled out to them in the order of application, and which entitle each to a day's work at \$1 per day upon an unnecessary boulevard.

Should a Coxey army again march on Washington and class ever be arrayed against class in our fair country, it will be because home labor is denied a right to work for its own market in order that foreign cooly labor may add to the wealth of a class now actively at work to influence national legislation in the perpetuation of their privileges.

The local agents of Hawaiian planters, without any possible accruing benefit to themselves and as mere retaliation against the producer of native sugar, are to-day so unpatriotic as to be collecting figures from native California sugar factories in order to produce them at Washington and support their claim that native sugar needs no protection. Whereas up to January 1, 1897, they knew that the Alameda Sugar Company had since 1889 paid out in dividends \$130,000 and received in bounty \$226,744.93, showing a loss without bounty of \$96,744.93.

Conditioned upon favorable legislation, within two years the 75,000 tons of sugar needed on the Pacific coast would be entirely made from the native product, and not a pound of this Hawaiian sugar would be required to supply the coast consumption.

The opposition to tariff legislation has always contended that tariffs were designed to aid manufacturers, trusts, and the moneyed class generally. The abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty is respectfully asked in the interest of the agricultural class and of native labor.

For the purpose of diverting attention from the main question of protecting the California farmer and the investments of American capital in an American industry the advocates of the continuance of Hawaiian reciprocity have recently begun the use of part of the California press in appealing to the prejudices of people on the ground of an admission that Claus Spreckels had sold a minority interest in his two beet-sugar factories to the American sugar trust. While this fact may be regarded by many as a misfortune, the fact remains that there are other sugaries uncontrolled by the sugar trust and the development of the industry on so large a scale will tend to the permanent benefit of the depressed agricultural interests of the State.

Let the example of California in the matter of beet sugar be imitated by the different States along the northern and temperate belt of our country and the multiplicity of factories would make the control of the industry by any concentrated power a commercial impossibility.

Very respectfully,

JAMES COFFIN.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,

Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, this letter is extremely interesting as bearing upon the production of beet sugar in California. The opinion therein expressed is unquestionably correct—that if the beet-sugar industry was encouraged it would grow, so that it would supply the American market; and Mr. Coffin says the sugar trust would be a thing of the past and its occupation gone.

We propose to strike down this sugar industry, and in this connection I am sorry that I am again obliged to allude to the platform of the Republican party. I am afraid I shall find not one plank that they ever intended or pretended to live up to. Here is the plank with regard to beet sugar:

PROTECTION OF BEET-SUGAR GROWERS.

We condemn the present Administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

They propose to annex the soil in order to comply with that plank, and then they can produce the sugar upon American soil. They did not tell the people of the Dakotas and the people of Nebraska in the last campaign that they proposed to do it in that way; that they would annex Hawaii and make it American soil and there produce our protected sugar. They made our people believe, and they talked it upon the stump everywhere, that by their tariff they were going to encourage the beet-sugar industry in those States. Now it turns out that the platform was cunningly worded, and that they intended simply to stimulate production on foreign soil and then annex the soil!

Here is McKinley's letter of acceptance. It reads as follows:

The Republican platform wisely declares in favor of such encouragement to our sugar interests as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use. . . .

Now he is trying to annex the soil.

Confidence in home enterprises has almost wholly disappeared. Our men are idle, and, while they are idle, men abroad are occupied in supplying us with goods. . . . It is not open mints which is the need of the time, but open mills for the employment of American workmen; . . . the establishment of a wise protective policy which shall encourage manufacturing at home.

He is at present engaged, in violation of his duties as President, in lobbying this measure through Congress, in violation of the spirit, if not the words, of the platform on which he was elected. His interest is its chief support, for there are no arguments to sustain this measure; nobody presents any argument, and nobody has any argument to present. I have been told that this measure would fall to the ground if it were not for the intense concern of the President in the matter.

We have heard a great deal about the coffee industry of Hawaii, and that we can not produce the coffee we use in this country if we do not annex the islands. I am going to show that they can not produce it in Hawaii; I am going to show it from their own works—from Thrum's Annual. They can produce some coffee, but here is a record of coffee production since 1877. I am going to put it in the RECORD, and any one who will examine it will conclude that they can not successfully produce coffee in that country. For instance, in 1877 they produced 170,379 pounds of coffee; in 1882, 3,008; in 1884, 950 pounds; in 1885, 3,786 pounds; in 1886, 2,748 pounds; in 1887, 2,875 pounds; in 1888, 3,680 pounds, and in 1895, 183,680 pounds—just a little more than they produced in 1877. * * *

What is the trouble? The trouble is that some insect destroys the crop, so that it is not safe to go into the business. The further trouble is a white mildew on the leaves of the plants. I asked planters if that was not injurious. They said, "Oh, no; it amounts to nothing;" but it appears that from 1877, when they produced 170,379 pounds of coffee, the production fell to nothing, and never exceeded 3,600 pounds up to 1888. Something destroyed the crop. They can not produce coffee successfully.

CHAPTER III

LABOR IN HAWAII

ALL¹ who consent to work in the Hawaiian Archipelago are virtually slaves, for they work under the laws of contract labor and can not leave their employer until the contract has expired. The laborer of Honolulu gets 30 cents a day and boards himself out of it. Besides the 40,000 natives there are 50,000 more of the most undesirable people in the world and about the most discouraging material to make a republic of—Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Polynesians, and unclassified hordes from the great Micronesian Ocean to the west, unable to read or write, and with little regard either for their own liberty or the liberty of others.

* * * * *

Why² is it that there were employed 84 Americans on sugar estates in 1895, and that none were so employed in 1896? Why is it they were discharged? Because the Japs do the work for \$12.50 a month, and the Americans get from \$50 to \$75 a month. So the American was not wanted. The men who talk so much of their love of country and the prospect of American laborers being imported to Hawaii discharged their American employees and filled their places with Asiatics.

I will show further that it appears that they discharged the German and British laborers, as well as the American laborers, and for the same reason; and yet they tell us an American community is going to grow up on those islands and American labor is going there to find employment!

It appears from the table that in 1895 there were 2,499

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

2. Speech in the Senate June 23, 1898.

Portuguese employed upon the sugar plantations, and in 1896, one year after, 2,268 were employed upon the sugar plantations. Why? They were discharged and their places were filled by Asiatic laborers, coming in under contract; and before I get through I will show what that contract is.

Of the Japanese there were 19,212 males in all the islands. In 1895, 11,584 were employed upon the sugar plantations, and in 1896, 12,893. That shows who took the places of the Europeans who had been previously employed. Of the Chinese there were 19,167 males upon the islands; and in 1895 there were employed of this number upon the sugar plantations 3,847; and the next year there were 6,289 Chinamen employed upon the sugar estates; and yet we are told about American people and American interests and American labor; and that is one of the arguments set forth by those advocating the acquisition of this "paradise of the Pacific," inhabited by the males of the human race!

Of South Sea Islanders there were, as will be seen by the table, 321, according to the census of 1896, upon all the islands. Of those 133 were employed upon the sugar estates in 1895 and 115 in 1896; of other nationalities 720 were by the census upon all the islands, and in 1895 there were 97 employed, and in 1896 600 were employed—an increase of laborers employed upon sugar plantations from 1895 to 1896 of 3,660.

This is a comment made by Mr. Joseph O. Carter; and I quote the figures from this same book, the Hawaiian Annual, that the American, British, and German people do not find estate work desirable, except as skilled laborers. The American farm hand would find estate work most uninviting.

The figures also prove that the sugar planters find it more profitable to import new laborers on three-years' contracts than to engage labor already on the ground, the reason being that the newcomer works for \$12.50 per month, while the old hand demands a higher wage.

The smaller percentage of Chinese laborers on estates is due to the fact that the Japanese is the cheaper man. Japanese

are coming in by every steamer from the Orient, and must continue to come or higher wages must prevail.

The number of laborers on sugar estates in 1896 (the year of the census) could not be procured at the Immigration Bureau, presumably because the figures would make a worse showing. I subsequently procured the figures from Thrum's Annual, which came out after that letter was written.

I have here a table showing the percentages:

In 1878 each thousand of the population was composed of the following elements: Natives, 835; Chinese, 102; Americans, 22; English, 15; Germans, 5, and other nationalities, 21. According to the census of this year the proportions are as follows—

This was in 1896—

The natives have decreased to 362; the Japanese, who did not appear separately in the earlier census, are now represented by 223—

The reason the Japanese do not appear in the census previous to 1878 was because they were not there when we made the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii and agreed to admit her sugar free in 1876, which stimulated the industry which has peopled those islands with Asiatics and not with Americans—

the Chinese have increased to 198; the Portuguese, another new element, have 139; the Americans have 28; the English, 20, and the Germans 13. As a result of the policy of protecting the foreign planters pursued by this country, the American population has increased less rapidly than any of the others, and the classes that are not likely ever to purchase American goods have increased out of all proportion to the others.

Now, let us see what kind of a population this is. We propose to adopt or accept along with these islands its national debt of \$4,000,000. One million two hundred thousand dollars of this national debt was incurred to encourage contract labor to go to the islands. Let us see what is the character of these contract laborers. This testimony which I shall read throws some light upon contract laborers:

Q. Suppose a "contract" laborer is idling in the field, what do you do?

A. We dock him; we give him only one-half or three-quarters of a day; and if he keeps it up, we resort to the law and have him arrested for refusing to work.

This is the Republic we are going to annex to our country, and this is a law under which that Republic exists! We fought one of the greatest wars of modern times to overthrow slavery. After having done that and having incurred a national debt of enormous proportions, we propose to add slavery to the great free Republic. This matter grows worse as you look into it.

Q. What do you accomplish by putting him in jail?

A. For the first offense he is ordered back to work, and he has to (eventually) pay the cost of court. If he refuses to obey orders, he is arrested again and a light fine is inflicted, which the planter can pay and take it out of his pay, or else he is put on the road to work. For the third offense he is likely to get three months imprisonment.

And that is a law of this so-called missionary Republic, and that will be one of the laws after our Hawaiian neighbors come into the United States, because we provide that their laws shall continue in force until we enact new laws. So we adopt slavery and all; and yet Senators are crazy to press this question in the midst of war, to take advantage of the patriotic sentiments of our people and restore slavery to this country.

These contracts provide for compelling the laborer to work faithfully by fines and damage suits brought by the planters against them, with the right on the part of the planter to deduct the damages and cost of suit out of the laborer's wages. They also provide for compelling the laborer to remain with the planter during the contract term. They are sanctioned by law and enforced by civil remedies and penal laws.—*Blount's report.*

Then this question is asked, and this is also a part of the testimony in Blount's report, which he took in investigating this subject:

Q. Those sugar planters who are declaring themselves in favor of "annexation," how do they look at the labor question in connection with "annexation"?

A. They think the United States will make a different law for the islands. If they could not get [cheap] labor, they don't want annexation.

Q. But they are satisfied they will get such legislation?

The proposition is to appoint a commission; and the same interest which was able to accomplish this reciprocity treaty, which has cost us \$72,000,000, has also been able to perpetuate and continue that treaty, thus plundering the taxpayers of our country of \$10,000,000 per annum, will be pretty nearly able to secure what they want.

Some one has said that the sugar trust is opposed to annexation. So far as I am concerned I should think there need be no fear of the opponents of annexation acting with the sugar trust, when the chief champions of the sugar trust in this body array themselves on that side of the question; and so long as they continue the fierce advocates of annexation I shall conclude that there is no possible danger of my acting with the sugar trust. Here is more of this evidence:

Q. Is it your impression that the calculation of all Hawaiian sugar planters, who are in favor of "annexation," believe the United States will modify their laws against "contract" labor, so that they can maintain a system of "contract" labor in the Hawaiian Islands?

A. I would not say contract labor. They say we may have to give up "contract" labor, but we can get all the labor we want from Japan.

Q. How?

A. They say we can send an agent there and send money, and he can send "labor" to Hawaii, and when it is here then they can make a "contract."

Q. They think in that way the planters can evade the labor laws of the United States?

A. Yes; they think they can get around it. . . .

PRESIDENT DOLE said to me: "I have a belief that the United States will give us a separate law, so that we can get laborers here."

That is in the testimony taken by Mr. Blount, on page 975; and it will be found in House Executive Document No. 1, part 2, Fifty-third Congress, third session.

Labor Commissioner Fitzgerald, of California, who was down there last year, came back and made a report showing

that American laborers could live there. Here is a part of his statement:

I have seen 20,000 barefooted laborers, half of whom work under a penal contract; I have seen rewards offered for their arrest when they violated their contract and deserted the plantation, with their number printed across their photograph in convict style.

These are the people we propose to admit to this Republic, and the men who enacted those laws, the sons of the missionaries, who are the government down there to-day are the men who are lauded upon this floor as the highest types of American manhood, and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Morgan] says they have the best government he ever saw. The Senator from Alabama fought for several years to maintain slavery in this country, and perhaps that has something to do with his opinion. In his opinion a government that is in favor of human slavery is the best government on earth.

I wish to have the Secretary read an editorial from the Honolulu *Independent* of Friday, November 19, 1897, headed "Slavery in Hawaii."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. GALLINGER in the chair): Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Hardly a week goes by without reports of serious labor troubles reaching the Honolulu papers. The unchecked and indiscriminate influx of Asiatics serving as penal contract laborers has reached a point where the sugar planters begin to realize that there are dangerous squalls ahead and that plantations eventually will go up in flames to satisfy the cry for vengeance of the ignorant coolies, who think that they are being ill-used and ill-treated by their employers, and who are justified in their belief according to all fair-minded men with experience of plantation life and methods.

As stated, a Japanese laborer shipped by the Ewa plantation claims that he was assaulted by an overseer, who fractured his arm. The Jap, who has arrived recently and does not understand English, was advised by his more experienced countrymen to call upon the district judge and appeal to the strong hand of the Hawaiian law. The poor devil was, of course, prohibited from leaving the plantation by his white "bosses." Then he got angry, and, after a palaver with his "gang," all decided to quit work and go to Honolulu to see the representative of

their Government. Eighty Japanese set out for Honolulu, but were stopped at Pearl City by employees of the plantation, who started to reason with the men. In the meantime the agents of the Ewa Sugar Company, Messrs. Castle and Cooke, had been apprised of the trouble, and at their request Mr. Chester Doyle, the official court interpreter of the Japanese language, proceeded to Ewa to investigate and, if possible, prevent further disturbances.

Mr. Doyle has had great experience in dealing with Japanese laborers "on strike," and at Pearl City he called the men together and explained to them that they were committing an unlawful act by leaving work to follow their injured comrade, and that they ought to return to the plantation at once, while the man who claimed to have been assaulted could proceed to the proper authorities with his three witnesses and there enter his complaint. After considerable talk the men adopted Mr. Doyle's proposition and returned to Ewa. There a conference was held, and it was suggested—and agreed upon by the Japanese—that all would return to work, but that their wages should not be docked and that the injured man should have medical attendance at the expense of the plantation and his wages to go on during his illness.

The manager, we are told, could not approve of this reasonable proposition, and insisted in being present, having had translated the conversation between Mr. Doyle and the men. He eventually insisted in having the eighty-one Japanese jailed and fined, and, the strict letter of the law being with him, he carried his point.

Ewa jail is a small building containing two or three cells suitable to accommodate two or three persons each. The police force of Ewa is composed of two policemen and a daft native deputy sheriff. The manager evidently considering the force insufficient to arrest eighty-one men, telephoned to the police department in Honolulu asking for help or for permission to swear in men as special constables.

These requests were naturally refused, as violation of labor contracts is a civil and not a criminal offense. The citizens' guard, whatever that may be, was then called out, we are told, and the eighty-one Japs were forced to tramp to Ewa jail, where they were locked up. How the men were accommodated in the cells of the jail is a mystery. They must have been packed like sardines in a box. This morning they were to be tried before the Hawaiian magistrate of the plantation district. They have no attorneys, no interpreter, and no knowledge of our laws. The magistrate will probably order them to return to work and to pay costs, which means that \$3 will be deducted from the \$12 which each of them receives per month.

This is only one instance in hundreds showing the slavery in Hawaii. It may be of interest to Senator MORGAN and other annexationists who desire, for a consideration, to saddle the United States

with the problems of the Hawaiian Islands to know that Ewa Plantation stock is quoted at \$315 per share.

* * * * *

But¹ it is said we need not fear Hawaiian competition for the reason that our labor laws will apply to that country and that Asiatic labor will no longer be employed upon the plantations. I showed the other day that the Anglo-Saxon does not toil within the Tropics; that there are no settlements of Anglo-Saxons in the world anywhere within 22° of the equator; that there are none employed in toil upon these islands, and that there never will be any.

But is the dream that Asiatic labor will not be employed founded upon any fact to justify entertaining it? We made a treaty in 1894 with Japan, by which she is placed upon an equal footing with all other nations, and her people can come to the United States the same as people can come from France or Germany or England and engage in any of the occupations of this country; and that treaty is to run for twelve years, and here are some of its provisions:

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN—COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

Concluded at Washington November 22, 1894.

Ratification advised by the Senate February 5, 1895.

Ratified by the President February 15, 1895.

Ratified by the Emperor February 27, 1895.

Ratifications exchanged at Washington March 21, 1895.

Proclaimed March 21, 1895.

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ARTICLE XIX.

This treaty shall go into operation on the 17th day of July, 1899, and shall remain in force for the period of twelve years from that date.

Either high contracting party shall have the right, at any time thereafter, to give notice to the other of its intention to terminate the same, and at the expiration of twelve months after such notice is given this treaty shall wholly cease and determine.

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1898.

This treaty provides in Article I that—

The citizens or subjects of each of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the territories of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.

So that Japanese in any numbers can come in as laborers from Japan to the United States under this treaty, the same as persons from England, or France, or Italy, or any of the countries of Europe. The Japanese will go to Hawaii, and they will not come in any great numbers to the United States, because they are accustomed to a climate like Hawaii. The Jap wears but little clothing in the summer. He lives upon vegetable food, upon rice, and that climate, where there are already 25,000 Japanese, is particularly adapted to them. You pass this resolution and they will swarm there, and Japanese money will go there, millions of it, to build factories and to ship goods to the United States free of duty, made by Asiatic labor, and you will have no way to stop it.

The citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties may trade in any part of the territories of the other by wholesale or retail in all kinds of produce, manufactures, and merchandise of lawful commerce, either in person or by agents, singly or in partnership with foreigners or native citizens or subjects; and they may there own or hire and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises which may be necessary for them, and lease land for residential and commercial purposes, conforming themselves to the laws, police and customs regulations of the country like native citizens or subjects.

So the Japanese can come here and do exactly as any other people can do. I want to call the especial attention of the New England manufacturers and the Pennsylvania manufacturers to these facts, for there is not an industry in which the Japanese are not skilled. This treaty also provides:

ARTICLE XI.

Any ship of war or merchant vessel of either of the high contracting parties which may be compelled by stress of weather, or by reason of any other distress, to take shelter in a port of the other, shall be at liberty to refit therein, to procure all necessary supplies, and

to put to sea again, without paying any dues other than such as would be payable by national vessels. In case, however, the master of a merchant vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his cargo in order to defray the expenses, he shall be bound to conform to the regulations and tariffs of the place to which he may have come.

Here, then, is a provision that our war vessels out of coal, out of provisions, or in any way disabled, can enter their ports and procure supplies. Why, then, should not our ships go direct to Manila, instead of drifting through the Tropics for a month?

ARTICLE XVI.

The citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same protection as native citizens or subjects in regard to patents, trade-marks, and designs, upon fulfillment of the formalities prescribed by law.

So we have with these people a treaty exactly the same as that which we have with the most civilized nations of the earth, and the Japanese are one of the most civilized nations of the world.

* * * * *

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, I do not care to discuss the question further this evening. I shall at some future time present to the Senate the conclusive proof that the United States overturned the Hawaiian Government—a friendly Government—and set up in its place this missionary, sugar-raising Government; that the Government is a puppet of our own with which we are treating for title to a country inhabited by a people who do not wish to be annexed to the United States. That question I shall go into fully, and show from official records in a way that can not be disputed or controverted that we, the people of the United States through our Navy, overturned a friendly Government and set up in its place and are now treating with its puppet successor for title to an unwilling country.

I also wish to show to the Senate the effect of Asiatic competition on our manufactures, upon our industries, what must certainly come to the mill toilers and the mill owners

of this country with the admission into this Union of vast hordes of Asiatic laborers. The Malay is as skillful as the Japanese, and to-day in Manila they are manufacturing the highest grade of silk, and it is sold in Europe in competition with that of France. They can produce every manufactured product fashioned by the skill of the people of the United States, and they can do it with laborers who cost but \$1.75 a month in gold and who board themselves. At some future time I will tell the Senate those things which I saw, which certainly must be destructive to the industries of this country if we admit those people to our citizenship. Eight hundred miles from the coast, in China, I visited——

MR. GALLINGER: Why not do it now?

MR. PETTIGREW: I will give you a sample. Eight hundred miles from the coast, in China, I visited a factory where there were 34,000 spindles and a thousand looms—a model institution in every respect. It had been running three years night and day. There was but one European employee, an Englishman, who had charge of the machinery. Every other toiler was a Chinaman. The engineers, spinners, weavers, every person employed in that great factory, were Chinese, and the average wages of those employees was \$3.50 in silver per month and they boarded themselves, or \$1.75 in gold, or a little less than that, for the difference in exchange was more than 2 in 1.

We can not manufacture an article against such competition. In Nankin you can employ all the able-bodied Chinamen you want for a dollar a month, and you can hire them boarded for \$1.60 in silver per month. This is the competition which the Anglo-Saxon greed for land impels us to annex. I sometimes think the Anglo-Saxon affinity for land is greater than the affinity of salt for water. No matter how poor or how worthless it is, if there is a chance to steal a piece of land the Anglo-Saxon goes after it. We supposed we had inaugurated a new system, a new idea, when we set up our Constitution, and that we would never be a party to the land-grabbing schemes of our kindred across the sea; but now we are to abandon that theory and we are to take the

first step in the seizure of a few volcanic islands inhabited by a worthless population. It is this against which I protest.

Mr. President, I am opposed to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands because it is a step in sin, a first step in the wrong direction, an abandonment of the grand moral position which this country has occupied before the world. I am opposed to it because it violates the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States; and while we may violate the Constitution in other directions, in this particular I believe it is destructive to those principles upon which the Constitution is based, to the fundamental principles of our civilization, and therefore more dangerous than any other violation of the Constitution which can be indulged in.

I am opposed to annexation because it brings in a population which, in my opinion, can never perform the duties of governing an American State. It includes a climate in which the white man can not toil, and, therefore, will not live and rear children. It brings in a population 72,000 of which are males and 36,000 are females, precluding the idea—which is the fundamental principle of our civilization—of the home, the fireside, the husband and the wife and the children. I am opposed to it because it is a step in breaking down the barriers of protection, which are essential to the maintenance and the dignity and character of American labor.

CHAPTER IV

WHO OWNS HAWAII?

LET¹ us see how our self-denying missionary brethren have fared, who have now captured the islands and set up what they call a republic. The Commissioner says:

The minister of finance informs me that the taxes paid by Americans and Europeans amount to \$274,516.74; those by the natives, \$71,386.82; half-castes, \$26,868.68; Chinese, \$87,266.10; Japanese, \$67,366.07; other nationalities, \$729.82.

That is, the natives pay only about one-seventh of the taxes, indicating a very small ownership of property. The Commissioner adds:

He also informs me that the acreage on which taxes are paid by various nationalities is: Europeans and Americans, 1,052,492 acres; natives, 257,457 acres; half-castes, 531,545 acres; Chinese, 12,324 acres; Japanese, 200 acres; other nationalities, none.

The surveyor-general reports the crown lands for 1893 as containing 915,288 acres. Of these he reports 94,116 acres available for lease. Of this latter number only 47,000 acres are reported to be good, arable land. He likewise reports the Government land as containing 828,370 acres. He reports these, estimated in 1890, to be worth \$2,128,850. The annual income from them is \$67,636. Of this income \$19,500 is from wharfage and \$7,800 from rent of land with buildings thereon.

The cane and arable land is estimated at 35,150 acres.

It is important here to recall his statement made to the legislature in 1891 in the following language: "Most Government lands at the present time consist of mere remnants left here and there and of the worthless and unsalable portions remaining after the rest had been sold."

So the Europeans and Americans who went to that paradise of indolence for the purpose of converting its people to

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

Christianity have secured a solid title to 1,052,000 acres, while the poor, miserable natives have the remnant, 257,000 acres. Let us hope that the dominant invaders have attended to the souls of the Kanakas, which was the main business of the crusade, for they have certainly paid strict attention to the incidental business by getting possession of three-quarters of the fertile land. And now that they have seized the Government, they ask that the people of the United States shall be taxed \$4,000,000 a year, and the money sent to them to support it—for that is exactly what this bill does.

* * * * *

I¹ had an investigation made when I was in Hawaii of the books in the interior department, for their law requires that every sugar corporation shall file a report giving the names of the stockholders. All do not comply with the law, but they did partially comply with the law, and Mr. Carter made an investigation to ascertain who the owners of the stock were, how many were Americans, and how many belonged to other nationalities.

He says:

In accordance with my promise I sent a competent person to the department of the interior to make copies of the names of shareholders and their holdings in the sugar corporations of these islands to be taken from the "exhibits" of such corporations, as of July 1, 1897, made in compliance with our laws.

My employee was told that there had been but 23 "exhibits" filed, 17 of the sugar corporations not having complied with the law. The copies obtained have passed under the eyes of two reliable persons, who marked the nationality of each shareholder. An American is understood to be a person who is a citizen of the United States, entitled to the rights and privileges of such citizenship when in the States. Other nationalities were determined in the same way. Hawaiians include Hawaiian corporations holding shares and all persons entitled to and claiming the rights and privileges of Hawaiian citizenship.

Of the "exhibits" obtained, 10 were for corporations on the Island of Hawaii, 6 on Maui, 4 on Kauai, 3 on Oahu.

On Hawaii the values of holdings by nationality were as follows:

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1898.

American.....	\$3,225,750
British.....	1,642,350
Hawaiian.....	792,000
German.....	458,700
Portuguese.....	1,200
Total.....	<u>\$6,120,000</u>

But it must be remembered that the American interests in the islands engaged in sugar raising are on the Island of Hawaii and the Island of Maui. In the other islands the interests are exclusively foreign. However, the general result will show that two-thirds of these plantations are owned by people who are not citizens of the United States.

On Maui:	
Hawaiian.....	\$1,330,200
American.....	638,100
German.....	620,200
British.....	80,700
Chinese.....	5,800
Total.....	<u>\$2,675,000</u>

On Kauai:	
Hawaiian.....	\$1,154,400
American.....	852,200
German.....	691,100
British.....	501,900
Portuguese.....	400
Total.....	<u>\$3,200,000</u>

On Oahu:	
Hawaiian.....	\$1,659,500
German.....	770,000
American.....	456,900
British.....	137,000
Chinese.....	18,600
Portuguese.....	9,500
Norwegian.....	500
Total.....	<u>\$3,052,000</u>

Total value of holdings by nationality as follows:

American.....	\$5,172,950
Hawaiian.....	4,936,100
German.....	2,540,000
British.....	2,361,950
Chinese.....	24,400
Portuguese.....	11,100
Norwegian.....	500
Total.....	<u>\$15,047,000</u>

The percentages of value of holdings are about as follows:

	Per cent.
American.....	34.4
Hawaiian.....	32.8
German.....	16.9
British.....	15.6
Other.....	.3
Total.....	<u>100</u>

What the result of a like examination of the remaining seventeen corporation "exhibits" would be is a matter of speculation. In my opinion they would not alter the figures materially.

I have mailed to you a copy of The Hawaiian Annual, containing an article (pages 149-157) on the "The financial outlook," by Alatau T. Atkinson, who compiled the Hawaiian census of 1896. This article contains a statement (page 155) of the amount of the public debt and valuation of the property of the Government and classification of Government lands, which you asked me to procure and forward.

The Planters' Association has published a statement of laborers on sugar estates for the current year, which varies a little from the figures I gave you for the year 1895. The figures for the current year as compared with 1895 are:

Nationality	1897	1895
Japanese.....	11,394	11,584
Chinese.....	6,861	3,847
Portuguese.....	1,902	2,499
Hawaiians.....	1,356	1,584
Total.....	<u>21,513</u>	<u>19,514</u>

The increase in laborers is due to the starting of a large estate and the increased acreage of old estates.

Inclosed you will find an article on coffee raising, which you may find useful. The endeavor of the Hawaiian Government to induce the immigration of small farmers from your country is fraught with mischief to the farmer, as you will see by reading the inclosure. This article was written by a man I can vouch for. A man with money can make money anywhere if he has the proper mental and physical equipment. The planting of coffee in these islands is largely experimental at this time.

These figures show that the Hawaiian sugar planters are two-thirds foreigners and one-third Americans, and that the benefits derived from annexation by this remission of duty will be conferred two-thirds of it upon foreigners and one-third of it upon a few sons of missionaries whose fathers went to the islands to confer upon the inhabitants the blessings of Christianity and whose sons first confiscated their lands and now have stolen their government. They are not subjects of charity. The people of the United States ought not to be taxed to confer this benefit of one-third of \$7,500,000 a year upon these sons of missionaries and two-thirds of \$7,500,000 a year upon foreigners.

I read from Blount's report with regard to American interests, on page 455, part 1, Report of Commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands:

To cover their numerical weakness, the annexationists' faction have tried to awaken American sympathies by alluding to the necessity of protecting American capital, which they claim to be so largely invested in these islands. To give plausibility to this assertion, tables have been prepared, purporting (on estimations, not on any positive documents) to show that the total capital engaged in sugar (in corporations and nonincorporated plantations) amounted to \$33,420,990 out of which \$24,735,610 was claimed to be American, or about four-fifths; \$6,038,130 British, \$2,008,600 German, \$226,280 native, and \$299,000 of other nationalities.

This fantastic array is contradicted by the mere fact that out of a total of \$537,757 for internal taxes Americans paid only \$139,998—official figures—or one-fourth, while according to the above statement American plantation stock alone, outside of commercial firms and other American taxable property, ought to have paid over \$247,000. But even allowing that a large portion of the sugar interests may be

apparently in American hands, it is far from correct to call it American capital.

It is an undeniable fact that outside of Mr. Claus Spreckels, of California, no American has ever brought into this country any capital worth mentioning, but many have sent away fortunes made here. Most of our present American capitalists, outside of sons of missionaries, came here as sailors or school-teachers, some few as clerks, others as mechanics, so that, even if now they do own or manage, or have their names in some way connected with property or corporations, this does not make their wealth of American origin.

And so every investigation that can be made shows the commercial interests of these islands are in the hands of foreigners, and that whatever benefit we confer we confer upon an alien race as laborers and foreigners as capitalists.

MR. CAFFERY: What is the total number of acres in the island?

MR. PETTIGREW: Four and one-half million acres form the total area of the whole island, and at least 1,000,000 acres of this area is lava and unproductive. The whole area is lava, but one and a half million acres, I should say, is recent lava, and therefore produces nothing. It is of high elevation. The great island of Hawaii has an elevation at two points of nearly 14,000 feet above the sea. One of these points, Mauna Loa, is an active volcano, and down its sides up to 1881 there flowed great streams of lava. In 1881 an eruption occurred at a point 8,000 feet above the sea, and an immense river of lava hundreds of feet in width rolled through the forest down its slopes into the village of Hilo and stopped.

MR. CAFFERY: And about one-half of the arable acreage is held by the sons of missionaries?

MR. PETTIGREW: By them and the other foreigners.

MR. CAFFERY: How much does that leave the natives?

MR. PETTIGREW: The natives have 250,000 acres upon which they pay taxes, and the half-castes 500,000 acres; but it leaves the natives also a vast area of comparatively valueless land—the pasture lands. There are great areas that are pasture lands, and they are owned almost entirely by the natives.

Hawaii is no exception to the rule. Wherever the Eng-

lish foot has stepped upon the globe personal property pays little or no tax; the burden is upon the land; the revenue to support the Government is upon consumption, and the individual has to pay it; the accumulated wealth escapes. And so it is in Hawaii.

The first thing to be considered is the real estate. The total value of this in 1895 was \$22,183,443. It was divided as follows:

REAL ESTATE

Hawaiians and part Hawaiians own.....	\$6,956,597
Americans, British, and Germans own.....	12,958,706
Chinese.....	1,146,301
Japanese.....	56,900
Other nationalities.....	1,064,939

This statement is taken from the tax books of 1895. At the close of the biennial period of 1897 a fresh table will be made out.

These figures are from Thrum's annual book, issued by the annexationists for the purpose of making out the best case they can in favor of annexation, issued solely and exclusively in the interest of the missionary sugar planters.

But I am informed by the assessor in chief that the increase is not very large. There must be some increase, however, as much land which formerly was waste forest land has gone into the cultivation of coffee.

The personal property was valued at \$17,491,068, but the division shows up somewhat differently, the bulk being held by the Americans, British, and Germans. The figures are as follows:

PERSONAL PROPERTY

Hawaiians and half-castes.....	<u>\$1,144,104</u>
Americans, British, and Germans.....	2,161,795
Americans, British, and German corporations.....	9,333,551
American, British, and German firms.....	<u>2,247,856</u>
Total.....	\$13,743,202

Making a total of \$13,743,000 as the value of the personal property of the island owned by foreigners out of \$17,000,000 in all.

Chinese.....	\$2,205,339
Japanese.....	177,307
Other nationalities.....	221,116

As taxable value by no means represents intrinsic value, this estimate of the property, real and personal, may be regarded as under the marketable value of the property; but it serves to show in a measure the wealth of the entire nation and its distribution, and shows where the preponderance of property interests lies.

The Hawaiians and part Hawaiians number together 39,504 individuals, while the Americans, British, and Germans count 6,768 individuals. The property interests of the former aggregate \$8,101,701, while those of the latter amount to \$26,701,908. To put it in another form, the percentage of the total real estate of the whole community held by Hawaiians and part Hawaiians is 0.31; the percentage of the total personal estate held by Hawaiians and part Hawaiians is 0.06.

The main industries which Americans and Europeans are engaged in on the islands are sugar and coffee. The latter is a comparatively young industry, and can hardly be considered far out of the experimental stage; moreover, as the value of the crop is not assessed, it is difficult to arrive at a fair estimate of the worth of the plantations, but a rough estimate is given.

CHAPTER V

THE "REVOLUTION" OF 1893

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ I shall prove to the Senate that the Government which now exists in Hawaii, with which we are treating for a title to that country, is a Government existing without the consent of the people of those islands, set up by the armed forces of the United States, maintained by the presence of our battleships from the day of its existence to the present time. I shall show that this Government was brought into being because of the passage of the McKinley law, which repealed the duty on sugar; that the effort to annex the islands resulted from the fact that we repealed the duty upon sugar and placed a bounty upon domestic sugar.

Therefore the Hawaiian planters desired to be admitted into the Union in order to secure the bounty; that our minister, Stevens, going to a friendly Government, began conniving, plotting, and planning to overthrow and destroy the Government to which he was sent on the very day of his arrival; that through his efforts, without any armed force on the part of those people, without a gun or an armed man on their part, backed by the cannon and the armed marines of this Government, thirteen men were made the rulers of that country, and even then, when our marines returned to their vessel, President Dole, as he called himself and as the thirteen called him, sent a letter to our minister, saying, "We can not maintain this Government which you have set up; we have not the power to perpetuate its existence," and asking to have the flag of the United States raised over their building; and it was raised, and remained there for two months,

1. Speech in the Senate July 6, 1898.

until they were able to gather together and confiscate all the arms upon the islands, to import foreign mercenaries whom they armed, thus collecting a fighting force of 400 men.

Every revolution which has occurred in Hawaii has occurred in the town of Honolulu, the capital of the islands, the largest center of population. Every disturbance has occurred there. Every time there has been an overthrow of the Government or riot or dispute it has taken place within that city. All the rest of the islands have always had peace. There was never any disturbance, there was never danger to life or property, and no pretense of danger to life or property. This revolution occurred in Honolulu, and yet peace reigned in all the other towns, and I will show that these same conspirators were the cause of all the trouble and all the difficulty which has heretofore existed.

George W. Merrill, who was our minister to Hawaii, wrote Mr. Secretary Blaine, September 7, 1889, as follows:

It is also noticeable that among the American residents here there are several who, from personal motives, contemplate with satisfaction periodical disquietude in this Kingdom, hoping that frequent revolutionary epochs will force the United States Government to make this group a part of its territory and to absorb into its body politic this heterogeneous population of 80,000, consisting of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, native Hawaiians, half-castes, and only about 5,000 of those who may be properly denominated the white race.

In order to keep affairs in as much turmoil as possible baseless rumors are constantly put in circulation, many of which find publication in other countries.

* * * * *

I have, etc.,

GEORGE W. MERRILL.

This was our minister. It is an official document found in the archives of the State Department, written on the 7th of September, 1889.

He was superseded shortly afterwards by Mr. Stevens. Mr. Stevens was appointed minister in October, 1889. Harrison had been elected President. One of the issues of the campaign was free sugar. The McKinley Act became a law

August 27, 1890. On August 20, 1891, Mr. Stevens writes to Mr. Blaine as follows:

The probabilities strongly favor the presumption that a United States warship will not be pressingly necessary in the two or three immediate months. But as early as the 1st of December, without fail the month preceding the election, and for some time thereafter, there should be a United States vessel here to render things secure. I have strong reluctance to being regarded an alarmist, but with due regard to my responsibility I am impelled to express the opinion that a proper regard for American interests will require one ship here most of the time in 1892. There are increasing indications that the annexation sentiment is growing among the business men. The present political situation is feverish, and I see no prospect of its being permanently otherwise until these islands become a part of the American Union or a possession of Great Britain.

The intelligent and responsible men here, unaided by outside support, are too few in numbers to control in political affairs and secure good government. There are indications that the liberals are about to declare for annexation. At a future time I shall deem it my official duty to give a more elaborate statement of facts and reasons why a "new departure" by the United States as to Hawaii is rapidly becoming a necessity, that a "protectorate" is impracticable, and that annexation must be the future remedy, or else Great Britain will be furnished with circumstances and opportunity to get a hold on these islands, which will cause future serious embarrassment to the United States.

At this time there seems to be no immediate prospect of its being safe to have the harbor of Honolulu left without an American vessel of war. Last week a British gunboat arrived here, and it is said will remain here for an indefinite period.

I am, etc.,

JOHN L. STEVENS.

Here, then, is our minister, accredited to a friendly Government, contemplating the destruction of that Government and the annexation of the territory. There was no negotiation.

Further on, in his next dispatch, he asked the State Department to keep secret his plot, to keep secret his statement in regard to the overthrow of that Government; and he says in the dispatch that it would be uncomfortable for him if the facts were known in Hawaii. Here was a minister to a friendly Government planning its overthrow, evidently planning with its enemies to cause its overthrow and annex it to

this country, carrying on a correspondence which he did not dare to have disclosed because of the treasonable conduct in which he was engaged.

On November 20, 1892, Stevens again writes:

It is well to consider the existing state of things here resulting from the change in the United States sugar tariff. Only personal observation and careful investigation of the facts can give one an adequate idea of the severe blow sugar raising here has received. The production of sugar being the main business of the islands, the great reduction of the market price has affected powerfully the entire affairs and condition of the islands. I think it understating the truth to express the opinion that the loss to the owners of the sugar plantations and mills, etc., and the consequent depreciation of other property by the passage of the McKinley bill, wise and beneficial as that measure is proving to be for the vast interests of the United States, has not been less than \$12,000,000, a large portion of this loss falling on Americans residing here and in California.

Unless some positive measures of relief be granted, the depreciation of sugar property here will continue to go on. Wise, bold action by the United States will rescue the property holders from great losses, give the islands a government which will put an end to a worse than useless expenditure of a large proportion of the revenues of the country, using them for the building of roads and bridges, thus helping to develop the natural resources of the islands, aiding to diversify the industries and to increase the number of the responsible citizens.

One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed, either bold and vigorous measures for annexation or a "customs union," an ocean cable from the Californian coast to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not necessarily stipulated American protectorate over the islands. I believe the former to be the better, that which will prove much the more advantageous to the islands, and the cheapest and least embarrassing in the end for the United States.

Here, then, Mr. President, in 1892, two months before the final revolution, our minister outlines the reason for it—that the sugar interests of the islands are declining because we took the tariff off of sugar, because they can no longer get out of the pockets of the people of the United States, by remitting duties, 2 cents a pound.

But there is other evidence, Mr. President, which shows conclusively that this revolution was brought about purely and

simply by the sugar planters in the interest of the sugar raisers. On the 8th of March, 1892, our minister, Mr. Stevens, writes the following letter:

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Blaine.

HONOLULU, March 8, 1892.

SIR: In view of possible contingencies in these islands I ask for the instructions of the Department of State on the following, viz:

If the Government here should be surprised and overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolutionary movement, largely of native Hawaiians, and a provisional or republican government organized and proclaimed, would the United States minister and naval commander here be justified in responding affirmatively to the call of the members of the removed Government to restore them to power or replace them in possession of the Government buildings?

Or should the United States minister and naval commander confine themselves exclusively to the preservation of American property, the protection of American citizens, and the prevention of anarchy? Should a revolutionary attempt of the character indicated be made, there are strong reasons to presume that it would begin by the seizure of the police station, with its arms and ammunition, and this accomplished, the royal palace and the Government buildings containing the cabinet officers and archives would very soon be captured, the latter buildings being situated about one-third of a mile from the police station.

In such contingencies would it be justifiable to use the United States forces here to restore the Government buildings to the possession of the displaced officials? Ordinarily in like circumstances the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of the United States force in foreign waters and dominion exclusively to the protection of the United States legation and of the lives and property of American citizens. But, as the relations of the United States to Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, I desire to know how far the present minister and naval commander here may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the contingencies indicated in the first part of this dispatch.

I have information, which I deem reliable, that there is an organized revolutionary party in the islands, composed largely of native Hawaiians and a considerable number of whites and half whites, led chiefly by individuals of the latter two classes.

Here our minister, on the 8th of March, 1892, almost a year before the revolution, is in possession of the whole plan,

clearly indicating that he was in a conspiracy with these people to overturn a government.

Again, November 20, 1892, Mr. Stevens writes:

UNITED STATES LEGATION, *Honolulu, November 20, 1892.*

SIR: Fidelity to the trust imposed on me by the President, the Department of State, and the Senate requires that I should make a careful and full statement of the financial, agricultural, social, and political condition of these islands. An intelligent and impartial examination of the facts can hardly fail to lead to the conclusion that the relations and policy of the United States toward Hawaii will soon demand some change, if not the adoption of decisive measures, with the aim to secure American interests and future supremacy by encouraging Hawaiian development and aiding to promote responsible government in these islands.

I find in the evidence taken by Mr. Blount the following. This is the testimony of Mr. Fred. H. Hayselden, a sugar planter on the Island of Lanai:

Q. What do you think were the causes of the revolution?

A. Simply 2 cents a pound on sugar—to get some treaty or some arrangement with America. They did not see their way clear to get it in the face of the McKinley bill. They thought Harrison would be re-elected and the Republican policy would be continued.

Q. But at the time of the revolution Harrison had been defeated?

A. Yes; but this thing was marked up long before that. They wanted to force it upon the Harrison Administration, if they could, before the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland.

I have carefully read the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of my interview with Colonel Blount.

I read also the testimony of Samuel Parker:

MR. BLOUNT. Is it your opinion that this movement would have occurred if there had been no effort to proclaim a new constitution?

MR. PARKER. I think it would.

MR. BLOUNT. Why do you think so?

MR. PARKER. A majority of the capitalists of the town had no confidence in our ministry. I think it would have come about anyway.

MR. BLOUNT. Come about soon?

MR. PARKER. It would have come about, because even when this attempt of promulgation of the new constitution was made, we were told that they would support us for what we had done—for holding out against the Queen in requesting us to sign the new constitution. This was said to us at that time—at the time when the Queen was

asking us to sign it. During the day they had a meeting of the citizens. I mean such men as Thurston, Hartwell, and leaders of the provisional government. They told us they would back us up. They admired us for our pluck in holding out against the Queen's wish.

MR. BLOUNT. Would this imply a disposition to take action toward dethronement?

MR. PARKER. I think it came from the McKinley bill—the first action was on account of the McKinley bill.

MR. BLOUNT. What do you mean by action?

MR. PARKER. They said that unless something is done—closer relations with the United States—we are bankrupt. That was long before the Legislature came in session; when I first went into the cabinet.

MR. BLOUNT. Who do you mean said this?

MR. PARKER. A majority of the sugar men; those now at the head of the provisional government—capitalists and planters. They said that something must be done to get closer relations with the United States to hold us up. With sugar down to \$45 and \$50 a ton, something ought to be done. A commercial treaty or something ought to be negotiated with the American people.

Mr. Blount in his report makes the following statement:

The controlling element in the white population is connected with the sugar industry. In its interests the Government there has negotiated treaties from time to time for the purpose of securing contract laborers for terms of years for the plantations, and paid out large sums for their transportation and for building plantation wharves, etc.

These contracts provide for compelling the laborer to work faithfully by fines and damage suits brought by the planters against them, with the right on the part of the planter to deduct the damages and costs of suit out of the laborer's wages.

They also provide for compelling the laborer to remain with the planter during the contract term. They are sanctioned by law and enforced by civil remedies and penal laws. The general belief amongst the planters at the so-called revolution was that, notwithstanding the laws against importing labor into the United States, in the event of their annexation to that Government, these laws would not be made operative in the Hawaiian Islands on account of their peculiar conditions. Their faith in the building of a cable between Honolulu and San Francisco and large expenditures at Pearl Harbor in the event of annexation has also as much to do with the desire for it.

In addition to these was the hope of escape from duties on rice and fruits and receiving the sugar bounty, either by general or special law.

The repeal of the duty on sugar in the McKinley Act was re-

garded a severe blow to their interests, and the great idea of statesmanship has been to do something in the shape of treaties with the United States, reducing their duties on agricultural products of the Hawaiian Islands, out of which profit might be derived. Annexation has for its charm the complete abolition of all duties on their exports to the United States.

The annexationists expect the United States to govern the islands by so abridging the right of suffrage as to place them in control of the whites.

Mr. President, this revolution was organized by a conspiracy of the American minister in the interest of the sugar planters of Hawaii, which the minister says was the chief industry of the island and the basis of their prosperity.

The American minister had been secured as an advocate of the overthrow of the friendly Government to whom he was sent; and then what was done by these conspirators, few in number, having vast wealth, fortunes made absolutely out of the people of the United States in the profit upon sugar, which is admitted free of duty, while we charged 2 cents a pound on sugar from every other country? The American minister having been secured, the next step was to find an excuse for overthrowing the existing Government.

On the 14th of January, 1893, being Saturday, the Queen took steps to promulgate a new constitution. Petitions had been received by her signed by two-thirds of all the voters of the island protesting against the constitution of 1887 and asking that a new one be promulgated. The constitution of 1887 deprived a large per cent of her people of the right to vote for members of the Senate or any voice in the Government. This was done by a property qualification which excluded them from the right of suffrage. A few of her own people were permitted to serve in the cabinet. The constitution of 1887 had been forced out of the King, her predecessor, by a threat from these same people to assassinate him and overturn his Government.

MR. ALLEN: What is the number of voters in the Hawaiian Islands now?

MR. PETTIGREW: Under the new constitution, twenty-six hundred.

MR. ALLEN: All are male adults, I suppose.

MR. PETTIGREW: Of course there are a very large number of male adults who have never taken any steps to be citizens or voters; that is, they are the contract laborers, the slave labor from Japan and China.

MR. ALLEN: Are they by circumstances disqualified from citizenship?

MR. PETTIGREW: They are not qualified for citizenship because they have taken no steps to secure it, and do not desire it. There are about 13,000 people who have a right to vote for the members of the lower House of the Legislature if they would take the oath of allegiance to this sugar Government, which provides for annexation to the United States, but they refuse to do it. So there are only 2,600 people who are really voters under that Government.

MR. ALLEN: A property qualification is required for voting in the Hawaiian Islands?

MR. PETTIGREW: For voting for senators a very high property qualification is required.

MR. ALLEN: I ask the Senator if that does not disqualify the vast body of male adults in the island?

MR. PETTIGREW: Oh, certainly, it disqualifies nearly every one to vote for a senator. There are only a few thus qualified. I think there are not over 1,200 people in the islands who can vote for a senator under the property qualification required. But the Queen, in pursuance of this address, proposed to modify the constitution so that her own people would have something to say about the proposition to modify the property qualification and make the Government more nearly democratic, and bring it closer to the people.

Immediately on the proposition being made to adopt a new constitution, these people, nine of them, had a meeting in Smith's office. He was a lawyer in Honolulu. He is now the attorney-general of the so-called republic. There they began to plan and plot for the overthrow of the Queen. But finding that there was opposition to her movement, the Queen abandoned the idea of issuing a new constitution and sent forth on Monday, January 16, 1893, the following letter:

BY AUTHORITY.

Her Majesty's ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which has prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the position taken by Her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new constitution was under stress of her native subjects.

Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the constitution itself.

Her Majesty's ministers request all citizens to accept the assurance of Her Majesty in the same spirit which it is given.

LILIUOKALANI.
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
W. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

IOLANI PALACE, *January 16, 1893.*

On Saturday, the 14th, there was a meeting at W. O. Smith's office, and a committee of safety was organized, composed of thirteen members. I propose now to show what this meeting was called for, and I will show it by reading the testimony of Mr. Bolte. Mr. Bolte was one of the conspirators. In answer to a question by Mr. Blount he said:

The answers which I have given to Mr. Blount's questions, "When was for the first time anything said about deposing or dethroning the Queen?" might lead to misunderstanding in reading this report. I desire, therefore, to hereby declare as follows: Words to the effect that the Queen must be deposed or dethroned were not uttered to my knowledge at any meeting of the committee of safety until Monday evening, January 16, 1893; but at the very first meeting of citizens at W. O. Smith's office, on Saturday, January 14, at about 2 p. m., or even before this meeting had come to order, Paul Neumann informed the arriving people that the Queen was about to promulgate a new constitution.

The answer then given him by Mr. W. C. Wilder, by me, and by others was: That is a very good thing and a splendid opportunity to get rid of the whole old rotten Government concern and now to get

annexation to the United States. Paul Neumann thought that that might be going a little too far.

At the second meeting at W. O. Smith's, between 3 and 4 p. m. on Saturday afternoon, January 14, 1893, when the committee of safety was appointed, sentiments of the same nature, that this is a splendid opportunity to get rid of the old régime, and strong demands for annexation, or any kind of stable government under the supervision of the United States, were expressed.

Therefore, even if the words that the Queen must be deposed or dethroned were not spoken, surely the sentiment that this must be done prevailed at or even before the very first meeting, on January 14, 1893.

C. BOLTE.

HONOLULU, *June —, 1893.*

There was no fear of disorder, no thought that life and property were in danger, only a satisfaction that the excuse for revolution had been offered and the time had come to give a new impetus to the sugar industry.

Mr. Smith states that the committee at his office debated whether they would ask the United States to establish a protectorate. They concluded that as the Queen had an armed force it was best to appoint a committee to see the United States minister and ascertain what he would do, and Thurston was selected as chairman of said committee. Thereupon this committee visited the minister. They had met, passed no resolutions whatever with regard to danger to life and property, but had congratulated each other on the fact that an opportunity had arisen for an excuse to overthrow the government and secure annexation to the United States, purely in the interest of their sugar plantations. Thurston was therefore appointed as chairman of the committee to see the American minister. Smith says:

I went home about dark or a little after, and just had dinner when Mr. Thurston called at my house on his way home, asking me to meet the committee and one or two others at his house at 8 o'clock. I went there and found Mr. Thurston, W. R. Castle, F. W. Wundenberg, A. S. Hartwell, S. B. Dole, and C. L. Carter. Mr. Thurston stated that the committee had waited upon the American minister, and that he had said that the United States troops on board the *Boston* would be ready to land any moment to prevent the destruction of American life and property, and in regard to the matter of establishing a pro-

visional government, they of course would recognize the existing government, whatever it might be.

Mr. Thurston stated to Mr. Stevens the proposition that was under consideration, of establishing a provisional government, and in case those steps were taken, he asked Mr. Stevens what his attitude would be, and Mr. Stevens had told him whatever government was established, and was actually in possession of the Government building, the executive departments, and archives, and in possession of the city, that was a de facto government, and claiming itself as a government, would necessarily have to be recognized. Everything had culminated in a few hours; we were laboring under intense feeling, and it was arranged that different ones of those present should begin drafting papers.

Mr. W. R. Castle undertook to draft something in the nature of a brief historical statement, which would be for a preamble to the declaration. Mr. Thurston was to work upon the matter of the form of the provisional government. Judge Dole quietly stated that he was not prepared to take part in the movement, but that he would assist, at Mr. Thurston's request, in drafting the declaration. I was requested to draft papers to be submitted to the American minister requesting the landing of the troops, in case it became necessary. At a late hour we retired, and the next morning at 9 o'clock the committee of thirteen met at W. R. Castle's residence.

Not one word in all this testimony indicates that these men had any fear of bodily harm or of damage or injury to their property, but it was simply a plan preconcerted to overthrow a friendly government. They met in Smith's office. They sent a committee to see the American minister and ask him what he would do, and finally they sent to ask him to land troops. After the meeting at Castle's, Smith went to see the American minister and arranged with him as to what should be done if Smith and his coconspirators were arrested. He secured the required assurances and the call for troops was issued. I read further from Mr. Smith's statement:

Before the meeting broke up the form of the request to the American minister in regard to the landing of the troops was adopted and signed by the committee of thirteen, requesting the American minister to land troops, and this request was signed by the committee of thirteen, and decided to be delivered to the minister to be held by him but not to be acted upon until a further request was received from the committee.

Here, then, they had decided to call on the American minister to order the landing of American troops, and then they put the request in his hands to be used by him whenever they notified him they wanted it used. Certainly there was no very imminent danger to the life and property of Americans if he was to delay the landing of troops. Why this delay? To give the conspirators who were in league with our minister a chance to formulate their plans. These conspirators then held a public meeting and Thurston made some lurid remarks, talked about freedom, etc., and about liberty and tyrannical government; and after his fiery speech they passed the tamest sort of resolutions embodying their protest against the new constitution, but said not a word about overthrowing the Queen or establishing a new government. After this public meeting the conspirators again met in Smith's office in Honolulu, and of that meeting in Smith's office Mr. Smith says:

There was a short and earnest discussion of what was to be done; it was then nearly 4; our plans had not been perfected, papers had not been completed, and, after a hasty discussion, the time being very short, it was decided that it was impossible for us to take the necessary steps, and we should request that the troops be not landed until next morning, the hour in the morning being immaterial, whether it was 9 or 8 or 6 o'clock in the morning, but we must have further time to prevent bloodshed, and Mr. Thurston and I were appointed to proceed at once to the American minister and inform him of our decision. We proceeded at once to Mr. Stevens's house, the United States legation, stated the case to him, and he said that as a precautionary measure, and to protect American life and property, he had ordered the troops to be landed at 5 o'clock, and that they would come. It was then decided to adjourn to meet at the house of Henry Waterhouse at 8 o'clock in the evening. The meeting broke up, and some of us went down to see the troops landed. Thurston gave up—sick. He had to go to bed.

The hour of action had arrived, and the lurid Thurston was sick. Troops were going to be landed. How like conspirators these men acted! They went down to the wharf and mingled with the crowd and asked the troops to land. To protect life and property? No, Mr. President, but for the purpose of overturning a friendly Government, and for no other purpose, were those troops landed. At every step

in the proceeding great care was taken to consult the American minister and to know just what he would do in case they were arrested. There was a great sense of fear and apprehension of danger on the part of these thirteen men, only. All honest citizens felt safe and secure in life and property.

The request for troops reads as follows:

The committee of safety to Mr. Stevens.

No. 7.] HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, Honolulu, January 16, 1893.

SIR: We, the undersigned citizens and residents of Honolulu, respectfully represent that, in view of recent public events in this Kingdom, culminating in the revolutionary acts of Queen Liliuokalani on Saturday last, the public safety is menaced and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance.

The Queen, with the aid of armed force, and accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed from those with whom she was acting, attempted to proclaim a new constitution and, while prevented for the time from accomplishing her object, declared publicly that she would only defer her action.

This conduct and action was upon an occasion and under circumstances which have created general alarm and terror.

We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces.

HENRY E. COOPER,
F. W. McCHESNEY,
W. C. WILDER,
C. BOLTE,
A. BROWN,
WILLIAM O. SMITH,
HENRY WATERHOUSE,
THEO. F. LANSING,
ED. SUHR,
L. A. THURSTON,
JOHN EMMELUTH,
WM. R. CASTLE,
J. A. McCANDLESS,

Citizens' Committee of Safety.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,
American Minister Resident.

They were unable to protect themselves. No wonder; without armies, without an armed force, these thirteen men conspiring with the United States minister, proposing to com-

mit treason against their own Government, appealed to the United States to protect them in their treasonable and unlawful act.

If there was great danger, general alarm, and terror among the people of Honolulu, why was a committee sent to Mr. Stevens to delay the landing of the troops until the next day? Why was it, if a reign of terror existed and the lives and property of Americans and others were in danger, that a committee was sent to tell him that they did not want the troops landed until the next morning? It was because there was no danger to American lives and property, because Honolulu was peaceful, and because the people were about their usual vocations; and the troops were to be landed for the purpose of carrying on a conspiracy, being the only armed forces employed to overthrow a friendly Government.

What excuse could these conspirators make, if there was actual danger to the women and children of Honolulu, for requesting that the troops be not landed until the next morning? The fact of the matter is that they had not their proclamations and other papers ready. Mr. Smith says the mass meeting broke up sooner than they expected, and they were not ready to take the final step just yet; besides, things were getting so hot that Thurston was becoming permanently sick, for he entirely disappears from the scene until all danger is over. Thurston undoubtedly is a physical coward.

However, the troops were landed and distributed, not for the purpose of protecting Americans or American property, but to guard the Government building and show the Queen that they were assisting the revolutionists. This was Monday evening. On Tuesday morning the committee of thirteen met again and signed the proclamation, and about 2 o'clock started in two parties on different streets to go to the Government buildings, now guarded by United States troops, to read the proclamation according to this previously arranged plan with our minister. I will read Smith's account of this transaction. He says:

The committee of thirteen signed the proclamation—

They were down in Smith's office, in the heart of the city of Honolulu—

and the executive council then signed the commission of J. H. Soper as commander in chief of the forces, and three copies of the proclamation were completed. The final signing of the papers was completed about twenty minutes past 2, and after a little delay the committee of thirteen, with the executive and advisory councils, started to proceed to the Government building. They had hardly reached the corner of Merchant street before a shot was heard, and it was reported that a policeman had been shot at E. O. Hall & Son's store, and people were seen running from the direction of the Government building toward the spot, and there was considerable commotion. The committee and councils proceeded to the Government building and the proclamation was read. Previous to starting, leaving my office, Mr. Dole requested Mr. A. S. Wilcox to go up to the Government building and come back and report whether there was any armed force at the Government building. He went up and looked through and went through to Queen street, and came back and reported that he did not see any armed men.

These conspirators then met at a law office in the town, and, without a single armed man, proceeded to the Government building, and in front of it, and within 75 yards of the 150 marines landed from the United States vessel, they proceeded to read the proclamation declaring that they were the Government. They, however, took the precaution to go in two parties, one party going up one street and the other party another street, so as not to attract attention. They took the precaution to send Wilcox up to see if there were any armed men likely to interfere, and Damon says that when they arrived they saw that, besides the marines of the United States, there was but one man with a gun, and he asked him if he was not afraid to be alone with a gun assisting the revolution.

If it were true that the necessity for the landing of troops was to protect life and property, why is it that none of the foreign consuls or the representatives of foreign governments have ever been called upon to testify in this regard? There is not one word anywhere which indicates that they had any fear that necessitated the landing of troops. Everything goes to show, and their statements all go to show, they fully understood the conspiracy by which the Government was over-

thrown, and that the landing of the troops was for the purpose of overturning a friendly government.

I will ask the Secretary to read a letter from Rear-Admiral Skerrett, of the United States Navy, commanding, which will throw considerable light on this subject.

The Secretary read as follows:

Admiral Skerrett to Mr. Blount.

No. 167.] U. S. S. BOSTON, FLAGSHIP OF THE PACIFIC STATION,
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, May 20, 1893.

SIR: I have examined with a view of inspection the premises first occupied by the force landed from the U. S. S. *Boston*, and known as Arion Hall, situated on the west side of the Government building. The position of this location is in the rear of a large brick building known as Music Hall. The street it faces is comparatively a narrow one, the building itself facing the Government building. In my opinion it was unadvisable to locate the troops there, if they were landed for the protection of the United States citizens, being distantly removed from the business portion of the town, and generally far away from the United States legation and consulate-general, as well as being distant from the houses and residences of United States citizens. It will be seen from the accompanying sketch that had the provisional government troops been attacked from the east such attack would have placed them in the line of fire.

Had Music Hall been seized by the Queen's troops, they would have been under their fire, had such been their desire. It is for these reasons that I consider the position occupied as illy selected. Naturally, if they were landed with a view to support the provisional government troops then occupying the Government building, it was a wise choice, as they could enfilade any troops attacking them from the palace grounds in front. There is nothing further for me to state with reference to this matter, and as has been called by you to my attention—all of which is submitted for your consideration.

Very respectfully,

J. S. SKERRETT,

Rear-Admiral United States Navy,

Commanding United States Naval Force, Pacific Station.

Col. J. H. BLOUNT,

United States Minister Plenipotentiary and

Envoy Extraordinary, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

It will appear from this letter of Admiral Skerrett that these troops were, in his opinion, located for the purpose of

guarding the conspirators and helping out the conspiracy. I call the especial attention of the Senate to this fact. Of course I know, Mr. President, that anything I may say upon this subject will not influence the action of this body; that they are going to pass this resolution and annex the Hawaiian Islands; but I propose to make this record, and show conclusively that the United States in doing it is engaged in an act of piracy—it is not conquest. We overturned a friendly government by the force of our arms, and now we treat with the government thus created by us and maintained by us for title to a country without consulting its inhabitants.

The proclamation having been read at the Government building, guarded by United States troops, the United States minister proceeded at once to recognize the new Government. They had not an armed man. They had proceeded to the Government building, where they were clerks and officers of the Hawaiian Government, with not even a policeman present. They stood up in front of that building, within 75 yards of the Gatling guns of the marines from an American battleship, and had read a paper declaring that they were the Government. Three-quarters of a mile away the Queen had 500 men under arms; and without waiting an instant, the moment they read the proclamation our minister recognized those thirteen men as the Government of Hawaii, without any armed forces whatever, knowing that he had violated international law and violated the precedents followed by all civilized nations, and he undertook to falsify the facts.

He claimed that he recognized the Government after the Queen had surrendered, after the old Government had given up, after she had abdicated and said she would submit her case to Washington. An investigation of the facts proves that this statement is false. I will show by the official records that the statement was absolutely false and that he recognized that Government the very moment these men read their proclamation. I will not stop to read it, because it is useless, but I will print in the RECORD, if there is no objection, the testimony of Mr. Damon, the present minister of finance of the Hawaiian Government, which shows conclusively that this surrender on

the part of the Queen was made after the United States had recognized this so-called Government which we had set up.

The testimony referred to is as follows:

Interview between Mr. Damon and Mr. Blount.

HONOLULU, April 29, 1893.

MR. BLOUNT. How long have you lived here?

MR. DAMON. I was born here in 1845. I have been away several times—perhaps to the extent of three or four years in that time.

Q. Where were you on the 17th of January, 1893, at the time the proclamation dethroning the Queen and establishing the provisional government was read?

A. I was at Honolulu. I was one of the members of that body who went up.

Q. The paper was read by Mr. Cooper?

A. By Judge Cooper.

Q. How many of you were there in that body which went up—about?

A. The whole body. There would be four of the executive and fourteen of the advisory.

Q. Please look at this paper and see if they are the persons (Senate Executive Document No. 76, Fifty-second Congress, second session).

A. Thurston was not present, and I do not think Wilhelm was there.

Q. Where did you start from?

A. From W. O. Smith's office on Fort street.

Q. And what street did you take going from there?

A. We walked up directly to the Government house on Merchant street. It was suggested that a part should go by the way of Queen street, but a majority of us went by way of Merchant street.

Q. What was the idea for dividing the committee?

A. So that it should not attract so much attention; and it would be safer, perhaps, to have it divided than going in mass.

Q. Was it because it occurred to them that it might invite attack if they went in mass?

A. That was partly the idea—that it was more prudent. I think we, most of us, walked together—not compactly, but together.

Q. Any crowd following you?

A. No; the crowd was attracted to the corner of Fort and King streets, owing to the shot that was fired by Mr. Good at a policeman. In fact, the crowd cleared from the Government house and was attracted there. From all directions they centered at the corner of Hall's store.

Q. You found, then, scarcely any one at the Government house when the committee arrived?

A. Scarcely any one there except porters. After Mr. Cooper began to read the proclamation, then different ones came out of the offices—clerks and officials—while the proclamation was being read.

Q. Some of the provisional government troops, or rather troops raised at the direction of the committee of safety, came on the ground before the reading of the proclamation was finished?

A. When we arrived there was but one man with a rifle on the premises, Mr. Oscar White; but some little time later they commenced to come in from the armory, troops that were under the supervision of Colonel Soper.

Q. Was that before or during the reading of the proclamation?

A. During the reading—toward the end of it.

Q. How many troops came in? Do you have any knowledge of the number you had enlisted?

A. There were enough came in to make us feel more decidedly at ease than before they arrived.

Q. You could not say how many there were?

A. No; they kept coming in right along. They got to be quite a body.

Q. After the reading of the proclamation the late ministers were sent for?

A. After the reading of the proclamation we adjourned to the office of the minister of the interior, and then we commenced to formulate our plans and get ourselves into working order. Mr. Dole was at the head. While we were there in consultation Mr. Cornwell and Mr. Parker came up there from the station house and held a conference with us.

Q. What was the purport of that conference?

A. The result of that conference was that Mr. Bolte and myself were requested to return with Mr. Cornwell and Mr. Parker to the station house and recommend and urge upon the parties in power at the police station to surrender to the provisional government. We had a conference with the ministers in the room occupied generally by the deputy marshal. There were present Messrs. Peterson, Colburn, Parker, Cornwell, Bolte, and later Mr. Neumann, who was asked to come in. After consultation of the matter of their yielding up their power to the provisional government they asked to be let alone for a few moments, and I went into one of the rear cells in the corridor with Marshal Wilson and urged him very strongly to give up any hope or any thought of making an attack, or resistance, more properly.

Q. What reason did you give him?

A. I can not remember at the present moment giving him a reason, but I remember distinctly saying to him: "Now, if you will co-operate with us, if in future I can be of service to you I will do so."

Q. Was there any suggestion of sympathy on the part of the United States minister in your movement?

A. While I was in the station house a man by the name of Bowler said to me: "We are all prepared, but I will never fight against the American flag."

Q. Was there anything in the conversation between you and him in which any intimation direct or indirect that the United States minister was in sympathy with you or the United States troops and officers?

A. I can not remember any definite thing, but from Mr. Bowler's remark they must have thought that the United States troops were here for some purpose.

Q. Was Mr. Bowler with the Queen's party?

A. He was. He was part of the force in the station house.

Q. Did you say anything at all indicating an opinion that there was any sympathy on the part of Mr. Stevens or Captain Wiltse with the movement for the new government?

A. I can not remember. I may possibly have said so.

Q. Did you think so at that time?

A. I may have had an impression, but I know nothing about it.

Q. What was your impression?

A. My impression was, seeing the troops landed here in this time of excitement and turmoil, that—well, I suppose I might say that they could not stand it any longer—the Americans could not stand it any longer.

Q. Your impression, then, was that the American minister and Captain Wiltse and the troops were in sympathy with the movement of the white residents here in the pending controversy between them and the Queen?

A. While we were in the Government building and during the reading of the proclamation, and while we were all extremely nervous as to our personal safety, I asked one of the men with me there, "Will not the American troops support us?" Finally I asked one of the men to go over and ask Lieutenant Swinburne if he was not going to send some one over to protect us? The man returned and said to me, "Captain Wiltse's orders are 'I remain passive.'" That is all I know of what passed between us.

Q. You speak of your impression. That relates to a particular conversation between two or three persons; but what was your impression as to the matter of whether or not the American minister and the American naval officers were in sympathy with the movement?

A. I was perfectly nonplussed by not receiving any support. I could not imagine why we were there without being supported by

American troops, prior to the troops coming from the armory. We were not supported in any way.

Q. You had not been in council with the committee of public safety up to that time?

A. No.

Q. Well, the troops were—how far off from the reading of the proclamation?

A. They were over in that yard known as Gilson yard, in the rear of the music hall. They were quartered there.

Q. Any artillery?

A. I think they had a small gun—Gatling gun and howitzer.

Q. Where were they pointed—in what direction?

A. I can not tell you.

Q. You were surprised that they did not come into the grounds while the proclamation was being read. Is that what you mean by not supporting you?

A. I had no definite information what the movement was, as I told you before in a private interview, but knowing that they were on shore I supposed that they would support us, and when they did not support us, and we were there for fifteen or twenty minutes, I was perfectly astonished that we were in that position without any support.

Q. How far would you say, in yards, it was from where the proclamation was being read to where the nearest troops were?

A. I think about 75 yards.

Q. Was there a piece of artillery in the street between the building the troops were stationed in and the Government building?

A. The only piece of firearms of any kind in that street was Oscar White's rifle. We met him as we came around the corner.

Q. Did you have occasion to look there to see?

A. We stopped before turning into the side gate to converse with Oscar White, before proceeding into the Government building.

Q. Are you sure there was not a piece of artillery in that street before the reading of the proclamation?

A. I can not tell you; but the only gun I could see was Oscar White's. I remarked: "Oscar, this is not so very prudent for you to be here with only one rifle in this street."

Q. Where did you see the troops first?

A. I came up from Monolalua by a back street and turned into Nuuanu street, one house above Mr. Stevens's, and as I turned the corner I saw the American troops marching up toward Mr. Stevens's house, and directly in front of his house.

Q. Did you meet Mr. Henry Waterhouse?

A. I met him there at that time.

Q. What conversation passed between you?

A. I think I said: "Henry, what does all this mean?" If I remember rightly now, he said: "It is all up."

Q. And what did you understand by the expression, "It is all up?"

A. I understand from that that the American troops had taken possession of the island. That was my impression.

Q. And was that favorable to the Queen or favorable to the other side, as you understood it?

A. That was distinctly favorable to the foreign element here.

Q. You mean the movement for a provisional government?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Mr. Stevens that day?

A. No; I did not see him that day.

Q. What is Mr. Waterhouse doing now?

A. Henry? He is a member of the council.

Q. Was he a member of the committee of public safety?

A. If I remember right, he was.

* * * * *

Q. Did he seem then pleased or alarmed?

A. He was very much strained and excited. There was no pleasure in it, but still there was a feeling of security. That was it. He evinced a feeling of security. He was not smiling or joking.

Q. It was not a joking time. Well, you say there was nothing in the first visit of yours to the station house to indicate any impression on your part that you believed the United States minister or the United States troops, or both, were in sympathy with the movement of the committee of safety?

A. I was nonplussed. I did suppose they were going to support us.

Q. You did not say anything to the people in the station house to lead them to suppose you were hopeful of aid?

A. I can not remember saying it now; I might have done so.

Q. Did you say it at any place?

A. I do not remember; I may have said it.

Q. Was there an effort on the part of those who were moving for a change of government to make that impression?

A. I think there was.

Q. Was that impression among the whites generally?

A. That I can not say. I know there was that impression. Some of the members tried to convey that impression.

Q. On what occasion?

A. Many occasions. One particular occasion was while we were in the Government building the day the proclamation was read.

Q. What was said, and who said it?

A. Charles Carter said to me, "After you are in possession of

the Government building the troops will support you." I think that was his remark.

Q. Was he on the committee of public safety?

A. I think so.

Q. Was he in the party that went up to read the proclamation?

A. He was present there during the time it was read. Whether he went up with us or not I do not remember.

Q. It was during that time he made that remark?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he an active promoter of the movement?

A. I think he was.

Q. Has he any connection with the Government to-day?

A. No; except he is one of the commissioners in Washington.

Q. You have been in previous revolutions here?

A. I have been in the Wilcox revolution. I took quite a prominent part in its suppression. I was one of the ministers at the time.

Q. You had a conversation with Mr. Carter about the time the proclamation was being read?

A. Yes.

Q. You were somewhat anxious as to whether or not you would be supported by United States troops?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you express any fear in the presence of Mr. Carter?

A. Well, no man likes to tell he was afraid.

Q. I do not mean in a cowardly sense.

A. Well, with others, I was convinced that we were in a position of danger.

Q. What did Mr. Carter say?

A. He gave me to understand that we would be protected.

Q. By United States troops?

A. Yes; and when we were not protected by them, I wanted to know the reason why.

Q. Do you mean by that that you expected them to march over?

A. I was under the impression that they would.

Q. What did you accomplish by that first visit to the station house—any agreement?

A. We accomplished this—that it was a virtual giving up.

Q. What was said? What did the ministers say?

A. This is my impression of it to-day: That if they had only contend with the provisional government and the forces of the provisional government, that they would not give up. That was the impression that I gathered from them; that they felt themselves equal to the occasion so far as the provisional government went.

Q. Then having that sort of feeling, what did they propose to do?

A. They proposed to immediately deliver up. Then they went up,

four of them, and had a parley with Mr. Dole and the provisional government. They agreed to desist, but said they must go to the Queen and get her to confer with them.

Q. So far as they were concerned they were willing to yield, provided the Queen was?

A. Yes. Then I went along with them to the palace. We all met in the blue room. There were present the Queen, two young princes, the four ministers, Judge Wideman, Paul Neumann, J. O. Carter, E. C. McFarland, and myself. We went over between 4 and 5 and remained until 6 discussing the situation.

Q. In that conversation you asked for a surrender of the forces, and the ministers advised it?

A. The different ones spoke, and they all recommended it. Each one spoke. At first Judge Wideman was opposed to it, but he finally changed his mind on the advice of Mr. Neumann. Mr. Neumann advised yielding. Each one advised it.

Q. Was this advice of Neumann and the cabinet based on the idea that the Queen would have to contend with the United States forces as well as the forces of the provisional government?

A. It was the Queen's idea that she could surrender pending a settlement at Washington, and it was on that condition that she gave up. If I remember right, I spoke to her also. I said she could surrender or abdicate under protest.

Q. And that the protest would be considered at a later period at Washington?

A. At a later period.

Q. Did the cabinet, in recommending her to yield to the provisional government, give her to understand that they supposed that the American minister and the United States troops were in sympathy with the provisional government or with the committee of public safety?

A. I know it was the Queen's idea that Mr. Stevens was in sympathy with this movement.

Q. But I am asking now as to what reasons the ministers gave for her acquiescence.

A. It was their idea that it was useless to carry on—that it would be provocative of bloodshed and trouble if she persisted in this matter longer; that it was wiser for her to abdicate under protest and have a hearing at a later time; that the forces against her were too strong.

Q. Did they indicate the United States forces at all in any way?

A. I do not remember their doing so.

Q. Do you know whether or not at that time they were under the impression that the United States forces were in sympathy with the revolution?

A. Beyond an impression, I know nothing definite.

Q. What was the result of this conference with the Queen? What was agreed on?

A. She signed a document surrendering her rights to the provisional government under protest.

Q. Is this protest on page 22, Executive Document No. 76, Fifty-second Congress, second session?

A. Yes. This was written out by Mr. Neumann and J. O. Carter while we were present. She was reluctant to agree to this, but was advised that the whole subject would come up for final consideration at Washington.

Q. Did you at the time consent to recommend this proposition or not?

A. I was there as a member of the provisional government, but I did not advise as to the wording of it. I did tell her that she would have a perfect right to be heard at a later period.

Q. By the United States Government?

A. Yes.

Q. You yourself, at that time, before consulting with your colleagues, were favorably impressed with that settlement?

A. Well, it was the only settlement that could be brought about. Personally I was satisfied with it.

Q. And you took that back to the provisional government?

A. Yes.

Q. And they rejected it?

A. It was received and indorsed by Mr. Dole.

Q. Now, was there any message sent to the Queen after that?

A. No.

Q. No message declaring that they would not accept it?

A. No.

Q. The surrender was then made on that proposition?

A. Yes; well, then, she sent down word through Mr. Peterson to Mr. Wilson to deliver up the station house. That wound up the whole affair. We immediately took possession of it. It was not delivered up until after this conference.

Q. Now, how long after that was it before the provisional government was recognized?

A. Mr. Stevens sent Cadet Pringle, his aid, and Captain Wiltse sent one of his officers to personally examine the building and report if the provisional government was in actual possession of the Government building. That was done that afternoon.

Q. What time?

A. Between 4 and 5.

Q. What time was the interview with the Queen?

A. After 4, and ended at 6.

Q. You took reply?

A. Mr. Neumann took the reply to Mr. Dole.

Q. Now, when this interview was going on between you, the cabinet ministers, and the Queen, it was known then that the Government had been recognized?

A. That the Queen knew it? I do not think she was told. I do not remember of it being spoken of.

Q. Didn't you know it?

A. I think I knew it.

Q. Didn't these ministers know it then?

A. They may have been present. I can not say. The provisional government were all present when Mr. Stevens recognized it as the de facto government.

Q. What I mean is this: Before you took the message of the Queen back—this protest—the provisional government had been recognized?

A. Yes; that is my impression.

Q. Had that been done at the time you left the Government house to go with the cabinet ministers to talk with the Queen?

A. If my memory serves me right, it had.

Q. Did not the cabinet officers know of it at this time?

A. I can not say.

Q. What do you know about the contents of the constitution she wanted to proclaim?

A. It is too long to write down. I can tell you my connection with it.

Q. Have you seen it?

A. No.

TUESDAY, *May 2, 1893.*

Q. Mr. Damon, at the time of the writing of the protest of the Queen on the 17th day of January, 1893, signed by herself and ministers, had the provisional government been recognized by the American minister, Mr. Stevens?

A. It is my impression that it had been, but I can not say positively.

Q. Would the conversation you had with the Queen on that day aid you in determining that fact?

A. I do not think it would.

Q. In referring to Mrs. Wilson living with the Queen, in a previous part of this statement, did you mean to say that she stayed with her at night?

A. I mean to say that she was with the Queen a great deal of the time—both day and night.

Q. As a companion?

A. Yes; as a personal friend and companion.

Q. But where do you suppose she slept—at the bungalow or palace?

A. My impression is that her quarters were with her husband in the bungalow.

I have carefully read through the foregoing and pronounce it an accurate report of the two interviews between Mr. Blount and myself.

S. M. DAMON.

MR. PETTIGREW: I will ask to have read by the Secretary a letter from Joseph O. Carter with regard to this transaction. He was at that time one of the Queen's privy council. The letter shows conclusively the conspiracy entered into by our minister and the Hawaiian sugar planters.

The Secretary read as follows:

EBBITT HOUSE, *Washington, D. C., February 5, 1898.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Concerning the reasons which led Queen Liliuokalani, of Hawaii, to surrender to the revolutionists of January 17, 1893, I can say of my own knowledge that I was sent for to meet the members of the provisional government on that date, between 5 and 6 o'clock p. m.; that upon entering the room where the revolutionists were and asking why I had been sent for, Mr. Dole or some one standing near him replied that a committee was to wait upon the Queen and notify her that she had been deposed, and that it was thought desirable that I should accompany the committee.

Mr. S. M. Damon, later the vice-president of the provisional government, was appointed to bear the message from the said government to the Queen, and I walked over to the palace with him. The Queen was in the blue room with her ministers and other friends. Mr. Damon delivered the message and assured the Queen that she could note a protest, and that her protest would be sent to Washington for consideration and final action.

Because of Mr. Damon's assurance, Judge Wideman and I advised the Queen to yield. I should state that Judge Wideman and I were members of the Queen's privy council. The Queen was not disposed to surrender her throne, but after further consulting with her ministers and other friends she decided to do so, feeling confident that the United States Government would not approve of the action of Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse, of the U. S. S. *Boston*.

To influence the Queen Judge Wideman recalled the action of the British Admiral Thomas, who restored the flag and sovereignty of Hawaii to Kamehameha III, after the outrage committed by Lord George Paulet in 1843; and I assured the Queen that the Government of the United States would, in my opinion, act in the same way. The Queen then signed the following protest:

"I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against

any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this Kingdom.

"That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

"Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

"Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

"LILIUOKALANI, R.

"SAMUEL PARKER,

"Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"WM. H. CORNWELL,

"Minister of Finance.

"JOHN F. COLBURN,

"Minister of the Interior.

"A. P. PETERSON,

"Attorney-General."

To support what I have said about Mr. Damon's action, I refer you to his statement to Mr. Blount, included in the President's message to Congress dated December 18, 1893, which reads as follows:

Q. What was the result of this conference with the Queen? What was agreed on?

A. She signed a document surrendering her rights to the provisional government under protest.

Q. Is this the protest on page 22, Executive Document No. 76, Fifty-second Congress, second session?

A. Yes. This was written out by Mr. Neumann and J. O. Carter while we were present. She was reluctant to agree to this, but was advised that the whole subject would come up for final consideration at Washington.

Q. Did you at the time consent to recommend this proposition or not?

A. I was there as a member of the provisional government, but I did not advise as to the wording of it. I did tell her that she would have a perfect right to be heard at a later period.

Q. By the United States Government?

A. Yes.

Q. You yourself at that time, before consulting with your colleagues, were favorably impressed with that settlement?

A. Well, it was the only settlement that could be brought about. Personally I was satisfied with it.

Q. And you took that back to the provisional government?

A. Yes.

Q. And they rejected it?

A. It was received and indorsed by Mr. Dole.

Q. Now, was there any message sent to the Queen after that?

A. No.

Q. No message declaring that they would not accept it?

A. No.

Q. The surrender was then made on that proposition?

A. Yes. Well, then she sent down word through Mr. Peterson to Mr. Wilson to deliver up the station house. That wound up the whole affair. We immediately took possession of it. It was not delivered up until after this conference.

I have the honor to remain, very truly yours,

J. O. CARTER.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MR. PETTIGREW: It appears, then, Mr. President, that after the recognition of this so-called government, before the surrender of the Queen or the armed forces which she had, a delegation was sent to her and she surrendered to the armed forces of the United States, saying:

I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

To avoid collision and bloodshed, she submitted the question to the Government at Washington, surrendering to the armed forces of the United States, surrendering after Stevens had recognized this so-called government, surrendering because she was told that the Government of the United States, those people she had always been taught to reverence and respect, would do justice and restore her to the throne, and they cited a precedent in Hawaiian history as a justification for this claim:

On the 10th of February, 1843, the British frigate *Carysfort*, commanded by Lord George Paulet, arrived at Honolulu and showed displeasure by withholding the usual salutes.

He proceeded at once to take the King prisoner and make such demands upon him that he surrendered his crown on condition that the question should be submitted to the British Government. This History of the Hawaiian People says:

Under the circumstances, the King resolved to bear it no longer. "I will not die piecemeal," said he; "they may cut off my head at once. Let them take what they please; I will give no more."

Dr. Judd—

He was an American—

advised him to forestall the intended seizure of the islands by a temporary cession to Lord Paulet, pending an appeal to the British Government. The event proved the wisdom of this advice.

On the next day the subject was discussed by the King and his council, and preliminaries were arranged with Lord Paulet for the cession. On the morning of the 25th the King and premier signed a provisional cession of the islands to Lord George Paulet, "subject to the decision of the British Government after the receipt of full information from both parties."

At 3 o'clock p. m., February 25, the King, standing on the ramparts of the fort, read a brief and eloquent address to his people.

Then they submitted the question to Great Britain, and the English Government promptly restored the King to his throne, refusing to accept a usurpation of that sort. So in this case the Queen, having this incident of history referred to, said:

I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

This woman Liliuokalani is now in this city and has been for months, waiting for our Government to do justice. She has watched the disgraceful drama and been subjected to the sarcasm of the Senator from Massachusetts. She has been slandered and abused, and all this to justify robbing her of the throne and her people of their country.

Are we worse than Great Britain? When Kamehameha in 1843 surrendered and ceded the islands to the British admiral because he could not resist the force of an armed ship of war, the English Government promptly repudiated the act and restored him to the throne; and when Queen Liliuokalani, deprived of her authority by the armed forces of the United States, proposed to submit the question to this Government, she had good reason to suppose that the great Republic would preserve its honor and its dignity among the nations of the world and restore her to her throne. Yet, Mr. President, refusing to examine these facts, Senators propose to ratify this infamy by taking title against the will of the inhabitants of that country, and to annex it as a part of the United States. This history proceeds:

A proclamation was issued by Admiral Thomas, in which he declared, in the name of his sovereign, that he did not accept of the provisional cession of the Hawaiian Islands, and that "Her Majesty sincerely desires King Kamehameha III to be treated as an independent sovereign, leaving the administration of justice in his own hands."

Then a new treaty was made, and the King was again placed upon the throne. Liliuokalani had reason to suppose that this Government would be as honorable as was Great Britain. For my part, it seems to me that we pay an awful price, independent of all other questions, independent of the sugar duty, independent of the defense of these islands, which must cost vast sums of money; independent of the assumption of debt, independent of the assumption of vast governmental responsibilities—it seems to me we pay a terrible price for this violation of national honor, in establishing a precedent in our history which must remain a black page forever, a blot upon our memory as a people; and this is sufficient in itself to make

us refuse to annex these islands, at least without submitting the question to a vote of the people of that country.

It is quite important to us to ascertain the date when Mr. Stevens recognized this new government. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, excellent international lawyer that he is, well knew that no precedent could be found for recognizing the revolutionary government until they were in possession and control of the Government, commanding and having charge of its affairs; and if Mr. Stevens recognized the government while the Queen yet had a large armed force and was in possession of all the arms, before the revolutionists had taken possession of anything or performed any of the functions of government, his recognition was a violation of the rights of the Government to which he was sent and ought to be repudiated by this Government. Stevens's own statement with regard to it is sufficient to condemn him, but I will pass that over, as the official record is sufficient. The documents themselves show conclusively that the new government was recognized when it did not exist.

It is important to know whether it was before or after the protest which I have read by the Queen was signed. If it was before, then the United States overthrew the Hawaiian Government. The importance of this question was recognized by our diplomats. Mr. Foster, then Secretary of State, in a letter to President Harrison, said:

At the time the provisional government took possession of the Government buildings no troops or officers of the United States were present or took any part whatever in the proceedings. No public recognition was accorded to the provisional government by the United States minister until after the Queen's abdication and when they were in effective possession of the Government buildings, the archives, the treasury, the barracks, the police station, and all the potential machinery of the Government.

That is absolutely untrue.

No public recognition was accorded to the provisional government by the United States minister until after the Queen's abdication.

We will see whether or not that is true. The record is sufficient, and I will reach it shortly.

The provisional government of the Hawaiian Islands is, by all usual and proper tests, in the sole and supreme possession of power and in control of all the resources of the Hawaiian nation, not only through the Queen's formal submission, but through its possession of all the armed forces, arms and ammunition, public offices, and administration of law, unopposed by any adherents of the late government.

The commission which was sent here to urge annexation, on February 11, 1893, in reply to the Queen's protest, said:

At the time the provisional government took possession of the Government buildings, no American troops or officers were present or took part in such proceedings in any manner whatever.

They were 75 yards in the street, simply commanding the Government building and the place where these conspirators read their proclamation.

No public recognition was accorded the provisional government by the American minister until they were in possession of the Government buildings, the archives, and the treasury, supported by several hundred armed men, and after the abdication by the Queen and the surrender to the provisional government of her forces.

That was signed by Thurston, Wilder, Castle, and Carter. They knew, every one of them, when they signed it, that they were signing their names to an unqualified falsehood. They knew the Queen had not surrendered when the Government was recognized. They knew that she made the protest after their Government, so called, was recognized, and yet they thought to rush through annexation in the last days of Harrison's Administration, and do it upon that bold falsehood. They stand convicted of willful and intentional lying for the purpose of deceiving the President of the United States and the Senate of the United States. Yet these are the men who are being extolled as models of virtue, integrity, and honesty, and such is the character of the men who overthrew that Government and who now are trying to annex the islands to the United States.

We will go back to the afternoon of January 17, 1893. The conspirators had read their proclamation in front of the Government building, within 75 yards of the line of marines armed with rifles and Gatling guns, and they at once sent the

following communication to Minister Stevens, which I will read:

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, *January 17, 1893.*

SIR: The undersigned, members of the executive and advisory councils of the provisional government—

I hope Senators have noticed who elected this advisory council—self-constituted. They got together in Smith's office and they called themselves the advisory council of the provisional government—

this day established in Hawaii, hereby state to you that for the reasons set forth in the proclamation this day issued, a copy of which is herewith inclosed for your consideration, the Hawaiian monarchy has been abrogated and a provisional government established in accordance with the said above-mentioned proclamation.

Such provisional government has been proclaimed, is now in possession of the Government departmental buildings, the archives, and the treasury, and is in control of the city. We hereby request that you will, on behalf of the United States of America, recognize it as the existing *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and afford to it the moral support of your Government, and, if necessary, the support of American troops to assist in preserving the public peace.

We have the honor to remain your obedient servants,

SANFORD B. DOLE.

J. A. McCANDLESS.

J. A. KING.

ANDREW BROWN.

P. C. JONES.

JAS. F. MORGAN.

WILLIAM O. SMITH.

HENRY WATERHOUSE.

S. M. DAWSON.

E. D. TENNEY.

JOHN EMMELUTH.

F. J. WILHELM.

F. W. McCHESNEY.

W. G. ASHLEY.

W. C. WILDER.

C. BOLTE.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,

United States Minister Resident.

Let us see. Mr. Stevens sent the following reply:

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, January 17, 1893.

A provisional government having been duly constituted in place of the recent government of Queen Liliuokalani, and said provisional government being in full possession of the Government buildings, the archives, and the treasury, and in full control of the capital of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby recognize said provisional government as the *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

JOHN L. STEVENS, *Envoy, etc.*

I have read now the notice of this so-called government to the American minister that they had read their proclamation and were in possession of the city and the Government buildings, but there was no statement that they were in possession of the arms, the police station, or the armory, or the armed forces. I have read the reply of the American minister, in which he indicated nothing of the sort. The Queen had not surrendered. Now I will read Dole's letter, dated on the same day.

* * * * *

Certain American sugar planters, certain sons of missionaries who were residents and citizens of the Hawaiian Islands, conspired together to overthrow their Government, and that they did it solely and alone, except with the assistance of the marines of the United States, and that the Queen surrendered to the armed forces of the United States has been proved. I have shown what took place from the moment they read the proclamation, which occurred without the presence of an armed man, and I put Mr. Damon's testimony in the RECORD. Mr. Damon testified that when they had nearly finished reading the proclamation a few armed men appeared, fifteen, I think, and that shortly after they had finished reading sixty appeared. Those were the revolutionary soldiers who were to sustain and support the Government.

The proclamation was read in front of the Government building, within 75 yards of United States marines, and the only military force in sight were the armed men landed from our own ship in the harbor of Honolulu. Immediately upon the reading of the proclamation Stevens recognized the new Government, and then their emissaries came here and told the Senate and told the President that he did not recognize this new Government until the Queen had surrendered her armed forces and abdicated and given up her Government. I say that he recognized that Government as soon as the proclamation was read, before the Queen had surrendered at all, and I will prove it by Dole's own letter. What are the facts?

GOVERNMENT BUILDING, *Honolulu, January 17, 1893.*

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,

United States Minister Resident.

SIR: I acknowledge receipt of your valued communication of this day, recognizing the Hawaiian provisional government, and express deep appreciation of the same.

Now notice what follows:

We have conferred with the ministers of the late government, and have made demand upon the marshal to surrender the station house. We are not actually yet in possession of the station house; but as night is approaching and our forces may be insufficient to maintain order, we request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the commander of the United States forces take command of our military forces, so that they may act together for the protection of the city.

Respectfully yours,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Chairman Executive Council.

I will also read a document signed by the cabinet of the Queen—

MR. CAFFERY. Before the Senator leaves this part of the subject, I desire to ask him whether there is not evidence in the record that Minister Stevens himself stated the period at which he received the protest of the Queen's Government against the recognition of the Provisional Government?

MR. PETTIGREW. That is just what I am going to read. The Queen's cabinet, before she surrendered her forces, sent the following communication to Mr. Stevens:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

SIR: Her Hawaiian Majesty's Government, having been informed that certain persons to them unknown have issued proclamation declaring a provisional government to exist in opposition to Her Majesty's Government, and having pretended to depose the Queen, her cabinet and marshal, and that certain treasonable persons at present occupy the Government building in Honolulu with an armed force, and pretending that your excellency, on behalf of the United States of America, has recognized such provisional government, Her Majesty's cabinet asks respectfully, Has your excellency recognized said provisional government? And if not, Her Majesty's Government under

the above existing circumstances respectfully requests the assistance of your Government in preserving the peace of the country.

We have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servants,

SAMUEL PARKER,

Minister Foreign Affairs.

WM. H. CORNWELL,

Minister of Finance.

JOHN F. COLBURN,

Minister of the Interior.

A. P. PETERSON,

Attorney-General.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, etc.

And yet they say to us that the Queen had surrendered before Stevens recognized this government. I also read Mr. Stevens's reply:

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

Honolulu, January 17, 1893.

About 4 to 5 p. m. of this date—am not certain of the precise time—the note on file from the four ministers of the deposed Queen, inquiring if I had recognized the provisional government, came to my hands while I was lying sick on the couch. Not far from 5 p. m.—I did not think to look at my watch—I addressed a short note to Hon. Samuel Parker, Hon. William H. Cornwell, Hon. John F. Colburn, and Hon. A. P. Peterson, no longer regarding them as ministers, informing them that I had recognized the provisional government.

JOHN L. STEVENS,

United States Minister.

What more conclusive proof can be had? Senators say this record has been answered. It has not been answered. There has never been any answer or defense to this irregular, dishonest, treasonable act, this overthrow of the Government by the American minister and the American marines.

This communication was received at the station house and read by all of the ministers and by a number of other persons.

After this, Mr. Samuel M. Damon, the vice-president of the provisional government, and Mr. Bolte, a member of the advisory council, came to the station house and gave information of the proclamation and asked for the delivery up of the station house, the former urging that the government had been recognized by the American minister, and that any struggle would cause useless bloodshed.

The marshal declared that he was able to cope with the forces of the provisional government and those of the United States successfully, if the latter interfered, and that he would not surrender except by the written order of the Queen.

Then the Queen made her protest, surrendered to the superior force of the United States, and submitted the question to our Government at Washington. Now, I submit, in the face of that undisputed record, that we tarnish the honor of this nation if we take title to that country without submitting the question to a vote of the people.

The Queen had when she surrendered about 450 troops, and she was induced to surrender by the fact that an English admiral had overturned the Government of the islands once before, and it had been submitted to the English Government, and even piratical England had too much honor to take title to a country under such a proceeding. Yet it is proposed that the greatest, freest, grandest Government in the world shall take title to a land against the will of its inhabitants when the only source of such title is the puppets we have set up. You can not get away from the record, and you can not answer it. Nobody has tried to answer it in this debate or in secret session, and until you do answer it you indorse dishonor.

On January 31, thirteen days after the revolution, Dole wrote Mr. Stevens that his government could not maintain itself, and asked for the protection of the United States troops. Stevens complied, and our flag was put up over the public buildings, and remained up until April 1, 1893, when Mr. Blount ordered it taken down. If there was a government that had been able to create and establish itself and to maintain itself with an armed force, why is it that thirteen days afterwards they begged of Mr. Stevens, admitting their impotency to maintain their government, to again land the troops of the United States and put the United States flag upon the buildings? That was done on the 31st of January, and the flag remained there sixty days. The flag went up in dishonor. When it was raised under such circumstances, it was a disgrace to the Republic.

During the sixty days while our flag remained upon this

building the provisional government brought in foreign mercenaries, brought in men from San Francisco, collected together an armed force, gathered together every gun upon all the islands, passed the strictest penal laws against the importation of guns, made it a criminal and penal offense to have a gun. When I was in Honolulu last summer, no person could buy a gun in those islands without a license and no man could deal in guns without a license. Every gun was registered. The so-called republic was surrounded by armed men. Back and forth in front of the public buildings and the public offices marched men armed with Winchester rifles.

They proceeded rapidly to enact laws, this provisional government, not a legislative body, but nineteen men, self-constituted, supported by our armed forces, for they had added a few more to their number and now had nineteen. They enacted that no one should be eligible to be a senator, or representative, or a juror until he should have taken and subscribed to the following oath or affirmation:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm), in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the constitution, laws, and Government of the Republic of Hawaii; and will not, either directly or indirectly, encourage or assist in the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands.

On the 31st an act concerning seditious offenses was published. This law made it an offense to speak, write, or print anything which might bring hatred or contempt against the Government. On the same day was published a law prohibiting the importation of firearms and ammunition without first obtaining the permission of the Government. On the same day an act relating to contempts became law: "Any person who shall publish any false report of the proceedings of said council, or insulting comment upon the same," etc., was liable to imprisonment for thirty days. On the 30th an order from military headquarters requiring all citizens to report within three days all arms in their possession was published.

The new government found it necessary to keep a strong guard at the Government building, at the palace, the barracks,

and the police station. They had pickets stationed in the neighborhood of the Government building.

So they succeeded in getting possession of the arms, in preventing the importation of arms, and with the assistance of the United States battle ship, which has remained in that harbor ever since—for the moment one leaves another takes its place—these men have been able to maintain themselves in power, possessing the only guns, the only cannon, and the only means of resistance.

What have they done? They have set up a republic, so we are told. For nearly a year after this government was created they had no constitution. They proceeded themselves—these nineteen men—to enact laws—the most stringent, the most oppressive laws. But after a year they concluded to organize the Republic of Hawaii, and that is the Government with which we are dealing to-day. Such a republic was never known before in the history of the world. They called an election for a constitutional convention, and provided that the people who would take an oath to support their Government might elect 18 delegates to the constitutional convention, and they constituted themselves members of it without any election—19 of them—making the election of delegates absolutely a farce.

That is the constitution under which they claim the right to cede their country to the United States. At that election, although there were 13,593 registered voters in 1890, 4,477 were registered to vote for the 18 members of the constitutional convention, who were to sit with the 19 members of the existing, self-constituted government and frame a constitution for the Republic of Hawaii. Yes, one-third of the voters, as the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Jones] says, voted to elect 18 members to sit with 19 members of the self-constituted government. Of course it was a farce. Of course the people had no voice in the constitution and no power or chance to say anything about it whatever.

CHAPTER VI

THE HAWAIIAN "REPUBLIC"

NOW,¹ we will turn our attention for a moment to the character of the so-called Americans on those islands. Those Americans are the sons of missionaries who went there seventy years ago. They are the sons and nephews and relatives of those missionaries. They are the men who have controlled that Government, who have ruled the monarchy with an iron hand for the last fifty years. They are the men who dethroned and set up a king, formed cabinets, dictated the policy, and absolutely ruled those people. They know nothing about a republican form of government. They have no sense or idea of anything but a tyranny.

In 1887 they forced a constitution from the King of those islands which disfranchised his own people and in addition provided that any foreigner could become a voter and participate in the Government without releasing his allegiance to a foreign country, thus enabling those Americans and the other foreigners to claim protection of the consuls of their country or the ships of their country in that port while participating to the full extent in the control of the local Government. How did they secure that constitution? They secured it by threatening to assassinate the King. Twenty of the very men who to-day form the Government, which they call a republic down in those islands, got together and swore to an oath that any five of the number drawn should assassinate the King if he did not submit to their constitution. The King yielded, disfranchised his own people, and set up a Government in which the men I have mentioned were the dominant and controlling factor.

What reasons were there for the last revolution? The

1. Speech in the Senate March 2, 1895.

Queen insisted upon adopting a new constitution which would give her own people a voice in the Government, which would give her own people, who had had the fostering care of the fathers of these sons of missionaries, a voice in that Government. The excuse for the revolution was, then, that the native Hawaiian desired a voice in his own behalf. When the Queen insisted upon it—that is all there is of her offense—they called upon the sailors of the United States, and only with their aid could they have overturned the monarchy.

I do not care to give the character of these rulers, these dominant invaders, simply upon my assertion, and I will read to the Senate what appeared in the *New York Times* a few days ago:

* * * * * * *

At last Friday night's prayer meeting in Plymouth Church Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, in his characteristically forceful way, had something to say condemnatory of missionary work in Hawaii which has led to considerable discussion in religious circles.

This is pertinent from the fact that the missionaries who went to Hawaii were missionaries of the Congregational Church, and Mr. Shearman is a leading member and a founder of the greatest Congregational Church in this country. The *Times* continues:

Mr. Shearman's remarks were not reported in the local papers, and as some misstatements have been made concerning what he really said, the *New York Times* gives what he has to say about the matter. * * *

"Seventy years ago the American Board of Foreign Missions sent a few Congregational missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, who were received by the people with enthusiasm. They did not really have to convert the people, for they were all ready for conversion.

"The chiefs and the people threw away their idols and embraced Christianity with all their hearts. So complete was their trust in the missionaries that practically all government was placed under missionary control, and the missionaries and their sons or their nephews had ever since had the practical government of the islands. What had been the result?

"They found 130,000 people there, and now they report that there are only 34,000. But of these 34,000 they recently reported that 18,000 were members of Congregational churches—a larger proportion of church members than can be found in any other Protestant country in

the world. The missionaries boasted that those natives were better educated, better behaved, and more peaceable, orderly, and religious, in proportion to their numbers, than the people of many parts of the United States.

"The triumph of religion, and especially of Congregationalism, in Hawaii was made the subject of endless boasts by missionaries and managers of missions, and was made the ground of appeals to American Christians for fresh subscriptions and aid for missionary work.

"Suddenly their whole tone changed. The missionaries' sons and some returned missionaries vehemently asserted that the native Hawaiians were filthy and ignorant and a debased, licentious, and idolatrous race, utterly unfit to be trusted with liberty, but must be kept under the control of a firm and unscrupulous, but pious, Congregational despotism.

"Assuming this to be true, then the result of between fifty and sixty years' unbroken missionary government in these islands has been that the population has been reduced in number by three-quarters, and that these three-quarters are as debased, licentious, and brutal as they were when the missionaries began their labors, and that the whole missionary enterprise has been a disgraceful failure.

"Meanwhile there are some other facts, which the missionaries do not mention, but which can not be disputed. During the fifty years the government of these islands was under missionary influence most of the natives were deprived of their rights in the land, excepting about 27,000 acres, and all the rest was divided among the King, the chiefs, and the families and friends of the missionaries.

"The missionaries' sons and their associates boast that they own four-fifths of all the property of the islands. Nearly all the rest is owned by the descendants of the former chiefs. The great mass of the people own nothing. The missionary government, finding that the natives would not work for less than 25 cents a day, complained of the want of labor, and insisted on the importation of scores of thousands of the scum of the human race, including Chinese and what are called Portuguese, a mongrel race, who never saw Portugal, but who speak something resembling the language of that country.

"In this manner the missionaries' sons cut down the wages of the native Hawaiians, and compelled them to work on their sugar plantations at such rates as seemed good to their masters.

"Before the missionaries gained control of the islands leprosy was unknown. But with the introduction of strange races leprosy established itself and rapidly increased. An entire island was very properly devoted to the lepers. No Protestant missionaries would venture among them.

"For this I do not blame them, as no doubt I should not have had the courage to go myself. But a noble Catholic priest consecrated his

life to the service of the lepers, lived among them, baptized them, educated them, and brought some light and happiness into their wretched lives.

"Stung by the contrast of his example the one remaining missionary, a recognized and paid agent of the American Board, spread broadcast the vilest slander against Father Damien. He said that Father Damien was dirty."

This is the same gentleman, Mr. Hyde, an extract from whose report I read a short time ago:

"Much good missionaries can do among a wretched and degraded people if they hold themselves aloof from those who are dirty! Did the Apostles take care never to touch the dirty hands or sit against the dirty clothes of their early converts?"

"He accused the good father of vile practices. But the vileness was in the Congregational missionary's mouth, not in the Catholic missionary's life, and under threats of exposure and legal punishment the Congregational missionary sneaked out of the accusation. Yet, after he had degraded himself in the eyes of every decent man, he remains, if I am correctly informed, still the well-paid, well-housed, comfortably-cared-for agent of the American Board in Hawaii. Of course, he is an ardent annexationist.

"And now the very same men who by hundreds and thousands have protested with pious indignation against the Southern States for their practical disfranchisement of the Southern negroes, who are by the confession of their own best men vastly below the moral standard which the Hawaiian missionaries have until lately boasted as the peculiar attribute of their converts, are full of enthusiasm over what, with bitter irony, is called the Hawaiian Republic.

"A republic, forsooth, in which no man can vote unless he has property which would be equivalent to the possession of \$5,000 in Brooklyn, and in which no one can vote for senator who is not worth \$3,000, which is equivalent to \$20,000 in Brooklyn.

"But even with this restriction of the suffrage our republican missionaries are afraid to trust their republican voters. Accordingly they did not dare to allow the people under any limitations whatever to elect the President, but, having got possession of the constitutional convention, they appointed Mr. Dole President, to hold office for six years, and just so much longer as the Senate and Assembly should fail to agree on a successor, restricting the choice even then to such persons as should be agreeable to a majority of the Senate, which will be elected by about 200 of the richest men on the island.

"Nor do they stop here. They passed laws severely punishing any one who dares to speak disrespectfully of any of their high mightinesses. Any one, whether a native or an American, who dares to say that this

republican government is not republican, or that any of the missionaries' sons who deign to govern the barbarous Christians of Hawaii is not well fitted for the post, is liable to a long term of imprisonment and a heavy fine.

"And yet, after all, though they have the Government and the laws and the courts and the juries all in their own hands, they are afraid to trust any of them, and, on the first sign of alarm, and before a blow was struck, they shut up all the courts and proclaimed martial law. And this is our pious Congregational missionary Republic. This is the fruit of seventy years of Congregational teaching and missionary government.

"And now it is proposed to annex this island, with its barbarous idolatrous, dirty, debased, Congregational heathen, Christian idolators, and the 100,000 Mongolians and half-breed Portuguese to boot, and to bring it into our Republic as one of the States of our Union to help govern us. Already one branch of Congress has voted to expend \$500,000 in beginning to lay a cable for this purpose, which, of course, will involve us in about \$3,000,000 more, in addition to that already incurred, to enable Hawaiians to plant sugar at a cost to this country of \$50,000,000 taken out of the public Treasury and put into the pockets of the planters to enable them to employ Mongolians and half-breed Portuguese.

"But we are to spend many millions more in annexing them. We shall have to build warships to defend our possession when we get it.

"I consider this the most dangerous and disastrous proposition that has ever been made in this country. If successful it will launch us upon an era of colonization and of petty, disgraceful foreign wars. It will bring into our Union sham republics, which will still further corrupt our already corrupt Government, and speedily destroy all reality in republican institutions.

"We are on the brink of a precipice, and a very little effort is needed to push us over. If I were standing alone on this continent I would oppose and denounce this whole scheme of foreign wars, annexation, and colonial projects to the very last."

Dr. R. M. Raymond said he indorsed what Mr. Shearman had said, with the exception of some criticism on the Navy. Dr. Abbott did not agree with Mr. Shearman on questions of fact, but he did agree with Mr. Shearman in his opposition to annexation.

I have read this, Mr. President, because it has been asserted that it was an attack upon missionary effort for any one to describe the results of their efforts among those people. I do not propose to make any such attack. I believe the missionaries failed, as the missionary effort will always fail under

like circumstances, for the reason that they failed to recognize what I believe to be a fact, that a form of government and a form of religion is a necessary adjunct of the social compact, and that every race, be it civilized or barbarous, has the best form of religion and the best form of government it is capable in the aggregate of maintaining; and if you undertake to give a religion of a higher civilization to a barbarous race you must accompany it with that civilization and a full understanding of it, which is impossible. Therefore, while those people adopted outwardly the forms of our religion, they were unable to comprehend its meaning or appreciate our civilization, while they imbibed our vices and faded away.

I have now shown the utterly worthless character of the native population and the worse than worthless character of contract labor; and I have undertaken to show by the testimony of leading Congregationalists in this country that the dominant invaders who now rule those islands are also incapable of enjoying a republican government, and are only capable of maintaining a despotism. I will read from a California paper, the *Call*, of San Francisco, on the 17th of this month:

CONFESSION BY TORTURE—HOW THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT ELICITED TREASON TESTIMONY.

SAN FRANCISCO, *February 17*.

The *Call* prints the following from Honolulu:

"The success of the Government of Hawaii in conducting its treason cases was due to the incriminating evidence given by Capt. William Davies, of the steamer *Taimanolo*. Davies was arrested on the morning of January 5. He is an American citizen and refused any information, and while protesting his innocence demanded an interview with the United States minister. This was refused. Davies was then given to understand that if a complete confession was not forthcoming he would be strung up by the thumbs. But he did not flinch, and his legs were bound below the knees and his thumbs were lashed with a whipcord to iron bolts in the stone wall of the prison yard so that the unfortunate man's toes just touched the ground. Davies was stripped to the waist, while Marshal Hitchcock, Attorney-General Smith, and Surgeon Cooper, with a stenographer, awaited the statement which they believed would be forthcoming. Davies did not weaken. Sweat oozed from every pore. The tendons of the victim's limbs stood out like strands of rope, blood vessels knotted on his arms and legs, swelling

as if ready to burst with congested blood, restrained in its course by his abnormal position, until at last he fainted. Dr. Cooper used salts of ammonia to revive the captain. As soon as he revived two negro convicts suspended him again by the thumbs. This inhuman operation was begun at noon, and it was 6 o'clock in the evening before Davies, more dead than alive, made the statement that respited him from the inhuman barbarity of his persecutors.

"Another case of torture was brought to light in the military inquiry. A young native was handcuffed at the wrists. Then he was placed in a tank of ice-cold water. He was kept there until circulation of the blood in his extremities had almost ceased, and Dr. Cooper declared that action of the heart was almost suspended. He was then taken from the tank and, after being restored from his condition of semiconsciousness, the torture was again administered until he confessed."

And these are the people who talk about having set up a "sister Republic" in the Southern Pacific. Then, with a population utterly worthless, what advantage are we going to gain by annexing those people? Oh, Senators say that our trade relations are large with the Hawaiian Islands, that more American ships go there than of any other nationality, and that more of their commerce comes to our ports than goes to any other part of the world. Remarkable, is it not, that this should be the fact when we impose a duty upon the products from every other country and admit them from the Sandwich Islands free.

* * * * *

Now,² what kind of a constitution did they adopt? It provides for an oligarchy. It provides that the Government shall consist of Mr. Dole as President—he is named in the constitution—who shall hold his office until the year 1900, a Senate of 15 members and a House of Representatives of 15 members, and the Senate and House sitting together shall elect Mr. Dole's successor President after the year 1900, but that no successor can be elected unless he gets a majority of the Senate; and if no successor is elected, Dole continues to hold.

2. Speech in the Senate July 6, 1898.

THE COURSE OF EMPIRE

ARTICLE 23.—*First President.*

Sanford Ballard Dole is hereby declared to be the President of the Republic of Hawaii, to hold office until and including the 31st day of December, 1900, and thereafter until a successor shall have been duly elected and qualified.

ARTICLE 24.—*Election of President.*

SEC. 1. On the third Wednesday of September, 1900, and on the third Wednesday of September in every sixth year thereafter, the Legislature shall meet to elect a President for a term of six years, to begin with the 1st day of January of the year following.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of such election the Senate and House of Representatives shall sit together.

The election shall be by ballot, and the person receiving a majority vote of all the elective members to which the Legislature is entitled, which majority shall include a majority of all the senators, shall be President for the succeeding term, or for the unexpired portion of such term in case no person shall have been elected prior to the first day of such term.

SEC. 3. If the Legislature shall fail to elect a President before the 1st day of January following the date when the Legislature is required to meet for such election, the President whose term has then expired or the minister who is acting as President shall continue to be or act as President until his successor is elected and qualified; but such failure to elect shall in no case discharge the Legislature from their duty to immediately proceed with such election.

Then they provide that no one can be a senator without the most rigid property qualification, possessing property worth several thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 56.—*Qualifications of senators.*

In order to be eligible to election as a senator, a person shall—

Be a male citizen of the Republic;

Have attained the age of thirty years;

Be able understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language;

Have resided in the Hawaiian Islands not less than three years;

Be the owner, in his own right, of property in the Republic of the value of not less than \$3,000 over and above all incumbrances; or have been in the receipt of a money income of not less than \$1,200 during the year immediately preceding the date of the election, for the proof of which he may be required to produce original accounts of the receipt of such income.

And no person can vote for a senator unless he is worth \$3,000 in personal property or \$1,500 of real estate, according to the last assessment for taxation, or has an income of \$600 a year.

ARTICLE 76.—*Qualifications of voters for senators.*

In order to be eligible to vote for senators a person must possess all the qualifications and be subject to all the conditions required by this constitution of voters for representatives, and, in addition thereto, he shall own and be possessed in his own right of real property in the Republic of the value of not less than \$1,500 over and above all incumbrances, and upon which legal taxes shall have been paid on that valuation for the year next preceding the one in which such person offers to register; or personal property of the value of not less than \$3,000 over and above all incumbrances; or shall have actually received a money income of not less than \$600 during the year next preceding the 1st day of April next preceding the date of each registration; for the proof of which he may be required to produce original accounts of the receipt of such income.

They shut out, then, everybody in the Hawaiian Islands from the right of suffrage except the sugar planters. They made a qualification of voting for senators that would disfranchise 12,000,000 of the voters of the United States. I think many more. I think it would disfranchise 13,000,000 out of our 14,000,000 voters if we had the same provision.

They have a property qualification which allows no one to vote for senators unless he is engaged in the chief industry of the island which has been built up by remitted duties. See how ingenious it all was. They created a council of state, five of whom were to be selected by the President, five by the Senate, and five by the House of Representatives; and this very constitution provides that a majority of the council can do business. Then it provides that they can sit and make laws and make appropriations when the Legislature is not in session, and that their laws and their acts and their appropriations shall hold good until the last day of the session of the Legislature.

Then we have what? A Senate and a President, who are the Government, and anybody can vote for a member of the

House of Representatives who was born in Hawaii, or is a naturalized citizen and has taken an oath to favor annexation to the United States. But the House of Representatives amounts to nothing. It cuts no figure whatsoever, because the Government council, one-third of whom are appointed by the President and one-third by the Senate, can do business when the Legislature is not in session, and the House has no voice in the selection of a President, because nobody can be elected unless he gets eight votes in the Senate. So the Senate elected by the sugar planters could elect Dole's successor, or Dole could continue on forever, and the people of Hawaii have no voice in the Government whatever.

They put into the constitution a provision for a union, commercial or political, with the United States. Did that come from the people? They had no voice in it. As I have shown, the constitution was not indorsed by the people or submitted to the people. After this self-constituted convention had adopted that constitution, they declared it the constitution of the Republic of Hawaii, and never submitted it to a vote at all, and it never has been submitted. And yet from this gang of sugar-raising conspirators we propose to take title to those islands. There is no black page on the history of England in the robbery and plunder of the nations of the world as infamous as our own will be if we take title to those islands under such circumstances.

We must submit this question to a vote of the people of those islands if we would escape dishonor. Although there were 13,583 registered voters in 1890, and in 1894 4,477, in 1896, under the Republic of Hawaii, at the first election under this constitution, there were but 3,196 actual voters, and in 1897, under the same Republic, there were but 2,687 voters for representatives. The fact of the matter is that the people have gradually become disgusted with that Government. They have found that they have no voice in it, and they have ceased to take an interest in it. They know it is maintained by the armed force of the United States, and they are uneasy.

If you would submit the question whether those islands

should be annexed to the United States to the people of that country—to the 13,000 voters—it is very doubtful if you could get 2,687 votes in favor of it. After a careful investigation of the subject, I do not believe a majority of the white residents of those islands are in favor of annexation. I know that there are none of the natives in favor of it. While we have heard the missionaries eulogized, certainly we can eulogize them but little, unless we can eulogize their work. The natives of Hawaii can read and write the English language. A greater percentage of the people can read and write than in nearly a majority of the American States.

* * * * *

I found no native—and I talked with every one I could get a chance to talk to—who was in favor of annexation. At a meeting at Hilo, where 600 natives gathered in a church, I asked those who signed the protest against the annexation of the islands to the United States—the protest which was sent on here and which we have in the archives of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a protest signed by 29,000 of those people—I asked those who had signed that protest themselves to rise to their feet, and every person in that church at once rose to his feet, knowing exactly what they had done.

I talked with officers of the Government who have been given places that these conspirators told me were in favor of annexation. When I reached them alone they would say, "We are holding an official position; we have to say publicly that we are in favor of annexation; but we are not. We love our country and we love our flag; and while we respect and regard the United States with the highest consideration, we are as desirous of maintaining our national existence, as desirous that our flag shall remain in the sky, as you are that the United States shall continue a government and maintain its flag."

I say under these circumstances, Mr. President, owing to the protest which the Queen sent here, owing to the fact that we overthrew the Government by the armed forces of the United States, owing to the fact that the people with whom

we are treating for the sovereignty of that country are but our puppets maintained by us, owing to the fact that this evidence has never been disputed or denied with any show of proof, the least we can do is to submit this question to a vote of the people of Hawaii.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF HAWAII

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ I believe that under the provisions of this treaty, which we can abrogate by giving twelve months' notice, we are still the owners of Pearl Harbor. For my part, I should give back this piece of doubtful property to the Hawaiian people. I do not believe we want it. It seems to me it is an element of perpetual weakness, and I do not see how it can be otherwise regarded. It is 2,000 miles from our coast. It is in the very centre of the Pacific Ocean. It does not intercept any line of commerce between the United States and any portion of the globe. For us it does not command a rod of land on earth. The straightest and shortest line from San Francisco to Japan and China runs 2,000 miles north of the Hawaiian Islands.

The shortest line from San Francisco to New Zealand runs 1,000 miles south of them, and even the shortest line to Australia runs 500 miles south. The ship that goes from San Francisco to Honolulu goes for the purpose of visiting that point, and not for the purpose of pausing incidentally on a voyage to any other portion of the planet. There is no coal on the Hawaiian Islands; so, in order to coal there, we first have to transport the fuel from our own shores. After getting it there, it is in one of the most out-of-the-way places on earth. It would be vastly more expedient and profitable to establish a coaling station on one of our own Aleutian Islands south of Bering Sea, for they are within 100 miles of the shortest lines that can be drawn on the surface of the sea between the United States and Hongkong. Not only would the western extremity of our own Republic be the best possible

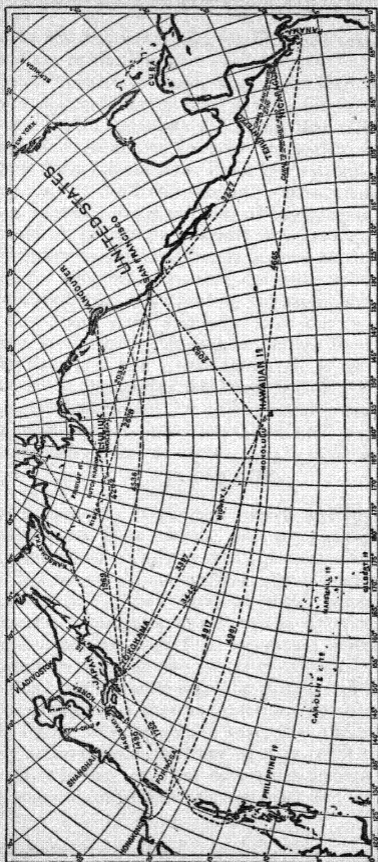
1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

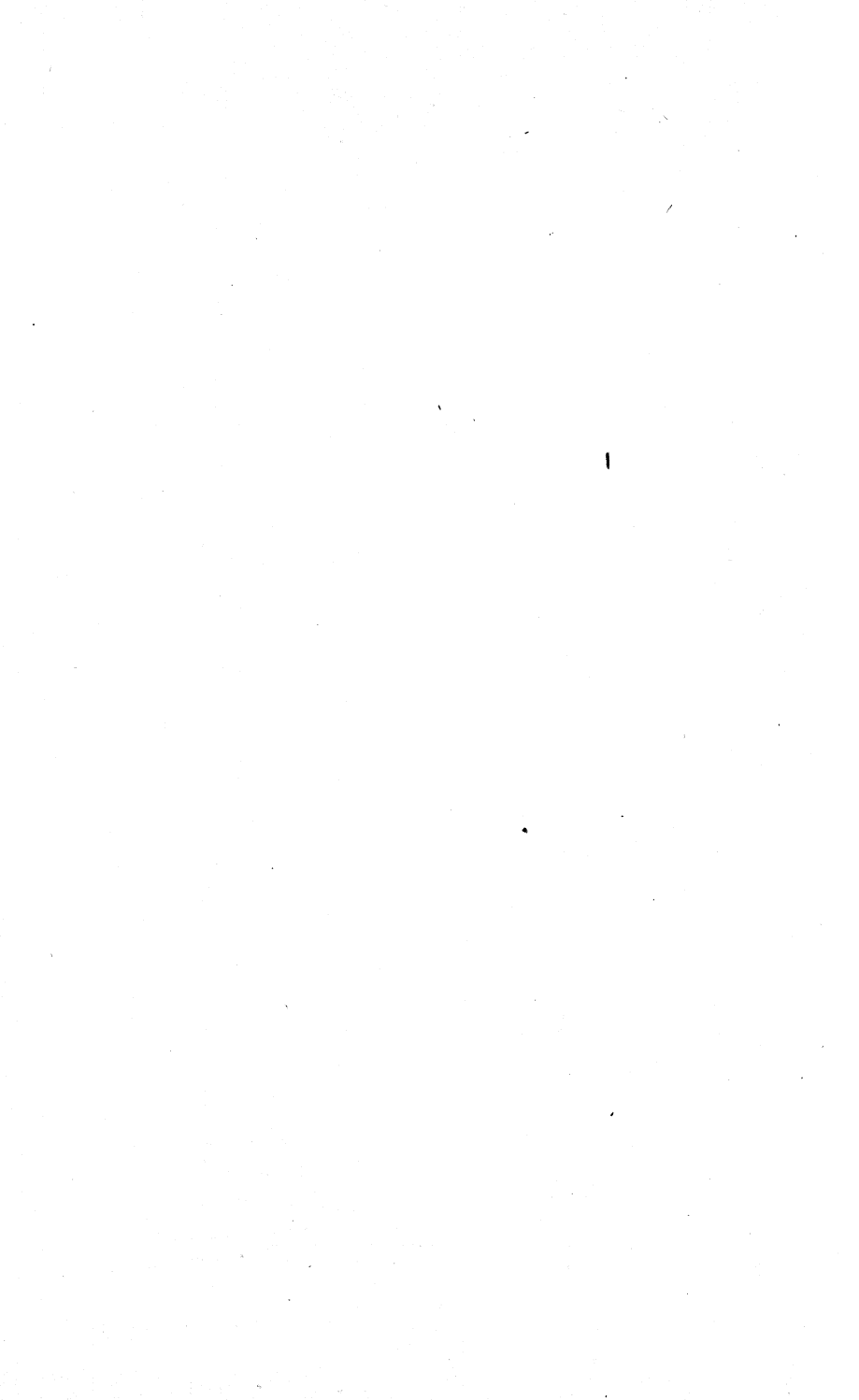
place to establish a coaling station, if we had to carry the coal from Portland and pile it up there, but coal has already been found upon those islands and it could be mined and kept ready very near where it is most needed.

I hold in my hand a map which shows the facts in this case. It is constructed on the lines of Mercator's projection, but the distances are shown as they actually exist upon the surface of the sphere. It shows that our Aleutian Islands are just half way on our road to Japan and China; that they are very near the shortest route that vessels can take, and that they would constitute the best possible stopping place for all commercial purposes whatever. The map further shows (and I shall print an outline of it with my speech in the RECORD) that the Hawaiian Islands are entirely aside and out of the way of the path of our vessels bound for any other land. Not only are the Aleutian Islands nearer to the United States than the Hawaiian Islands are, but they are seven or eight hundred miles nearer to Japan and China. Indeed, if we were to transport our coal to the farthest westward of our Aleutian peninsula we should be within 500 miles of the coast of Asia and 1,500 miles nearer to Yokohama than Honolulu is.

Our steam vessels of every sort now crossing the Pacific do not go to Honolulu, for if they did they would go hundreds or thousands of miles out of their way. This coal is carried to Honolulu from British America, but bituminous coal, probably superior to it, is now being mined in Washington and will probably soon supersede it. But why should we have a coaling station at all at Honolulu? There is already an excellent coaling station at Unalaska, on one of our Aleutian Islands, over 1,000 miles nearer the coast of Asia than Honolulu, and that station is approached through one of the most spacious and finest harbors in the world. Already coal is being mined at various points in Alaska—at Unga Island, at Cape Sabine, at Cape Lisburne, at Herondine Bay, and other places—but that mighty chain of islands extends through 40 degrees of longitude—as far as from New York to San Francisco—and the exploration of their wealth has only just begun.

A reference to the map will show that this purpose will





make Unalaska the legitimate and foreordained coaling station for our Navy in the Pacific.

As to our own western coast, what protection would a coaling station at Pearl Harbor offer us? If England should ever attack our Pacific States she will attack them from Vancouver Island and from her harbors in British America. Could we resist these attacks from Pearl Harbor, 2,000 miles away in the center of the Pacific Ocean? Who would go to the Hawaiian Islands for the purpose of engaging us there? No, Mr. President, in case of war with any naval power on earth Pearl Harbor would immediately become an element of weakness, and the adoption of a strong defensive policy would compel us to abandon it at once, bring our munitions of war and vessels home, and make a defense from our own coast. In case of war, from what point could we attack British commerce in the Pacific? The Canadian Pacific is its natural outlet, and we should attack it from Puget Sound. What element of strength, then, would this paltry island in the Pacific give us? It would be absolutely worthless, and worse than worthless, from every point of view.

* * * * *

Now¹ what are the arguments which are presented why we should annex these islands, with their peculiar and undesirable population? The arguments presented in debate before were that we should annex these islands because of a wonderful commercial interest; that we should annex these islands because their commerce was carried in American ships and under the American flag; that we should annex these islands because they were on the routes of commerce of the Orient. All this has apparently been abandoned, and the only argument now presented is that an American war vessel can not cross the Pacific without getting coal; that these islands are absolutely necessary in order that we may reach the fleet at Manila. That is the argument now being pressed to the front. I am going to investigate this argument and see if it is honest.

1. Speech in the Senate June 22, 1898.

It is further urged that we can not coal in a neutral port; that the reason our ships are going by way of Hawaii is because Hawaii has not declared its neutrality and Japan has, and that therefore our ships can not go to Japan to coal and then go on their way to Manila.

It is well known that the distance from Honolulu to Manila is 4,800 miles; it is well known that the distance from Puget Sound to Yokohama, Japan, is 4,200 miles; in other words, the distance from Hawaii across the Pacific Ocean to Manila is greater than the distance from San Francisco or Puget Sound to the port of Yokohama, in Japan, and so the argument has to be made that we can not coal in Japan. Is there anything to sustain it? Nothing under heaven. No authorities have been cited, no grounds have been given for this statement, but it has been made; and yet every Senator knows that coal only under certain circumstances is contraband of war, and that the vessels of a belligerent may coal in a neutral port.

I wish to repeat again that the distance from San Francisco to Yokohama, Japan, is 300 miles shorter than the distance from Honolulu, in the Hawaiian Islands, to Manila by the shortest possible route, and that, too, a route which is not usually traveled in order to make it short. The distance from Puget Sound to Yokohama is 600 miles shorter than the distance from Honolulu to Manila; and yet they say the Pacific is so wide that none of our vessels can carry coal enough to cross without stopping. The Pacific is wider from Honolulu to the coast of Asia than it is from Puget Sound to the coast of Asia. We have traveled 2,000 miles to get farther away, and then declare that our vessels can not carry coal enough to get across the water.

I contend that we could coal in Yokohama, in Japan; that we could have started our ships from Puget Sound within five days, if we had been carrying on war, after we told Dewey to go to Manila. But we made no move then until he had gone there and destroyed the Spanish fleet. Now it is over fifty days, and we have offered no relief. We have started it by the longest route. A ship can sail from Puget

Sound to Manila and save a thousand miles as compared with going from San Francisco by way of Honolulu to Manila. A ship can, therefore, save four days' time. A ship can go from Puget Sound to Manila in twenty-one days, and it is fifty days since Dewey's battle, and during all these dreary fifty days there has been no fighting anywhere except by the insurgents on the Philippine Islands.

If we had had an active Administration, the moment Dewey was sent to Manila we would have started our fleet from Puget Sound and sent him assistance and relief. Instead of that, we must wait, day by day, fifty days, till foreign governments have had to interfere to protect their own people, this country having produced a condition of anarchy and disorder there which made their lives unsafe. So we dragged in European complications. If we had started our ships by the way of Yokohama from Puget Sound, they would have sailed a thousand miles less than the ships will sail which we have finally sent, and we could have coaled at Yokohama and in Japan and reached Manila a month ago.

MR. MANTLE: If it will not interrupt the Senator from South Dakota, I should like to ask him a question. I have heard him say during the progress of this debate, and I have also heard it stated by other Senators, that it is much nearer to reach Japan or China or the Philippine Islands by what is called the Aleutian route—that is up north; north of Honolulu—than it is by way of Honolulu. I wish to ask Senators if, as a matter of fact, commerce does not take the Honolulu route to those countries. I ask for information.

MR. PETTIGREW: It is a matter of fact that commerce does not take the Honolulu route, but, on the contrary, every vessel leaving San Francisco for Japan, unless it has special business in Hawaii which makes it pay, goes straight across the Pacific. It saves three days' time. When I returned from the Orient last summer I wished to remain in Japan nine days longer, but if I had waited nine days longer the next ship belonging to the same line, the Occidental and Oriental, would not go to Honolulu at all. It would come straight across the Pacific and save three days and save the coal and save the

expense. Every ship that they send goes that way unless it has business at Honolulu sufficient to make it profitable to sail 900 miles farther and three days longer.

* * * * *

Here is a map of the northern Pacific, drawn as near as possible like a globe, showing the exact location of islands and countries and their relation to each other. Most maps we look at are drawn upon a plane, and parallels of longitude are the same at the equator as at the poles, giving a deceptive idea as to the location of countries upon the globe and their relation to each other. It will be seen by this map that leaving San Francisco a ship would never be nearer the Hawaiian Islands than it was when it started. If it went the shortest route it would go by the Aleutian chain, and would reach Manila, sailing over 500 miles shorter distance than if it went by Honolulu.

It would have to carry coal enough to sail, if it went to Yokohama, Japan, 4,500 miles. The distance from San Francisco to Yokohama is less by several hundred miles than the distance from Honolulu to Manila. If a vessel could not carry coal enough to go across from San Francisco to Yokohama, then it could not carry coal enough to go from Honolulu to Manila. Therefore, the claim that they had to send their boats there to coal falls to the ground, and its dishonesty is obvious to every one. If a vessel wanted to reach Hongkong, then it could save 900 miles if it went straight to Hongkong rather than by way of Honolulu.

If it wanted to reach Yokohama, it could save 900 miles if it went direct to Yokohama, rather than going by way of Honolulu. It would come within sight of the Aleutian Islands, islands which we already own. If we must have a coaling station in the Pacific, we already have it if we will only use it. The Island of Kiska—here is a map of it—is owned by the United States. It is 25 miles in length. It has one of the grandest bays in any ocean—a bay that will hold all the ships in our Navy. Here are the soundings of this bay and its size: It is 30 feet deep up within a hundred feet of shore;

it is 60 to 100 feet all the way out. It is absolutely landlocked. There are no islands and no shoals on this side of that island out to the open Pacific. It can be entered, no matter how hard the wind blows, no matter what the storm is, at any time of the year. That island is located at this point on the map. [Indicating.]

Kiska is 2,628 miles from San Francisco. It is 3,700 miles from Manila. Honolulu is 4,800 miles from Manila. Our own land, our own port, our own harbor, is 3,700 miles from Manila. Why do we not occupy this port of our own to command the coast of Asia? It is only 1,964 miles from Yokohama. It is only 3,400 miles from Hongkong. We own it; it is ours; it commands the coast of Asia. If we want a port to command the coast of Asia or to protect Alaska, why do we not occupy our own port? I should like to have the advocates of annexation answer that question. Why do we not use our own port instead of going 1,000 miles out of the way to use somebody's else?

From Vancouver, from Port Townsend, from Puget Sound, which we also own, the distance is 300 miles shorter than from San Francisco. A vessel can go from Vancouver to Yokohama by sailing 4,202 miles, and from Yokohama to Manila by sailing 1,752 miles, making 6,000 miles; while to go by way of San Francisco and the Hawaiian Islands it must sail 7,000 miles.

Kiska, this harbor, unsurpassed in the world, is within 3,700 miles of Manila. A vessel leaving this harbor for Manila can sail much faster than a vessel that has to sail 5,000 miles. As we all understand, there is great economy in the use of coal by sailing slow. If a vessel has to go 5,000 miles she must go very slow and economize coal, but if she has to go 3,700 miles she can make much greater speed. She can make more miles in a day if she has a shorter distance to sail than if she has a long distance to sail.

So where is there sense or reason in this argument that we must have a coaling station? What is there that justifies taking this measure up in time of war and dividing our people over a collateral contest? Why do we not finish the war? We

are all united upon that question. Why do we not finish the war instead of bringing in this question that divides us? When we have fought the war out, let us fight out this great question of acquisition of empire. It seems to me that that is the patriotic duty of the Administration instead of bringing in questions of this sort that are unnecessary and trying to crowd them on our people when we are engaged in a contest with a foreign foe.

I should like to know how they answer this contention. Here is a harbor of our own that can be entered at any time, no matter what the weather may be, and can be departed from without one particle of difficulty.

MR. BATE: Of what harbor is the Senator speaking?

MR. PETTIGREW: The harbor of Kiska. It is argued, and that is the only argument, that this northern route, this straight line, this shortest distance, runs through an undesirable sea; that it is foggy; that it is full of rocks; that it is full of storms; that it is impassable. Melville says that the harbors are shoal, full of ice. I will read from Findlay's North Pacific Ocean and Japan Directory with regard to the harbor of Kiska:

Kiska Island—A hilly island, excepting its eastern part, which is low. Its length, NE. by E. and SW. by W., is 25 miles.

The harbor of Kiska is a noble bay, perfectly protected from all winds, with good holding ground and a moderate depth of water. The entrance is wide enough to enable a sailing vessel to beat in or out at any time. There are no hidden dangers, and the depth of water is sufficient for any vessel.

As an additional recommendation, Kiska Harbor never has any ice in it. It is in the same latitude as the city of London. It is in the Japan current. It never freezes. No ice ever forms. There is a lake of fresh water right on the shore. Why do we not take our own harbors? Oh, you say, there was no coal there when the war broke out. It has been fifty days since the war broke out. We could have got coal there. By sailing 2,628 miles from San Francisco or 2,300 from Seattle we could have put coal there, plenty of it.

Now, let us see what the conditions are concerning the

climate. I asked the Weather Bureau with regard to the harbor of Unalaska, which is east of Kiska and on the same line, right on the route to the Orient. This is their reply:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
WEATHER BUREAU,
Washington, D. C., June 10, 1898.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 9th instant, I beg to inclose herewith a manuscript copy of the monthly mean temperatures for each year during which observations were made, at St. Paul Island, Bering Sea, and Unalaska.

Unalaska is 2° north of Kiska, and the Pribilof Islands are 4° farther north.

Our reports indicate that the harbor of Unalaska is, on rare occasions, covered by floating ice, which in an unusually cold season may freeze over and become a permanent sheet. Ordinarily, however, the harbor would seem to be free from ice.

Very respectfully,

WILLIS L. MOORE,
Chief of Bureau.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

The fact of the matter is that I talked on this subject with the Senator from California [Mr. Perkins]. He says that there never has been ice known in the harbor but once, and his ships have gone there for the last quarter of a century. That once was sufficient. I have seen New York Harbor full of ice, when it was not unnaïgable or unusable. But the harbor of Kiska, which is 2° farther south than Unalaska, is in the Japan current, and from all the information I can secure there is never any ice within it.

Now, let us see about Unalaska. The Pribilof Islands are directly north of Unalaska.

* * * * *

It was never either hot or cold. It never reached the freezing point during the whole year. The lowest point the mercury reached in 1875 was in December, when it was above zero. The harbor of Unalaska, which Mr. Melville says in his statement is full of ice, I have the observations given here:

The minimum observed in 1872 was 13° Fahrenheit.

Continued northers may fill the harbor with fragments of drift ice, but this is of rare occurrence. The small harbor is sometimes covered with skim ice. Further data may perhaps be obtained from the Chief of the Weather Bureau.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY S. PRITCHETT.

Superintendent.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

* * * * *

MR. WHITE: My attention is directed to a tabular statement contained on page 6607 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and also to a note written to Hon. Hugh A. Dinsmore, of the House of Representatives, on the previous page, which contains a statement as to the temperature at Kiska. I suggest in this connection that the Senator from South Dakota might put in the letter and also the tabular statement. It would be interesting to read them.

MR. PETTIGREW: The note referred to is as follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,

WEATHER BUREAU,

Washington, D. C., June 9, 1898.

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of even date in regard to the climate of certain of the Aleutian Islands.

I have pleasure in transmitting herewith a copy of the daily extremes of temperature at Kiska Island for November and December, 1885, January and February, 1886, the only time during which observations were made at this place. I also inclose a tabular statement of the lowest temperatures ever recorded at Unalaska during a period of seven years. At the latter point the lowest temperature ever recorded was 9° above zero. Westward the weather is not quite so cold.

Just as I said, Unalaska is 450 miles east of Kiska. Kiska is in the Japan current, which flows up between Kiska and the peninsula of Kamchatka into Bering Sea and through Bering Strait into the Arctic Ocean.

We have little data as regards the freedom of the harbor from ice. At Unalaska moving ice obstructed the harbor during a short period in the winter of 1872. We should say that interruptions to navigation due to ice at Kiska, to the westward, are not serious.

It is very serious that there was a little ice once, in 1872, at Unalaska. That condemns that as a harbor, I suppose. No ice since, according to this statement, for our ships visit Unalaska Harbor every month in the year.

The mean winter temperature at Atka Island, longitude $185^{\circ} 45'$ W. from Greenwich, is 33° . The sea temperature is, of course, a few degrees higher.

Very respectfully,

WILLIS L. MOORE,
Chief of Bureau.

MR. HUGH A. DINSMORE,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Then here are the tables of the temperature at Kiska, given each day from January, 1886.

On the 1st day of January, 1886, the maximum temperature was 37° , the minimum 31° above zero; on the 2d, the maximum was 37° , the minimum 30° ; on the 6th, the maximum was 36° and the minimum 29° above zero; on the 11th of January the maximum was 37° and the minimum 23° ; on the 12th the maximum was 36° and the minimum 20° . I am giving the last stages, when it was the coldest, selecting those, but will publish all the tables as a part of my remarks.

On the 21st of January the maximum was 36° , the minimum 29° ; on the 27th the maximum was 37° , and the minimum 32° ; on the 31st the maximum was 39° , and the minimum 35° ; on the 1st day of February, 1886, the maximum was 38° above zero and the minimum 33° , only a difference of 5° night and day, and no freezing, of course; and on February 28th, the last day of observation, the maximum was 36° , and the minimum 27° . In 1885 it runs just about the same. It never freezes. Therefore there is never ice, and the consequence is that here is one of the best harbors in the world, free from ice, and we own it, and it is only 3,700 miles from Manila; but Honolulu, that we are making such a fuss about, is 4,800 miles from Manila. Why do we not go up to our own harbor, the shortest way, and save the time and rescue our sailors in the Bay of Manila sooner than we can do it by this tropical foreign missionary port? I should like to have the friends of annexation answer that.

* * * * *

But what is more, Mr. President, when you get the harbor of Honolulu, most of the ships in our Navy can not carry coal enough to get from there to Manila. There are several of them in this list. I sent to the Navy Department for information and on January 11, 1898, they sent me the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING,
Washington, D. C., January 11, 1898.

SIR: 1. Your letter of January 5, 1898, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, requesting certain information as to the coal capacity and steaming radius of first-class battleships and cruisers of the first rate, has been referred to this Bureau.

2. In reply the Bureau transmits the following table, which contains the information desired:

Name	Type	Coal-bunker capacity	Steaming-radius on this coal at most economic rate	Steaming-radius on this coal at maximum speed with forced draft
		<i>Tons</i>	<i>Knots</i>	<i>Knots</i>
Iowa.....	First-class battle ship.	1,790	*6,000	†2,355
Indiana.....	do.....	1,550	4,805	†2,671
Massachusetts.....	do.....	1,560	4,797	†2,265
Oregon.....	do.....	1,540	5,205	†2,448
Brooklyn.....	Armored cruiser.....	1,300	4,342	†1,404
New York.....	do.....	1,200	4,486	†1,344
Columbia.....	Protected cruiser.....	1,600	*7,000	†1,840
Minneapolis.....	do.....	1,520	6,824	†1,565
Olympia.....	do.....	1,100	6,105	†1,408

* Estimated.

† From official trial on basis of 2.4 pounds of coal per 1 horse power.

‡ From official trial, actual figures.

Very respectfully,
GEO. W. MELVILLE,
Engineer in Chief, United States Navy, Chief of Bureau.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Now we will take the *Massachusetts*. The *Massachusetts*, steaming at the most economical rate, can sail 4,797 miles.

She can just get from Honolulu, by the shortest route, to Manila if nothing happens, and this distance that she can travel is from the official trial. She can not do it in practice. Everybody knows that the official trial is in excess of what these ships can accomplish at sea. And so that vessel, which can only carry coal enough to get 4,797 miles, according to the test at her official trial, can not carry coal enough to get quite to Manila. She would be 3 miles short with every favorable circumstance, with no adverse winds or storms. Yet that is a coaling station for Manila, and we are going to annex this undesirable people and their possessions for the purpose of getting a place where we can coal ships that can not carry coal enough to get to the place we want to get to, when we have a coaling station at our own harbor in the Aleutian Islands on the shortest route, within 3,700 miles of where we want to go.

There is not a vessel in the Navy that can not coal at Kiska and get to Manila. There is not a single vessel in the Navy but what could carry coal enough to take it from Kiska to Manila. There are several of them that can not travel from Honolulu to Manila, and yet we are determined right in the midst of war to change the policy of this country from a Republic to imperialism in order to secure a coaling station so as to send ships to Manila.

Now, let us see what there is further. The *Brooklyn*, an armored cruiser, if she sails with the most economic use of coal, can sail 4,342 miles, and she would be 500 miles away from Manila when she ran out of coal if she coaled at Honolulu. But if she coaled at Kiska she could reach Manila and have coal for 600 miles left in her bunkers.

And yet this Administration is bound to send them by this foreign island to stimulate the interests of the sugar planters. If this ship, the *Brooklyn*, the armored cruiser, sailed as fast as she can sail, she could only cover 1,404 miles, because with forced draft the consumption of coal is simply enormous. But, sailing by the most economical use of coal, sailing slowly, about 8 knots an hour, she can get within 500 miles of Manila. And yet you want Honolulu to coal

ships for Manila, and so you force this thing here as a war measure.

The *New York*, another cruiser, can sail 4,486 miles, and then she is out of coal, and she is 400 miles from Manila if she coals at Honolulu.

If you are going to make the American people believe that this is a war measure and is necessary in order to rescue Dewey, answer these things; do not sit silent and refuse to debate this question, but give us something to justify abandoning the century-old policy of our country. If this ship, the *New York*, should sail as fast as she is able to sail under forced draft, she would only go 1,344 miles.

We have other vessels. The *Iowa*, a first-class battleship, according to these figures, could sail 6,000 miles, but there is not a ship in the whole list that can travel under forced draft from Honolulu to San Francisco and have any coal left.

But it is said the Aleutian route is obscured by fog. Mr. President, I crossed the ocean on this route, and I asked the sailing master of the ship, anticipating this debate, to give me a map of the ship's course and the number of miles it sailed each day and our exact location every noon. The sailing master made me out this map and gave me the route traveled, the distance we traveled every day, and the point we were at every noon. This was in August. We started from Vancouver. We sailed 4,260 miles to Yokohama. By this route from Vancouver, from our own port to Manila, it is 6,012 miles. It is a thousand miles shorter than from San Francisco via Honolulu to Manila.

We sailed the first day 309 miles; the next day 350 miles; the next day 347; the next day 348; the next day 352; the next day 345; and August 7, when we were exactly opposite Unalaska, we made the biggest day's run—we made 352 miles. August 8 we made 345 miles; August 9 we made 307 miles. We were then exactly south of the Island of Kiska and within 70 miles of it. We had been going along the Aleutian chain for three or four days. We had not seen the sun since we started. It was foggy, but not so foggy as to impede navi-

gation; not so foggy as to do other than obscure the sun; not so foggy that you could not see for miles.

I asked the sailing master and the captain of the ship if they traveled that route summer and winter. I was told that they did, and that in winter there was no fog; that the foggiest season was in the warmest weather, and that that never impeded their progress or was any impediment to navigation. That line of steamers, the Canadian Pacific Line, as fine a line of steamers as crosses any sea, follow that route summer and winter, and they have made the quickest trips that were ever made across the Pacific Ocean. One of their ships covered the entire distance in ten days, and could have gone from Vancouver to Manila, at the same speed, in less than fifteen days. Yet Senators seem determined to have a coaling station in the Tropics off from the line of travel. To the assumption that this route is covered with fog and obstructed by ice, that it has shoal water, is it not a complete answer that this line of steamships travel year in and year out along that line?

MR. GRAY: Is that the great circle route?

MR. PETTIGREW: It is the great circle route. It is a straight line. It is called the great circle route.

MR. GRAY: It is the shortest distance on the surface of the globe.

MR. PETTIGREW: On the surface of the globe. This is practically the great circle. However, the great circle would carry a ship north of the Aleutian Islands. Of course they do not go north of the Aleutian Islands, because it is unnecessary for the slight advantage that would come in saving distance to go in and out between these islands when they have a plain, clear, open ocean by holding to a course south of the islands. The ocean within 30 miles of the Aleutian chain, on the south side, is 18,000 feet deep; there are no rocks and no shoals; it is absolutely an open sea, and there is no impediment and no obstruction whatever to navigation.

I notice some of the officials of the Navy Department insist upon claiming that this route is not a good one, and Mr. Melville—I never met him—tells us that we must have the Sandwich Islands in order to guard Alaska. The man who

will make such a proposition must be suffering from softening of the brain.

The Committee on Foreign Relations have chosen to publish as an appendix to their report a statement by Melville that we must have the Islands of Hawaii in order to protect our possessions in Alaska. He proceeds to relate the story of a stream of commerce going to Alaska. Here is the statement of George W. Melville, Engineer in Chief of the United States Navy, on Alaskan commerce exposed to hostile fleets. He says:

In the event of conflict between the United States and a maritime power this throng of richly laden but helpless vessels will present to the enemy a noble field for attack by the "guerre de course," that "commerce destroying" which first formed a factor of naval war during the reign of Elizabeth of England, which was followed with such deadly effect by the *Alabama* and her consorts, and which has at this time many strong advocates, notably in the United States and France.

Now, Hawaii commands fully this ocean route, at a distance from it of less than 2,500 miles—not five days' steaming for the cruiser *Columbia*.

If the *Columbia* covered the distance in five days, she would not have a pound of coal, because she would have to sail at her greatest speed, and her coal would be exhausted. What could she do in the way of attacking commerce after sailing a distance of 2,500 miles at the rate of 500 miles a day? She could only go 1,800 miles at that rate of speed when she would be out of coal, and yet the Chief Engineer of the Navy sends to the Committee on Foreign Relations this sort of stuff, and they retail it to us.

Then he tells us what a large commerce we will have with Alaska—how the ships will speed back and forth loaded with gold and men. How they would be protected from Honolulu I can not understand. Here is Honolulu, here is San Francisco, and here is Alaska. According to Mr. Melville, when we want to protect Alaska and the Aleutian chain we shall have our fleet at this point (San Francisco) and run down here to Honolulu, 2,100 miles directly away from

Alaska. What is his opinion worth under these circumstances?

Who cares anything about the testimony of experts when they tell us such stuff as that? How will we protect the Aleutian chain, fortify Unalaska, fortify the harbors of the Aleutian chain, fortify the splendid ports that we have all along this chain? I do not think we ought to fortify them; I do not think it is necessary; but if we must have fortified places and ports in the Pacific, those are the ones to fortify. Protect Alaska from here, from Kiska and Unalaska; and yet that is Melville's proposition. Here is Unalaska Bay; here is Kiska, and here is Alaska, and he is going to protect it from this point. He starts from Honolulu, from two to three thousand miles from Alaska—farther from Alaska by a thousand miles than Seattle—goes down to within 20° of the equator to San Francisco to protect Alaska, which extends from 50° north latitude to the North Pole. That is the proposition of Mr. Melville, the Chief Engineer of the United States Navy. I have never met him and do not know how old he is, but he is certainly suffering from softening of the brain.

I read from a memorandum prepared for Hon. C. H. Grosvenor, M. C., with respect to the question of the route from San Francisco to Yokohama:

Any one at all familiar with the sea is aware that one of the greatest dangers to navigation is fog, and the sea about Unalaska is one of the foggiest regions in the whole world. Probably nearly everybody present has enjoyed reading the poems of Rudyard Kipling known as "The Seven Seas," which include a short one called "The Rhyme of the Three Sealers"—

I think he has studied Rudyard Kipling more than he has geography or the weather—

and he there depicts in most graphic style the density of the fog which is found in the neighborhood of this port which my friends have advertised as so desirable as a port of call. Of course I have not rested content with Mr. Kipling's poem alone, but have taken pains to verify the statements there made by inquiring of naval officers and others who have spent considerable time near the Aleutian group, and they have told me that Mr. Kipling's picture is not overdrawn at all—

So he was never there himself; and that is what I supposed—

There are times, however, in the winter when there is clear weather, but then this most attractive port is closed by the ice—

And yet there has been no ice in it since 1872—

for, in spite of the Japan current, which corresponds to the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic, the region round Unalaska is blocked with the floe ice—

This is more testimony from a man who is certainly suffering from softening of the brain, for our own Weather Bureau tells us that there has been no ice in Unalaska Harbor since 1872, and their record of temperature shows that ice can not form there; and yet this is what our Chief Engineer of the Navy sends to the House of Representatives—

There are, of course, openings in this ice, and vessels that make a business of arctic cruising might utilize them, but it can be readily appreciated that the fine passenger and freight steamers sailing from San Francisco are not going to run this risk.

Those openings extend from 1872 up to the present time; and yet there is no ice there, and those openings will continue until there is some ice, I suppose; and yet Mr. Melville says that vessels used to Arctic cruising can get through those holes in the ice, when there is no ice, and this statement is paraded to the country as an argument against a route over which all commerce travels, unless it is given an inducement to go out of its way. He then says:

Now let us compare with this region of ice and fog the earthly paradise which Hawaii will furnish us.

He then draws the comparison, and those can read it who choose to do so.

Another letter, which was used in the other House by Mr. Grosvenor, was from John R. Bartlett, captain United States Navy, Chief Intelligence Officer, and former Hydrographer. He says:

On the accompanying chart, which is a copy of the pilot chart of the North Pacific Ocean, published by the Hydrographic Office, No. 1401, are shown the various routes between San Francisco and Manila which may be discussed.

The route B is the great circle route, and is the shortest. Its length is 6,254 miles. This route is best adapted for the eastward voyage at nearly all times of the year, and possibly the westward voyage in the summer months.

I took this very route in August over this very track, and the former Chief Hydrographer of the Navy Department, one of Mr. Melville's subordinates, who has been drawing these maps and charts and seems to have studied the subject, and even now would not take his information secondhand or in any other way, absolutely contradicts Melville's statement, and says:

The route "B" is the great circle route, and is the shortest. Its length is 6,254 miles. This route is best adapted for the eastward voyage at nearly all times of the year.

Why? Because by the eastern voyage you go with the Japan current, and possibly the western voyage in the summer months.

* * * * *

Of course Kiska is south of the shortest line. The great circle route, the route ships sail, passes about 70 miles south of this island, instead of 300 miles. Ships take this route because they do not wish to pass in and out between the islands, and therefore it is a slight modification of the great circle route.

Let us see if what he says about currents, etc., is justified. If you have an adverse current going one way, you will have it in your favor going the other way; and the Canadian Pacific ships follow the route the year around both ways.

As I say, Mr. President, the route which we took in crossing from Vancouver to Yokohama, in Japan, went within 70 miles of the harbor of Kiska. We went within 30 miles of the Aleutian Islands. Ordinarily in winter vessels go within 4 or 5 miles of the Aleutian Islands. It is the route to the

Orient and is along the shore of our own country to within 3,700 miles of Manila and to a point within 500 miles of the coast of Asia.

* * * * *

Mr. President,¹ if a coaling station at a certain point in the globe has a current in favor of the ship going to that point, the same current has to be encountered coming back. If favorable currents flow toward Manila by the Hawaiian Islands when a ship starts from San Francisco, unfavorable currents from the same spot encounter that ship on its return. It is as essential to have favorable currents to return as to go. Therefore steam vessels follow the shortest route. Their course is dictated by reason. Commerce on the Pacific follows the shortest route.

The fact of the matter is that the Japan current flowing along the western coast of the United States turns west below San Francisco and passes by the Hawaiian Islands. Its speed is from half a knot to one knot per hour. A vessel going west goes with it. When that vessel returns it comes against it, for it flows the year round. Of what use is such a current in utilizing a coaling station unless it is good both ways?

If a vessel going west from San Francisco should follow the shortest route, it is said it would combat the Japan current in crossing the Pacific. This is not true. The Japan current reaches only to the forty-fourth degree of north latitude. South of that line it flows east. A vessel crossing the Pacific south of the forty-fourth degree of north latitude would combat the Japan current, but the vessels that cross the Pacific upon the shortest route from San Francisco or Vancouver pass north of the fifty-first degree of north latitude, in a calm sea, going and coming, without any current to combat or any current to assist. The consequence is that a vessel sailing from Vancouver to Manila would sail only 6,000 miles, and in that 6,000 miles could touch at Unalaska and at Kiska, two harbors of our own. A vessel sailing 10 knots an hour can reach Manila in twenty-four days from Puget Sound.

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1898.

Our transports carrying troops for Manila have been on the way more than a month, and the slowest ship in the lot can sail more than 10 knots. They left San Francisco by the 7,000-mile route. They went down into the region of the equator instead of going the northern route. Our boys have been cooped up now for more than a month. It is thirty days since they left Honolulu, in the Tropics, where the heat is almost intolerable. Instead of being sent by the northern route, a thousand miles less in distance, through a cool and comfortable climate, we sent them into the region of typhoons and storms along the Tropics at this time of the year—an affair unheard-of. They started over that broad expanse of the Pacific from Honolulu to Manila, 5,000 miles, without a haven or a harbor, without any chance to be communicated with, while if the flotilla had started from Puget Sound, going along our own coast across the Pacific, through cool and comfortable waters, in fifteen days it would have been in Yokohama, Japan. There we would have heard from it. It could have stopped again at Nagasaki.

* * * * *

As I said before, a vessel leaving Puget Sound (and from Puget Sound our operations should be carried on in the Pacific), sailing 10 knots an hour, would reach Manila in twenty-four days. Our vessels left Honolulu on the 3d of June. It is now the 2d of July, and still they have not arrived at Manila. They have been cooped up in those ships in the Tropics, with disease and discomfort, when we had a route a thousand miles shorter and a cooler climate on a healthful course, without ocean currents either way; a route traveled by all the great steamship companies, a route traveled by every ship that crosses the Pacific, unless it has business at Honolulu which compels it to go three days out of its course. And yet this absurd proposition, that we need these islands as a coaling station, is presented as a reason why we shall introduce into this country an undesirable, tropical, incompetent population.

Oh, but it is said that the northern route has ice and

snow. As I showed the other day, it never freezes at Unalaska and it never freezes on the Island of Kiska. I find the following item in the Post of this city:

Acting Secretary Spaulding has been advised that twenty-five steamers and barges are building at Unalaska, making that support fifth in rank in the number of vessels under construction, though the vessels are all light draft for Yukon River travel.

Here is a harbor, one of the very best in the world, a harbor we own, a harbor on the track of commerce across the Pacific, a harbor 1,700 miles from Seattle in Puget Sound. Its area is sufficient to hold every vessel in the Navy of the United States and nearly our entire merchant marine besides. It has 20 fathoms of water. I read from Findlay's North Pacific Ocean and Japan Directory. This work I secured from the Navy Department, and it is authority with all navigators of the Pacific:

Dutch Bay Harbor of Ulakhta Bay is a fine landlocked harbor with 15 to 20 fathoms of water throughout. It stretches southward from the northeast point of Amongnak $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The holding ground in the center is good—14 to 15 fathoms over black mud and shells.

On the eastern side of Unalaska is the small bay of Killiliak (Kiliuluk). Unalaska here presents the appearance of being divided into two parts. The bay is perfectly sheltered from all winds—depth, 10 fathoms.

Unalaska Bay is on the north side of the Island of Unalaska and contains within itself two harbors absolutely landlocked, and it has already become the fifth shipbuilding point in the United States. But, independent of Unalaska, there are several bays and harbors extending along the Aleutian chain that are accessible at all times of the year—that never have any ice—and the last one, Kiska, is within 500 miles of the coast of Asia.

I submit that no man of sense or reason in managing his private affairs would neglect this chain of islands, these splendid harbors on the shortest route to where he wants to go, and purchase or annex a country in the Tropics off from the route he wishes to travel. If I were going to build a cable to the

Asiatic coast, I would build it from Puget Sound, and it would be a thousand miles shorter than to build it from San Francisco by way of Honolulu, and I would touch at the points in Alaska where there are forty times more Americans than there are in the Hawaiian Islands. Thus I would assist in developing that great empire in Alaska which we already own, 500,000 square miles of country, in a climate so cold that it can raise men capable of self-government. I would touch at Kiska. I would make that splendid bay, if you want a coal-ing port, the coaling port upon the route to Asia, instead of going down into the center of the Pacific a thousand miles off from the route and getting possession of a few tremulous islands gathered around active and extinct volcanoes.

Suppose an enemy should attack us from the Pacific, from Asia, and we had acquired the Hawaiian Islands and fortified Pearl Harbor and left the Aleutian chain untouched. Melville says that we can protect the Aleutian chain from Hawaii. The enemy would take possession of Dutch Harbor, 1,700 miles from our coast, and operate from there, sending their barges and coal to that point. They could occupy Kiska, or the Bay of Islands, half way between Kiska and Unalaska, and operate from there nearer our coast than Hawaii; and yet we propose to get Hawaii in order to protect Alaska. If we are going to protect Alaska, we must go there to protect it. Everybody knows that, and yet it is one of the arguments, foolish, flimsy, worthless, that are offered up in order to make an array in favor of annexation, for the Committee on Foreign Relations sends in that argument in their report.

Would we protect the coast of California from Hawaii if we acquired those islands? From what would we protect it? Armed cruisers? Vessels of war? Our cruisers at those islands would be of no assistance whatever in protecting our forts along the Pacific. We have no guns that have a range of 2,000 miles, not an effective range, and scarce a ship can sail that distance under forced draft without getting out of coal. So the enemy, concluding to attack San Francisco, starts around by the Aleutian chain. We expect it will come by Honolulu, so we will have our whole fleet down there. They

attack San Francisco and their base of supplies is perhaps in British America, or they have brought barges along loaded with coal.

They appear before San Francisco and begin to bombard. We cable at once to Hawaii for our fleet, and it hurries and comes under full speed. Of course it comes in great haste, because the enemy are destroying the lives of our people. The *Brooklyn*, an armored cruiser, coming at its best pace, can travel 1,470 miles, and then it is out of coal. It is 2,100 miles to San Francisco. The *New York* could travel 1,345 miles, and then it would be out of coal. The *Columbia* could travel 1,814 miles, and then its coal would run out. The *Minneapolis* could travel 1,565 miles and the *Olympia* 1,408 miles; and not one of these could reach San Francisco, and some of them could not get two-thirds of the way up there.

But we will suppose they have not hurried, but instead have come at the slowest pace, because a ship would consume less coal and go more miles if it goes exceedingly slow than if it goes exceedingly fast. So the *Indiana*, steaming at the most economical rate in knots, could steam 4,805 miles and get to San Francisco, 2,100 miles, and engage in a fight for a day or two, and then, of course, it consumes coal the same as at the greatest possible speed. She finds she can not enter the harbor, because the enemy's fleet is all around the entrance, and therefore she starts back to Honolulu for coal. She is obliged to sail in the most economical fashion in order to get back. If she should fight one day, she could barely get back, and if she would fight two days she could not get back to this base of supply to renew her coal.

The *Brooklyn* can sail 4,342 miles by the most economic use of her coal. She could get up to San Francisco and have just coal enough to get back to Honolulu, but would not have time to fight at all. The *New York* would sail 4,486 miles. She could get up there and get back, and she could fight part of a day, if pretty careful; then she would have to return to Honolulu for more coal to go back and fight another part of a day. The enemy operating against San Francisco from Honolulu would be in the same bad fix.

So we can not defend our coast from Honolulu and the enemy can not attack us from Honolulu. They would be in the same situation if they owned the islands that we would be in if we owned them. The type of modern fighting ships is the same the world over. If they undertook to attack us from Honolulu, their vessels could not carry coal enough to more than get to our coast and go back by the most economic steaming. Suppose we engaged them and prevented them from getting back, and should fight them around a circle for three or four days, then what will we have to do? Follow them back? They would not get near to Honolulu when they would be out of coal and absolutely helpless and forced to surrender. So we are not afraid of naval attack.

By the way, Mr. President, if we were afraid, suppose we had no navy, and the enemy did attack our coasts, they could not land a great force of men. Sampson bombarded the coasts of Cuba for six weeks, and the only authentic report we have of the damage was that he killed a mule at Matanzas. We have shown how useless fleets are to bombard a coast unless you have men to back up the work of the fleet and land with them. We have been dodging around the shores of the West Indies for the last two months, and have accomplished absolutely nothing in the world. It is useless.

Modern warfare does not permit the destruction of an unfortified city. You can fire away at earthworks all you choose, and when night comes the enemy can repair them. Without a landing party you can do nothing. It is idle, it is foolish, to attack the coast of an enemy unless you occupy it with an armed force. Therefore, we do not fear their ships along the coast of the Pacific.

What is it, then, we fear? "Oh, we need these islands for safety," some Senator says. To cross the Pacific to these islands, spanning the 7,000 miles of water, with an army that could even land and stay a day upon our shores, would tax all the ships in the world to carry it and all their resources, and such vast quantities of food and ammunition that it is an impossibility, for that army must first cross the 5,000 miles of

water to Honolulu and then 2,000 miles to our coast. Therefore there is nothing to fear, and we know it.

Mr. President, England, with a strip of water 20 miles wide, has resisted the assaults of Europe during all time. What would have hindered Napoleon from marching across that island with his victorious forces if it had not been for that strip of water? What did hinder him? Transportation by sea. No great army in modern times has been or can be transported long distances by sea. The greatest preparation ever made was made by Spain in 1588, when she sent her great fleet into the English Channel to transport the army in Flanders to the soil of England, but that 20 miles of water proved an impassable barrier. The history of the Armada is well known to the world.

In 1281, Kubla Khan, the conqueror of China, the mighty Mongolian, overran all southern Asia, conquering it from Burmah to Siberia. He thought he would also add the islands of Japan to his crown, and he gathered an army to cross that 100 miles of water—an army of 150,000 men and a thousand ships. Japan at that time had a population of about one-tenth, or less, of the population of China and Mongolia, and yet no one of that great armament ever returned to China to tell the tale. The wind and the sea destroyed more of them than were destroyed by the armies of Japan. They never made a landing. The hundred miles of water between Japan and Asia have always proved a sufficient protection to preserve the independence of Japan.

And yet, Mr. President, we are told that we fear something if we do not acquire this worthless spot in the Pacific, the nearest land being 2,000 miles away. We fear what? Not ships of war, but the vast armies that will cross this intervening space and conquer our coast! What nonsense! Yet that is the only argument that is presented, except the argument that we need a coaling station in Hawaii to reach the coast of Asia. That argument we have completely exploded by showing that Hawaii is a thousand miles off the shortest route of travel.

CHAPTER VIII

ANNEXATION AND IMPERIALISM

I BELIEVE ¹ the people of this country will resist with all their power this scheme of territorial aggrandizement, which aims to amalgamate with our hardy, thrifty, active, overcoming race this mass of indolent, filthy, leprous, nerveless savages of the southern seas. Our area is great enough, our climate is varied enough, our population is heterogeneous enough, our vegetation has range enough to give us, without inviting new perils, a task sufficiently difficult within our own borders in the education and elevation of our own people and in the maintenance of the Republic as it was transmitted to us.

Mr. President, I shall always consider it my duty to enter my protest against the acquisition of territory in the tropics, against adding to our population people who live in a climate which is so warm that civilization and self-government are impossible, believing, as I do, that the decay of the Republics of the past has resulted from the desire for glory and conquest. I am bound by my oath of office, by my duty to the people I represent, to resist this desire to add to our area. Our duty is to enact laws that will increase the happiness of our own people, to enact laws to give every man an equal chance, to control trusts and corporations that they may not control us, to increase the distribution of wealth and intelligence, and thus grow grand as we grow great as a people.

* * * * *

I² had hoped that the controversy with regard to the acquisition of new territory, that the contest over changing

1. Speech in the Senate July 2, 1894.

2. Speech in the Senate June 22, 1898.

the policy of this country as it has existed for a century, that the question whether we ought to adopt an imperial policy and acquire distant colonies to be ruled by us against their consent, would, in view of existing circumstances, have been delayed until this war was over, until the whole question could be considered, until the American people could have thought upon the subject, until we could have decided upon a policy as to whether we would revolutionize the purposes of this Government, and that next winter we would take up this question, when we would have time to deliberately act upon the proposition to formulate a colonial policy.

No one for one moment pretends that we intend to admit the Asiatic people of Hawaii or of the Philippines into full citizenship under the Government of this country; but, instead of that, propelled by an interest which has gathered around this Capitol for the past several months or years, an interest in the production of sugar by Hawaiian labor, certain gentlemen, having less of patriotism than I hoped they might possess, bring this question here now and undertake to force it through Congress as a war measure.

I contend that the area of this country is great enough, if we would maintain free institutions under a republican form of government. For in a republic, founded upon the principles of equality and universal suffrage, it is essential that the individual voter shall have a knowledge of, and be familiar with, the methods of government; and if the country is so vast and the problems of government are so complicated that it is impossible for the voter to have or acquire this familiar knowledge, how is it possible for him to act intelligently? How is it possible for him to know that by his vote he is sustaining free institutions?

In the past republics have been of small area—a single city perhaps—with a comparatively small population. The founders of this Government, recognizing the difficulty of maintaining as a unit a republic of extensive proportions, inaugurated the Federal system, a union of sovereign States, hoping thereby to extend self-government over vast areas and to maintain therein the purity of republican principles, each State

being in itself a republic, each State of necessity containing a population indigenous to its climate and possessing a soil that would bountifully respond to the energizing touch of men capable of governing themselves. Therefore the founders of our Government made it an unwritten law that no area should be brought within the bounds of the Republic which did not and could not sustain a race equipped in all essentials for the maintenance of free civilization and capable of upholding within its boundaries a republican form of government.

For the purpose of unifying a vast area within the bounds of the Republic it was enacted that the central Government, the Government of the United States, should be a government of limited powers, a government possessing only such powers as were conferred upon it by the Constitution, all other sovereign rights, all other powers common to a sovereign, being retained by the States themselves, retained by the people themselves as inhabitants of the States. Therefore, if we adopt a policy of acquiring tropical countries, where republics can not live, and where free, self-governing people have never lived since the world had a history, we overturn the theory upon which this Government is established and we do violence to our Constitution.

The whole theory of our Government precludes centralization of power; the whole theory of our Government sustains the idea that the United States as a government shall do only those things delegated to it in the Constitution.

But, Mr. President, our Federal system has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created; it has not fulfilled the expectation of its authors. Before we acquire more territory, before we start upon a policy of imperialism and of conquest, it is our duty to inquire whether our area and population are not already too great. Centralization has gone on so rapidly since the war of the rebellion that already our people are looking to the Government of the United States as the source of all power through which all relief must come.

Mr. President, the concentration of power in the hands of the Federal Government has been followed by encroach-

ments by the Federal courts upon the sovereignty of the States and upon the legislative and executive branches of the Government itself, and it has made the courts almost supreme in our affairs.

Within the past thirty years the wealth of the United States, which was once fairly distributed, has been accumulated in the hands of a few; so that, according to the last census, 250,000 men own \$44,000,000,000, or over three-fourths of the wealth of this country, while 52 per cent. of our population practically have no property at all and do not own their homes. It would naturally be supposed that the 48 per cent. of the people who still have an interest in the property of the nation would be the governing classes. Recent events, however, point unmistakably to the fact that the 250,000 people who own nearly all the wealth have combined with the 52 per cent. of our population who have no property, and by gaining control of a great patriotic political organization have usurped the functions of government and established a plutocracy.

Among all plutocracies of the past, as well as among all monarchies of the past, whenever all power and all property have been gathered into the hands of the few and discontent appears among the masses, it has been the policy to acquire foreign possessions, to enlarge the army and the navy, to employ discontent and distract its attention. The recent attempt on the part of the United States to acquire foreign territory, coming as it does along with an ever-increasing clamor for the enlargement of the army and for the creation of a great navy, is sufficient to alarm patriotic citizens and lead to an anxious inquiry as to whither we are drifting.

Rome was organized as a Republic, and for the first six hundred years of her history had the best government then existing on the globe. To be a Roman citizen was greater than to be a king. She consolidated her power until she ruled all Italy. She began to spread out along the northern coast of the Mediterranean; but when the policy of acquiring and governing a people who could have no part in her republican form of government began, Rome ceased to exist as a Republic

and became an Empire. The misery and ruin of her people began. When she conquered Egypt and Asia, having populations the same as those countries possess to-day, of low consuming power and great tenacity of life, the Roman found he was no competitor in the growing of crops and in other industrial enterprises.

The Roman of those days was as the Anglo-Saxon of to-day—a man of great vitality, requiring excellent nurture, the best of food, and plenty of it. When he came into competition with, when he conquered and undertook to govern, when he absorbed the Asiatic races, people with a low vitality and great tenacity of life, human machines who could subsist upon the least of food and perform the most of work, the Roman farmer was destroyed and the Roman Empire passed away.

James Bryce, in speaking of this period of Roman history, says:

The ostentation of humility which the subtle policy of Augustus had conceived and the jealous hypocrisy of Tiberius maintained was gradually dropped by their successors, until despotism became at last recognized in principle as the government of the Roman Empire. With an aristocracy decayed, a populace degraded, an army no longer recruited from Italy, the semblance of liberty that yet survived might be swept away with impunity. Republican forms had never been known in the provinces at all—

Will they be with ours?—

and the aspect which the imperial administration had originally assumed there soon reacted on its position in the capital. . . . This increased concentration of power was mainly required by the necessities of frontier defense. For within there was more decay than disaffection.

The fact of the matter is that when the Roman Republic was founded most of its people were farmers. Their farms did not exceed 12 acres in area, indicating a dense rural population. No foreign foe could march through that compact rural population of landowners to the wall of Rome. They were successful farmers and prosperous, and they made mighty soldiers. Cincinnatus left the plow and led legions on to victory. But during the first century of the Christian era central-

ization had done its work. The lands had been absorbed by the usurer and gathered into vast estates, cultivated by tenants and often by slaves; the mines of gold and silver in Spain and Greece had been worked out.

The price of farm products had fallen, as they were compelled to compete with the rich granaries of Egypt. Roman legions were no longer recruited among the farmers who tilled the soil. The soldiers were foreign mercenaries. Roman institutions faded away under the influences which gradually took possession of that empire and destroyed its vitality; and the same story can be told of every nation through all history from the very moment it departed from its policy of peace, its internal policy, and entered upon a career of conquest.

One of the oldest nations in the world to-day is Japan. She has had a succession of rulers for two thousand seven hundred years. For two hundred and fifty years previous to 1859 no foreigner was allowed to set foot upon the soil of Japan. She lived within herself. There was no desire for conquest, and no foreign debt. The result is that, in my opinion, to-day she possesses the most civilized people upon the globe, adopting everything that is good and rejecting everything that is bad in modern civilization. Japan holds everything within her own Government. There is no foreign debt. No foreigner is allowed to own stock in any of her companies or to own her soil. There is that peace and satisfaction, that comfort and contentment among the masses of her people that no other nation I know of possesses. But if she starts upon a career of conquest, if she allows the best blood of her people to depart to foreign lands to conquer and make serfs of an inferior people, from that day will date the ruin and decline of Japan.

I believe these problems, as they have been wrought in the crucible of the past, are the ones that should absorb the thoughtful consideration of our people. I believe attention should not be taken from these great questions of economics and government, from the great questions now revitalized in gigantic trusts and corporations, and should not be distracted by a career of conquest.

I believe it is my duty, under these circumstances, to resist on all occasions the acquisition of any territory beyond our borders not contiguous to our present territory and peopled by an unwilling and an inferior race.

To-day we have no territory that it requires a navy to defend. The United States is so situated that she can say whether she will have peace or war. We possess no territory that can be acquired or held by a foreign foe, even if we owned not one single ship; and no nation, however great or strong, can gain any advantage by a war with us. But the moment we acquire distant possessions, we must build a navy to defend them, for in case of war these possessions would be first attacked and taken from us. France, England, and Germany have possessions scattered all over the world, and are consequently compelled to maintain immense navies to defend them. These possessions, in case of war, furnish so many points of attack, so many embarrassments, so many opportunities for national humiliation, that the strife is to see who can maintain the greatest fleet upon the sea. Shall we enter the arena of this contest?

From our earliest history we have insisted that we would engage in no entangling alliances, that we would acquire no territory that requires a navy to defend. We have said that we would attend to our own affairs, and that our interests demanded that no European country should gain further foothold upon the Western Hemisphere; and so strong has been our moral position that without a navy we have been able to enforce this doctrine.

When the French entered Mexico, we had but to indicate our displeasure and they departed; but the very moment we adopt the policy of acquiring distant territories, the very moment we enter upon a policy of acquisition and annexation, upon a colonial system of government, the moral force of our position is gone. I apprehend that, instead of being opposed, France and England would be glad if we would acquire distant islands and thereby place ourselves in the position they occupy in relation to the balance of the world.

The following from Henry Clews's Weekly Financial Review of June, 1898, is in point:

The following is an extract from a letter which I recently received from an influential member of Parliament representing one of Great Britain's largest cities, which speaks for itself:

"Just a line to say that I do not agree with your circular letter, which I have just read, where you suggest that the Philippines should be given back to Spain for Cuba. I hope you will keep the Philippines. It is time your people began to do some work in the world outside your own country. You will have to do it eventually, and you may as well begin now as wait. I am afraid it will not be many years until we have to do some joint-account fighting with continental countries for possession of the parts of the world which are misgoverned at present."

They know too well that colonial acquisition would be an element of weakness; that distant possessions would be hostages for the safety of which we would yield points of right and surrender questions of principle.

How could we invoke the Monroe doctrine and insist that foreign countries should not acquire territory in North and South America if, after our repeated declarations that we had no intention to annex Hawaii, we should proceed to annex it? Would they not justly claim that we would pursue the same course in regard to the republics of North and South America, with the purpose of ultimately acquiring them ourselves? How could we longer argue that we only seek to do right; that we only seek to furnish an example to the world of man's capacity for self-government, the golden rule of doing to others as you would be done by?

What limit can be set to our future acquisition if we once commence a colonial policy and acquire territory in the Tropics, where self-government is impossible?

Mr. President, I contend that it has been the tradition and policy of the people of the United States to acquire no territory that would require a navy to defend.

Mr. Jefferson, in writing to President Madison April 27, 1809, said:

It will be objected to our receiving Cuba that no limit can then be drawn to our future acquisitions. Cuba can be defended by us without

a navy; and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it.—5 *Jefferson's Works*, 443.

Secretary Frelinghuysen, in a note to Mr. Langston dated June 20, 1883, says:

The policy of this Government, as declared on many occasions in the past, has tended toward avoidance of possessions disconnected from the main continent.

In 1884 he said to the same minister:

A conviction that a fixed policy, dating back to the origin of our constitutional Government, was considered to make it inexpedient to attempt territorial aggrandizement which would require maintenance by a naval force in excess of any yet provided for our national uses, has led this Government to decline territorial acquisitions. Even as simple coaling stations such territorial acquisitions would involve responsibility beyond their utility. The United States has never deemed it needful to their national life to maintain impregnable fortresses along the world's highways of commerce.

I wish to state distinctly, on the general question of annexation of outlying islands or territory—except in the North, and I make an exception there—that I trust we have seen the last of annexation, and in this remark I include the whole group of the West India Islands and the whole of the Mexican territory contiguous to the United States, inhabited as it is by a portion of the Latin races, strangely mixed and degenerated by their mixture with native races; a population and a territory that naturally enfeebles man—a population and a territory that I earnestly hope may never be made an integral part of the people and a territory of the United States. We occupy a portion of that great northern zone which girdles the world and which has been the theater of the greatest achievements of civilization, especially in the history of the Anglo-Saxon races; but should we extend our possessions into the tropical (Hawaiian) belt, we would weaken the power of our people and Government.

Although the treaty is not now before us, in view of the fact that we are considering a subject kindred to the treaty made by Mr. Sherman for the annexation of Hawaii, I will read what Mr. Sherman had to say upon the subject:

The events of the future are beyond the vision of mankind, but I hope that our people will be content with internal growth and avoid the complications of foreign acquisitions. Our family of States is

already large enough to create embarrassment in the Senate, and a republic should not hold dependent provinces or possessions. Every new acquisition will create embarrassments. The Union already embraces discordant elements enough without adding others. If my life is prolonged I will do all I can to add to the strength and prosperity of the United States, but nothing to extend its limits or to add new dangers by acquisition of foreign territory.

I hope those sentiments were largely held by all prominent members of the Republican party. I am sorry to know that the great Secretary of State, through the exigencies of politics, felt that he was compelled to place himself in sympathy with an Administration which held a contrary view upon so great and important a question.

Mr. Bayard, during Cleveland's first Administration, made the following announcement, and I take this from page 580 of Wharton's Digest of International Law:

The policy of the United States declared and pursued for more than a century discountenances and in practice forbids distant colonial acquisitions. Our action in the past touching the acquisition of territory by purchase and cession and our recorded disinclination to avail ourselves of voluntary proffers made by other powers to place territories under the sovereignty or protection of the United States are matters of historical prominence.

For the purpose of showing the unvarying policy of this country up to the Administration of President Harrison, indorsed by Democrats and Republicans alike, I will read from the first message of Grover Cleveland in 1885. Grover Cleveland had then just come from the people; he had not been contaminated and corrupted by association with the business men who afterwards disgraced the Republic by their influence over its President. He then spoke the real sentiments, in my opinion, of an honest man. He said:

Maintaining as I do the tenet of a line of precedents from Washington's day, which proscribe entangling alliances with foreign states, I do not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory or the incorporation of remote interests with our own.

It has been said on this floor that Mr. Cleveland, up to the time he appointed Mr. Blount to go to Hawaii, was in

favor of the annexation of those islands. This message, sent to Congress in 1885, certainly tends not only to disprove that statement, but to refute it altogether, without some positive contrary declaration on the part of Mr. Cleveland himself.

It is true that in the past we have acquired territory, but it has been in pursuance of the policy which I have already indicated. We have acquired territory, but always within the temperate zone, always contiguous to the United States, always adjoining that which we already owned, a territory which possessed climate, soil, and (if people it had) people capable of governing themselves. We purchased by treaty Louisiana and Florida, and we annexed Texas by a joint resolution, admitting her as a State into the Union after securing the consent of her people and under those provisions of our Constitution which allow us to admit new States. Florida and Louisiana we also admitted by constitutional methods, under the power granted by the States to the Federal Government—admitted by treaty.

John Quincy Adams argued in favor of the acquisition of Florida on the ground of its being contiguous territory, and by inference all through his argument he also argues that he would have been opposed to its annexation if it had not joined us.

Let us inquire as to what territory we have rejected, and see how closely we have adhered to the doctrine laid down. In December, 1882, the Government of San Salvador, one of the Central American States, lying well within the Tropics, proposed annexation to the United States and we refused to receive it.

President Polk, in his message of April 29, 1848, after reciting an offer from Yucatan "to transfer the dominion and sovereignty of the peninsula to the United States," said:

Whilst it is not my purpose to recommend the adoption of any measure with a view to the acquisition of the dominion and sovereignty over Yucatan, yet according to our established policy we could not consent to a transfer of the "dominion and sovereignty" to any other power.

Congress took no action on this message.

It was not even discussed, so far as I can find. If it was, such discussion occurred in secret session; but the idea of acquiring sovereignty over a tropical country attracted so little attention that I can find practically no other record referring to the subject. Of more recent date efforts have been made to acquire territory in the Tropics, always with the same result. In 1866 a proposition was made to acquire Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo lies east of Cuba, having an area of 28,000 square miles, including the Republic of Hayti. It is a tropical country. It lies about 1,000 miles from our shore. General Grant, in his second annual message, in 1870, makes a statement in regard to the acquisition of Santo Domingo, and I am going to read it, because it is word for word and line for line the argument made for the acquisition of Hawaii. The Committee on Foreign Relations must have read this message. Every advocate on the stump and in the Senate urging the acquisition of Hawaii must have read this message, for they come so near copying the language that we certainly can not believe they were ignorant of it.

During the last session of Congress a treaty for the annexation of the Republic of San Domingo to the United States failed to receive the requisite two-thirds vote of the Senate. I was thoroughly convinced then that the best interests of this country, commercially and materially, demanded its ratification. Time has only confirmed me in this view. I now firmly believe that the moment it is known that the United States have entirely abandoned the project of accepting as a part of its territory the island of San Domingo, a free port will be negotiated for by European nations in the Bay of Samana. A large commercial city will spring up, to which we will be tributary without receiving corresponding benefits, and then will be seen the folly of our rejecting so great a prize. The Government of San Domingo has voluntarily sought this annexation. It is a weak power, numbering probably less than 120,000 souls, and yet possessing one of the richest territories under the sun, capable of supporting a population of 10,000,000 people in luxury. The people of San Domingo are not capable of maintaining themselves in their present condition, and must look for outside support. They yearn for the protection of our free institutions and laws—our progress and civilization. Shall we refuse them?—

Exactly the same argument, a threat of injury, the promise of a prize, together with a proposition to furnish a worthless people with a decent government. There is the very argument presented by the advocates of the annexation of Hawaii; first, the danger to our Pacific coast if we do not accept these islands; second, a prize in the great richness of tropical products; third, that we shall furnish these people a share of the Government we possess and protection against incursions which they imagine may arise from foreign foes—

The acquisition of San Domingo is desirable because of its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce. It possesses the richest soil, best and most capacious harbors, most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of the forest, mine, and soil of any of the West India Islands. Its possession by us will in a few years build up a coastwise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine.

The same argument exactly. We have been told about the vast commercial relations with Hawaii and the number of ships that come and go bearing the American flag.

It will give to us those articles which we consume so largely and do not produce, thus equalizing our exports and imports. In case of foreign war it will give us command of all the islands referred to, and thus prevent an enemy from ever again possessing himself of rendezvous upon our very coast. At present our coast trade between the States bordering on the Atlantic and those bordering on the Gulf of Mexico is cut into by the Bahamas and the Antilles. Twice we must, as it were, pass through foreign countries to get by sea from Georgia to the west coast of Florida.

San Domingo, with a stable government under which her immense resources can be developed, will give remunerative wages to tens of thousands of laborers not now upon the island.

The same argument exactly—annex Hawaii and the American laborer will go there. "Annex Santo Domingo," Grant said, "and American laborers will go there." Then, as now, we were inviting laborers from other lands to come here, our own country being undeveloped, with vast resources untouched.

This labor will take advantage of every available means of transportation to abandon the adjacent islands and seek the blessings of

freedom and its sequence—each inhabitant receiving the reward of his own labor. Porto Rico and Cuba will have to abolish slavery, as a measure of self-preservation, to retain their laborers.

San Domingo will become a large consumer of the products of Northern farms and manufactories. The cheap rate at which her citizens can be furnished with food, tools, and machinery will make it necessary that contiguous islands should have the same advantages in order to compete in the production of sugar, coffee, tobacco, tropical fruits, etc. This will open to us a still wider market for our products. The production of our own supply of these articles will cut off more than one hundred millions of our annual imports, besides largely increasing our exports. With such a picture it is easy to see how our large debt abroad is ultimately to be extinguished. With a balance of trade against us (including interest on bonds held by foreigners and money spent by our citizens traveling in foreign lands) equal to the entire yield of the precious metals in this country, it is not so easy to see how this result is to be otherwise accomplished.

The acquisition of San Domingo is an adherence to the "Monroe doctrine"; it is a measure of national protection; it is asserting our just claim to a controlling influence over the great commercial traffic soon to flow from west to east by way of the Isthmus of Darien; it is to build up our merchant marine; it is to furnish new markets for the products of our farms, shops, and manufactories.

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In view of the importance of this question, I earnestly urge upon Congress early action expressive of its views as to the best means of acquiring San Domingo. My suggestion is that, by joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress, the Executive be authorized to appoint a commission to negotiate a treaty with the authorities of San Domingo for the acquisition of that island, and that an appropriation be made to defray the expenses of such commission.

Such a joint resolution was introduced; it passed the Senate, went to the House, and they refused to concur in it. With this glowing picture, with the great power Grant possessed—however, I understand there is no record that Grant exerted that power in an unconstitutional manner—but with the great power Grant possessed, he was unable to secure from Congress one step in the direction of the acquisition of Santo Domingo. So firmly in the minds of our people at that time was the determination that our area was large enough, and that only people could be admitted to the privileges of citizenship within this Republic who were capable of self-government, that even the

great power and influence of Grant were unable to overturn the practice, precedent, policy, and principle upon which this Government was founded and which up to that time had maintained itself.

There is no record, however, that Grant used unfairly, unjustly, unconstitutionally, the power of his position. I believe that Grant was too patriotic to have done such a thing. But rumors come to our ears that in this contest Senators and Members are called to the White House and told that this is the Administration policy and that they must support it, and intimations of favors, not direct, for that is unnecessary, are used to force the Senate of the United States to break down the century-old policy of this country and compel the acquisition of territory within the Tropics and beyond our own borders.

Mr. Blaine says in his book, speaking of Santo Domingo :

The territory included in the Dominican Republic is the eastern portion of the island of San Domingo, originally known as Hispaniola. It embraces perhaps two-thirds of the whole. The western part forms the Republic of Haiti. With the exception of Cuba, the island is the largest of the West India group. The total area is about 28,000 square miles—equivalent to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island combined. President Grant placed extravagant estimates upon the value of the territory which he supposed was now acquired under the Babcock treaties. In his message to Congress he expressed the belief that the island would yield to the United States all the sugar, coffee, tobacco, and other tropical products which the country would consume. "The production of our supply of these articles," said the President, "will cut off more than \$100,000,000 of our annual imports, besides largely increasing our exports."

Mr. President, that is true. If we should acquire a tropical country where they produce sugar and coffee enough for our needs, we would no longer levy a tariff upon those products, but they would be admitted free of duty. It would decrease the balance of trade against us and make it larger in our favor. But what advantage would the people of the United States derive from that if the population which produced those products were incapable of self-government, in-

capable of helping us maintain this Republic, if they were an inferior race?

The next effort at acquisition was the Danish West Indies, and that is pending. The proposition is before us to-day. A resolution is now, I believe, upon the Calendar of the Senate to acquire the Danish West Indies. The simple acquisition of Hawaii is not all that is in this contest. It is the adoption of a policy of conquest and acquisition that must destroy the very fundamental principles upon which this Government is founded.

Years ago the proposition was presented to acquire the Danish West Indies. They are three little islands east of Puerto Rico in the Tropics, in the West Indies. They are inhabited not by white men, for there are none, and never have been. The Danes tried to live there two centuries ago. The climate was so unhealthy that they found it impossible to do so. The population there is composed of negroes. They produce sugar. If we admit the Danish West Indies, we remit the duty we now collect upon sugar from that country, which will amount to \$600,000 a year. It is simply another sugar job. It is another chance to acquire enormous wealth by taxing the people of the United States. That, added to the remission of duties to Hawaii, would amount to nearly \$10,000,000 a year. Mr. Wharton says:

There is no printed executive summary of the negotiations for the Danish West Indies.

So far as can be learned from the archives of this Department, negotiations were commenced by Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, on July 17, 1866, by a note to the Danish minister, General Raasloff, offering \$5,000,000 gold for the three islands to be delivered, with all fixed public property therein, without conditions or incumbrances. General Raasloff having shortly afterwards returned to Denmark to accept the ministry of war, the negotiations were transferred to Copenhagen, where they were conducted by Mr. Yeaman, our minister there, on our part, and for the Danish Government by Count Frijs, minister of foreign affairs, and General Raasloff. No counter proposal was made until May 17, 1867, by the Danish Government. Then Count Frijs told Mr. Yeaman that Denmark expected \$15,000,000 gold for the three islands, and that it would not cede them without the consent of the inhabitants; but that as his Government could not dispose of Santa

Cruz without the consent of France, he was willing to cede St. Thomas and St. John for \$10,000,000 gold, and to treat separately as to Santa Cruz.

On May 27, 1867, Mr. Seward sent Mr. Yeaman the draft of a convention such as he desired. In it he offered \$7,500,000 for the three islands on the conditions above stated. And in addition he instructed Mr. Yeaman that in no case was a stipulation for the consent of the inhabitants to be inserted in the convention; that permission would be granted them to leave the island at any time within two years after the United States took possession of it, if they preferred their original allegiance to that of the United States; and that the convention must be ratified on or before August 4, 1867.

These terms not proving acceptable to Denmark, the negotiations were prolonged until finally Mr. Seward gave up the attempt to fix the date of ratification, concurred in a stipulation in the convention for the consent of the inhabitants, and offered \$7,500,000 for St. Thomas and St. John.

On this basis a treaty was concluded on October 25, 1867. This was promptly ratified by Denmark, but the United States Senate delayed action on it, and finally rejected it in the session of 1868, as appears by the records of the Department of State.

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Denmark had no particular desire to sell to the United States, but was persuaded to do so. The inhabitants of the islands had already voted to accept the United States as their sovereign. The late Mr. Charles Sumner, then chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, who was engaged in a personal quarrel with the Administration, simply refused to report back the treaty to the Senate, and he was supported by a sufficient number of his committee and of Senators to enable the matter to be left in this position. It required new negotiations to prolong the term of ratification, and it was with great difficulty that in a subsequent session the treaty was finally brought before the Senate and rejected. As may be imagined, our friendly relations with Denmark were considerably impaired by this method of doing business.

So we have refused on all occasions to acquire territory in the Tropics, where the population is not capable of self-government.

[At this point, without having concluded his speech, MR. PETTIGREW yielded for a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business.]

* * * * *

Those¹ who favor a different policy now and who favor

1. Speech in the Senate June 23, 1898.

a departure from those customs and practices that have created the proudest pages of our history say it is manifest destiny. Throughout all recorded time manifest destiny has been the murderer of men. It has committed more crimes, done more to oppress and to wrong the inhabitants of the world than any other attribute to which mankind has fallen heir.

Manifest destiny has caused the strong to rob the weak and has reduced the weak to slavery. Manifest destiny built the feudal castle and supplied the castle with its serfs. Manifest destiny impelled republics that have heretofore existed and perished to go forth and conquer weaker races and to subject their people to slavery, to impose taxation against their will, and to inflict governments odious to them. Manifest destiny is simply the cry of the strong in justification of their plunder of the weak. This cry sent forth the nations of Europe to divide among them the weaker nations of Asia and of Africa. This cry has allowed Great Britain to gather the harvests on the banks of the Nile, to lay burdens upon the people of Egypt unusual, intolerable, worse than that of individual slavery.

It is this cry of manifest destiny which causes the guns of Great Britain to echo daily around the world and excuses the massacre and assassination of the weaker people of the earth. Her operations in Africa she justifies by this specious plea. During the last seven years she has killed twenty or thirty thousand of the people of Africa, bombarded towns filled with women and children, and herself has lost in this unequal contest but seven men—all this in the name of manifest destiny. So colonies have been planted by the nations of Europe. They have gone forth to conquer the weaker nations of the world. But the result upon themselves has not been such as to induce us to emulate their example.

Great Britain to-day, with all her mighty power and her vast possessions, has not conferred upon the people of England the comfort and satisfaction and happiness which should come with a proper and honest national policy. One-tenth of her people are paupers. Two out of three of her laborers who reach the age of 60 years either are or have been paupers.

Two hundred and twenty-two thousand of her people own all the property. More than two-thirds of the people of Great Britain have no property at all. This is a result of her course in working out to its legitimate conclusion the theory of manifest destiny.

If we pursue it, if we annex the weaker nations of the world and undertake to govern them, such will be the result with us. If we annex nations to which we can not apply our system of government, if we acquire territory in the Tropics where men can not live who are capable of self-government, then republican forms can not exist in those distant possessions. The vigorous blood, the best blood, the young men of our land, will be drawn away to mix with inferior races and to hold them in subjection. Gradually the reflex action of the conquest and government of these inferior races by tyranny, by a new form of government unknown to us will work its effect upon our own people, and free institutions will disappear from this land as well as from the land we conquer and undertake to hold in subjection. Why should we change our policy as a people? Why should we go back upon our history and our past? What argument can be presented in behalf of an abandonment of the principles and policies that have made us a great nation?

If these islands contained a population as dense as that of Iowa to-day, they would be occupied by 240,000 people; if a population as dense as that of Illinois, they would have 460,000 people.

But, Mr. President, tropical countries produce and maintain populations much more dense than countries in the temperate zone, because it takes less to clothe and feed and care for their people, because their demands and wants are less, and because of the wonderful food-producing power of the soil of the Tropics.

The island of Java has an area no larger than the State of Iowa, and it contains 24,000,000 people. It is within the Tropics. It is reasonable to suppose that the Hawaiian Islands will maintain a population in proportion to their area equal to those of other tropical countries.

But what kind of a population, Mr. President? The more of them the worse. What kind of a population is it, then, that we propose to admit into this country? But our friends who are favoring annexation say American laborers will go over to Hawaii to till the soil and gain easy subsistence. There is not a colony of European or Anglo-Saxon laborers within 22° of the equator anywhere on the globe. No English, no French, no Germans, no Scandinavians, no Russians, none of the people whose blood flows in the veins of our people have colonized any portion of the globe within 22° of the equator. American enterprise and Anglo-Saxon thrift seek the region in the northern hemisphere or the southern hemisphere, if you will, between the thirtieth and fifty-fifth degrees of north or south latitude. They will not go elsewhere.

Is it claimed that these people are not colonists; that they have not gone forth to conquer the world and settle new countries? On the contrary, they have planted their colonies around the world, though never within this tropical belt, for the reason that they do not flourish there.

Jamaica has been an English colony for two hundred years. Jamaica has 4,200 square miles, two-thirds as much as the islands of Hawaii. It lies within the Tropics. It has a population of 633,000 people. How many Englishmen; how many Europeans? Including the garrison, including the officers, including the attachés of the Government, 14,600, and that is all. The rest are blacks. This island lies within the Tropics. It has an elevation of 7,000 feet. It is one of the most healthful of all the tropical islands.

That which may be said of it may be also said of Hawaii. And yet the European will not locate there. He goes to New Zealand, to southern Australia, to Canada. He abides where the frost chills man's blood and where clothing made of the wool of the sheep helps to keep him warm. I think you can lay it down as a proposition which can not be refuted that self-government and independence and high civilization are only embraced by the people who find it necessary to wear warm clothes and who feel the tingle of the frost in their veins during a portion of a year.

The Leeward Islands have 701 square miles. They have 123,000 people, 5,000 of whom are Europeans. It is another English colony.

British Guiana, on the north coast of South America, has 109,000 square miles and a population of 280,000 people—negroes, contract laborers, coolies from India raising sugar, with 2,533 Europeans, including the garrison.

Haiti has a population of 600,000 people. It has 10,204 square miles. The language is French. Nine-tenths of the population are negroes, and the rest are mulattoes. You can say a thousand things about Haiti, about its healthful climate, about its wonderful productiveness, about its desirability. White men will not live there because of the climate.

New Guinea, a British colony, lies between 8° and 10° of the equator, has 88,000 square miles and a population of 350,000 people, 250 of whom are Europeans.

New Zealand has an area of 104,000 square miles. It is near New Guinea. It is between the thirtieth and thirty-fifth degree of south latitude, and therefore outside of the Tropics. I give this illustration for the purpose of showing that it is a question of climate whether the white race will occupy a locality or not. Its population is 628,000 Europeans, 41,000 natives, and 4,400 Chinamen. It is in the Temperate Zone. So the Anglo-Saxon went there and settled, and he built up a government freer, in my opinion, and better than ours, because untrammelled by interference, untrammelled by older influences. This colony was planted later than ours, and, unhindered by greed, by a combination of circumstances which have oppressed us and the English people, the people of New Zealand have worked out what Anglo-Saxon men untrammelled will always work out—a free government participated in by all the people. In my opinion they have better laws. In fact, they furnish about the only example of a first-class English government on the globe to-day.

The Straits Settlements are within the Tropics. There is there a population of 512,000 natives. Singapore, the commercial city, is a great city, one of the emporiums of the East,

right under the equator. It is on the route from the Suez Canal to China and Japan. It contains 512,000 natives, 6,500 Europeans and Americans. The Europeans are the English garrison and the English officeholders. The few Americans who are there are engaged in trade and business with the East, and they go away in the summer. They go up to Japan; they go to the health resorts of that delightful country to escape the evil effects of a tropical climate.

It was supposed that the French people would occupy the Tropics, but they do not. The Latin race, more or less, has occupied the Tropics, but the frost of winter has touched the veins of the Frenchman. It has overcome the tendency of his Latin blood to live within the Tropics, and although they have conquered Tonquin, with 9,000,000 of people, and Cochin China, with 3,000,000 more, there are only 3,000 Frenchmen in the whole country, including the officers and the garrison. The rest of the troops are natives.

Martinique is an island on the north coast of South America, of which we have heard much of late. Martinique has 187,000 people, and only 1,307 Frenchmen and Europeans of all classes. The balance of the population are blacks.

French Congo has a population of 7,000,000, and only 300 Europeans, besides the garrison.

So it goes the world over. Look where you will, tropical countries are not inhabited by the people of our race.

There are no American laborers in Hawaii, and there never will be. Annex the islands if you will. A number of American laborers who were taken there years ago to work upon sugar plantations have abandoned the business, and to-day not one is employed in any of the tropical industries. Between 1895 and 1897 even the eighty-seven Americans who were put down in the census of Hawaii as being engaged in the sugar industry as employees have disappeared entirely. They turn them off. They were foremen, they were book-keepers, but the Jap came in, skilled as he is in every art and in every business. He would work for \$12 a month, and the American who was being paid \$50 and \$75 was dismissed. So even in Hawaii, since 1895, every American employed as

a laborer on these plantations has been dismissed and his place filled by an Asiatic.

It is argued by the friends of annexation that these islands, although in the Tropics, have a very salubrious climate and that Americans flourish and grow and reproduce their kind and are wonderfully happy. Without investigation they give the climate of these islands an average temperature and say that the trade winds have modified it so that it is an exception to the rule of countries within the Tropics. This subject will bear investigation on the part of those who oppose annexation, and I propose to show the temperature of various tropical countries in comparison with Hawaii to see whether the claim is well founded. I quote from the Hawaiian Annual, by Thrum, a book issued in the interests of annexation, containing many falsehoods in furtherance of the designs of the gang of sugar planters who own that country. Therefore statements upon subjects which are against them can at least be supposed not to contain untruths which are to their disadvantage. It is the only possible indorsement the book is entitled to from anybody, and, with this apology, I quote from it:

For seven years the average temperature of Honolulu, which is one of the most northern points in these islands, was $74^{\circ} 32'$ (for the whole seven years, taking them altogether) and the thermometer ranged from 54° to 88° . I have not the observations from the other portions. The main portion of these islands is embraced in the Island of Hawaii, which is very much nearer the equator and, along the coast, undoubtedly very much hotter.

Honolulu being on the southwest side of a range of mountains, the trade winds blowing from the northeast lose their moisture against the face of these mountains. Consequently the climate of that locality is dry for the Tropics, but its temperature ranges about the same as that of tropical countries generally. The range is from 54° to 88° and the average is $74^{\circ} 32'$.

We will take Havana, Cuba. For ten years the mean temperature was 76.8° ; the range was from 49° to 100° . It gets slightly colder and slightly hotter in Havana. That is

no indication of unhealthiness, but the contrary, for in Dakota it ranges between 40° below and 110° above. It is the even temperature, the continuing temperature at the same range, that makes these countries unhealthy and unfit for the habitation of the white race. At San Fernando, Cuba, the average is 75° ; the highest range was 87° , and the lowest 51° . In Hawaii the highest range was 88° , the lowest 54° , average 74.32° ; while at San Fernando, Cuba, the range was from 51° to 87° , and the average was 75° . The range in Kingston, Jamaica, was, lowest 66° , highest 89° ; there being only 1° of difference between that and Hawaii, and the average was 78° .

San Juan, Puerto Rico, another tropical country, and almost the same distance from the equator as the Hawaiian Islands, the average was 78.9° .

The climate, then, of Hawaii is not different from the climate of every tropical country. The climate of tropical countries is pretty even throughout the year. The thermometer ranges but little. There is scarcely a tropical country on the globe where the thermometer ranges above 88° , but the continuous heat, the perpetual heat, the average heat from one year's end to the other, of 73° or 75° or 76° , which is about the average of every tropical country on the globe, is what tells upon the people who are born in the north. Therefore our aggressive, eneregtic, active, dominating race will never inhabit those islands. If they would, why have they not gone there?

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Mr. President,¹ for a century the United States has held a position in relation to the other nations of the world different from that of any other nation that ever existed. One hundred years ago we promulgated the first written Constitution. We said that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed; and, copying after that Constitution, 400 other constitutions have been made during these 100 years, and the name of this great Republic has gone forth throughout the world as a beacon of light to all nations struggling for liberty.

1. Speech in the Senate, July 2, 1898.

We occupy a position on this continent reaching from ocean to ocean, lying between the civilization of Europe and that ancient civilization across the Pacific. On the one hand, to the people of Europe we have furnished an asylum. Down-trodden as they have been in the past, our example has liberalized their governments and conferred a measure of freedom on their inhabitants. On the other hand, we have furnished to the people of Asia an example of just government; an example of a government founded on right; an example of a government which has abandoned the old doctrine that might makes right, that what you can do it is lawful to do, and set up a new doctrine as protectors of the oppressed as a pattern to those who desire individual and national liberty.

So great has been the moral force of this grand position that no American can travel in any Asiatic country without being constantly reminded of it. No American can travel in those countries without being constantly assured that he is welcome, that his nation is admired; and when you seek the reason you are told that it is because the United States recognizes and respects the rights of other nations and is not engaged in a career of conquest.

The people of China and Japan fear England, fear Russia, fear Germany; but they love and respect the United States. Shall we break down this splendid position? Shall we abandon the policy of a century? Shall we conquer and govern an unwilling people because we have the power?

The people of Hawaii do not seek this alliance. Their Government was overturned by the armed forces of the United States. We landed our marines and our guns and our armed men, and we seized and abrogated a government satisfactory to those people. We did this in the interest of a small body of sugar planters, sons of the missionaries, who believed their financial interests would be promoted thereby; and the friends of this measure dare not submit it to a vote of the people of Hawaii, because those people are nine to one opposed to annexation.

Where is our long-time boast that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed? Some one says

that this is an old-fogy notion. It is not; it is new. That idea is only a hundred years old, and nations are thousands and thousands of years old, and all of them before we established that principle enunciated the doctrine that might made right. It is not an old-fogy idea. Is it to be abandoned in its youth? Is this great Government to recede from that splendid position and to take its first step in wrong, in crime, as a people, by overturning the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and without the consent of those people force them to become part of this Union? Oh, Mr. President, I hope not.

Around this doctrine is the idea that comes along with it, that wherever our flag is planted there it shall forever remain. It sounds fine, it is good Fourth of July stock, that wherever the American soldier has fallen and been buried that region shall become part of this country. Mr. President, this Government is maintained for the living, not for the dead. What can we do to contribute to the happiness and prosperity and comfort of our people alive? is the problem for us to solve. No such sentiment as that, based on bad morals, as it seems to me, can ever take hold of the people of the United States.

Our sons' bodies lie moldering in the soil of Cuba; and yet, because they do, is that a reason why we should annex that island against the will of those people and force them to become a part of this Government? Would we not build a higher, a grander, and a more splendid monument to the men who fall upon the soil of Cuba if we there establish a free republic, if we there say to those people: "Govern yourselves under a constitution like ours, and we will see that no nation interferes with you?" What grander monument could be erected to the heroes of the *Maine* than the construction of three republics where Spanish despotism has heretofore cursed the earth—in Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and Cuba? The Malays and the Cubans are capable of self-government under a protectorate, or, hardly that, for the moral power of our position would be so strong that no protectorate would be necessary. An intimation on our part that no nation should interfere with the government adopted by the people of those

islands would be enough, and that would be a grander tribute to our dead than the mere sentiment that because their bones rest in that soil we will conquer and subjugate an unwilling people.

But, Mr. President, what is the reason we want to annex these islands? The military reason, the naval reason, is not good. It has not been sustained by argument; it has been absolutely refuted and destroyed. Some have said these islands possess commercial advantages; that they are rich in tropical products, and therefore we will annex them, so that we may grow tropical products within our own borders.

Certain reasons were urged in the public prints and in executive session by the advocates of annexation, and I regret very much that we have to go outside of this Chamber to find what induces them to support this measure. It seems remarkable that a great and momentous question like this should have no defenders on this floor. It is simply stated that a majority will vote for it. That is the entire plea in its behalf. It is remarkable that a majority will vote for it when in sentiment and at heart a majority of this body are opposed to it. The excuse is given that the President is pushing the matter; that he has for a time abandoned his Executive functions to interfere with legislation; that Senators are constantly importuned and sent for and lectured to compel them to vote for this iniquitous measure, and that such influences persuade men to insist on staying here under the discomforts of hot weather, induce men to vote against their own clear judgment, against the interests of their country, and in favor of abandoning the policy of a century merely to acquire territory and a people unfit to assimilate with us or become a part of this great Republic.

Such is the situation. Induced by these arguments, of course you are dumb. You can not tell your true reason, and you have no other, and so you say, "Talk as long as you choose; we can not meet your argument, but we are going to beat you anyhow." I do not blame you for being silent. I would be silent if I had been bulldozed by a President, contrary to my convictions, to vote for that which I did not

approve. It is the only way you can account for your silence. You have no honest argument. You dare not tell the real reason. So you sit here or run into the cloakroom to prevent being harried by the truth and to escape the chastisement which you deserve.

There are only four of you present, on the average—six or eight at the outside—and you have nothing to say. Keep silent. We will present this great question to the American people. It is better for you to remain silent than to tell the truth. It is better for you to sit in your seats or escape to the cloakroom or flee from the combat than it is to tell the American people that you do not dare to vote as you want to, because if you do you will not get the appointments of generals, majors, and captains for your friends.

Are there not some of you who have convictions on this subject? Are we forced to go into the public prints and tell what occurred in executive session to find out what your supposed reasons are? I do not expect we will smoke any of you out. We shall talk all next week, but we shall not bring one of you to the front, because you do not dare to appear in defense of your position. If you undertook to give reasons, they would not appeal to your reason and judgment; they would be so flimsy that you would be ashamed of them yourselves, and you dare not tell the truth.

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It has been argued most earnestly, Mr. President, that if we do not take these islands Japan will take them. There is one thing certain: Our relations have been such with Japan for the last fifty years that Japan will never interfere with these islands so long as we express a desire that they maintain a government of their own. Japan disclaimed it. Then we are told that there was difficulty between these people and Japan last year. Mr. President, that difficulty was created by the unjust act of the sugar-raising missionaries who now control the Government of Hawaii, under the guns of American war vessels. They created that difficulty. They picked a quarrel with Japan as an excuse, in order to influence the American people. First, they said that England was going to

take the islands. England disclaimed it and said she had no desire to take them. In fact, the islands were taken once by England in 1843 and turned back. England refused to accept them. Nobody has seemed to want them.

Then it was said that Germany was going to take the islands. Germany disclaimed it; and, having gone the rounds and annexation not yet being accomplished, it was then said that Japan was going to take the islands. So they picked a quarrel with Japan and they turned back her immigrants, although since they instituted that quarrel with Japan they have admitted over 6,000 Japanese. They turned back her immigrants, claiming that their coming was in violation of the Hawaiian law, and yet since that time they have admitted over 6,000 Japanese laborers under the same conditions.

I talked with one of the officers of the Hawaiian Government upon this matter, and he said that their law required when immigrants arrived that they should have \$50 each. He said those immigrants did not have it, or if they did have it he did not believe it was their own money; that they had \$50 drafts on the bank of Honolulu, and the officers believed that they would go and cash the drafts at the bank and return the money to the people who had furnished it. I said, "Why did you not cash the drafts and give them the money?" He said, "We did in some cases give them the money, as we have done since." But there was no indication and no proof that it was not their money. However, since then the Hawaiian Government have admitted over 6,000 Japanese under these same conditions, showing conclusively that they picked this quarrel for the purpose of affecting sentiment in the United States.

Japan disclaims any desire to interfere. I will have placed in the RECORD a clear statement of this controversy; but I will first have read President Dole's interview, published in the *New York Journal* of the 24th of last January, on this same subject.

* * * * *

The Secretary read as follows:

"There is absolutely no foundation for these stories of Hawaii being menaced by Japan. There is absolutely nothing in it. There is nothing in the relations between our country and Japan that hurried me to America."

And yet for weeks and days the American people were humbugged with the statement that unless the United States annexed Hawaii Japan or some other nation would.

And Mr. Dole is reported to have also said, in answer to a question as to what would become of the present Government should the United States refuse to annex the islands:

"Well, the Republic is there. I don't know that anything would happen except that things will go on as usual. I don't see any immediate danger from possession by any other country."

And so, too, the "commercial" argument has ceased to be used. So that the reasons on which this annexation "scheme" were originally based, to a very considerable extent, have dropped entirely out, and we have mere sentiment left. The latest scheme to secure free sugar for the Hawaiian trust is to have Mr. Dole duplicate the visit of King Kalakaua here.

MR. PETTIGREW: I ask to have the Secretary read a statement in relation to the controversy between Japan and Hawaii with regard to this labor question. I propose to set at rest forever this talk that Japan is trying to capture the islands.

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The Secretary read as follows:

During the months of March and April, 1897, the Hawaiian Government refused permission to 1,185 Japanese subjects to land in Hawaii, and compelled the steamers which brought them to Hawaii to take them back again to Japan.

The first case was that of the *Shinshiu-maru*, which arrived at Honolulu on the 27th of February, 1897, having on board 864 Japanese immigrants, 463 of whom were expelled.

The second case was that of the *Sakura-maru*, which arrived at Honolulu on March 19, 1897, having on board 315 Japanese immigrants, 164 of whom were expelled.

The third case was that of the *Kinai-maru*, which arrived at Honolulu on the 9th of April, having on board 684 Japanese immigrants, 558 of whom were expelled.

All of the persons thus expelled while in Hawaii were detained on shore and practically deprived of their liberty. They were not allowed to hold communication with their friends and countrymen in Hawaii, or to employ lawyers or agents or to take legal advice. During their detention they were examined by the Hawaiian minister for for-

eign affairs, the collector-general of customs, and the deputy collector of customs, but by no one else, regarding their rights and qualifications under the law to land in Hawaii.

For the purpose of conveniently describing the grounds upon which the Hawaiian Government based its action the immigrants who were expelled may be divided into two classes.

The first, 1,039 in number, were refused permission to remain in Hawaii and were expelled therefrom because they had in their possession agreements with the immigration companies under whose auspices they went to Hawaii, by the terms of which the companies bound themselves to endeavor to find employment for the immigrants in Hawaii, and in case of failure or inability to do so, or in case of illness or other misfortune, to provide the immigrants with means of subsistence or, if necessary, with return passages to Japan. These agreements are required by the law of Japan, and are intended to protect the immigrants and to prevent the immigration companies from inducing immigrants to go to any country where they can not find employment and where they might consequently become a public charge.

The Hawaiian authorities construed this agreement to be a contract, and this was the sole reason alleged for the expulsion of the 1,039 persons in question at the time. Subsequently, however, in the correspondence which ensued between the two Governments, it was alleged that these immigrants were not the bona fide possessors of \$50 each, as required by the law of Hawaii, although it was not denied that each one of the 1,039 was found to have at least that much money in his possession when examined by the Hawaiian authorities. From June, 1894, to December, 1896, between 1,500 and 2,000 Japanese subjects, whose case was precisely similar to that of the 1,039 thus expelled, were permitted by the Hawaiian Government to land and reside in Hawaii; and previous to April 2, 1897, when the Hawaiian minister for foreign affairs first informed the Japanese diplomatic representative at Honolulu of the reason for the expulsion of the immigrants, no notice was ever given to the Japanese Government that the possession of agreements of the kind above described would be held to disqualify Japanese subjects for admission into Hawaii.

It may also be added in this place that no decision of the Hawaiian authorities respecting the qualifications of the 1,185 expelled immigrants to land in Hawaii was ever communicated by the said authorities to the immigrants, neither were the latter ever informed by the said authorities of the reasons why they, the said immigrants, were refused permission to remain and reside in Hawaii and were expelled therefrom.

The other immigrants who were expelled, 146 in number, came by the *Shinshiu-maru*. They were all contract laborers employed by the Kobe Immigration Company, a company organized under the laws

of Japan, doing business in Hawaii and recognized by the Hawaiian Government. The company has applied in due course to the Hawaiian board of immigration for authority to employ these laborers (as was the usual custom); but the Hawaiian minister for foreign affairs, on the 19th of March, 1897, after the laborers had arrived, informed the Japanese diplomatic representative that these persons also would be expelled, because the application for permission to employ them was not accompanied by a bond whereby the applicants bound themselves to introduce into Hawaii, within eighteen months from the date of the application, 10 European or American laborers for every 100 Japanese.

On the 10th of March, 1897, petitions for writs of habeas corpus were filed in the supreme court of Hawaii on behalf of the Japanese passengers on board the first steamer, the *Shinshiu-maru*, who were then detained on shore and restrained of their liberties. The collector of customs, in his return to the said writs, gave as his reason for the detention of the petitioners that they were aliens and foreigners; that it had been decided that they were not entitled to enter the Hawaiian Islands, and that they should be deported therefrom. The supreme court decided on the 17th of March that the decision of the collector was final and could not be inquired into by the court. This left the immigrants entirely without remedy under the laws of Hawaii.

The Japanese Government hold that these acts of the Hawaiian authorities were in complete reversal of all precedent, in derogation of the laws of Hawaii, and in violation of the treaty between the two countries. By reason of the construction of the law and of the treaty thus enunciated by the Hawaiian Government, without warning and contrary to its previous practice, a number of Japanese subjects have, without any fault of their own, been subjected to great loss and inconvenience, and the steamship companies have incurred large losses, including the expenditure of considerable sums paid to the Hawaiian Government.

For this reason the Japanese Government is convinced that it has a valid claim against Hawaii for damages suffered by the immigrants, the immigration companies, and the steamers, which can be traced directly to the action of the Hawaiian authorities. The arbitration of these claims has been proposed and accepted, but the negotiations have not yet been definitely concluded. This has certainly not been owing to any delay occasioned by the Japanese Government, which earnestly desires to have the whole question finally settled at the earliest practicable moment.

It may be added that since the expulsion of the Japanese immigrants above described the Hawaiian Government has voluntarily admitted a large number of Japanese laborers under contracts approved by the board of immigration. More than 800 such laborers came in

during the month of November alone, and it is stated on good authority that at least 2,000 altogether will be so admitted during the present season. This would seem to dispose of the charge that the Hawaiian Government has reason to dread Japanese domination or that its action last spring had a valid excuse in the danger of such domination.

NOTE.—In the correspondence between the Japanese and Hawaiian Governments regarding the claims for damages on account of the expulsion of the Japanese immigrants, the amount of the claims has not yet been stated. It is, roughly speaking, about 260,000 yen, or \$130,000 United States gold.

* * * * *

Will ¹ Senators vote to take this title tainted by fraud? Will Senators vote to ratify this robber revolution brought about by us and refuse to consult the people most interested? If they will, it is an astonishing thing. If they will, then you can well suppose that we will go on with our career of conquest regardless of the honor of our flag and the honor of our name. We will go on to acquire other lands. There will be no halt with this acquisition.

The Senator from Massachusetts [MR HOAR] says that this is wrong; that it is a sin; that it is wicked; but the islands are so little that if we will forgive him for taking that country, he will sin no more; he will be virtuous and resist a like crime if it involves a larger acquisition of territory. But, Mr. President, the first step in wrongdoing is the dangerous step. If we set the example, regardless of honor, of acquiring title to a territory from puppets whom we have set up, what will we not do? The Philippines next, with its 7,000,000 Asiatics; Puerto Rico and Cuba must come in, and then the conquest of South America.

Travel over the course that has caused the death of every republic in the past, and see our flag go down in misery and in shame. The glory of this Republic has been that we have offered an asylum to the oppressed and a hope to mankind which has been followed wherever freedom has burst into bloom throughout the world. Shall we stain that record? Shall we abandon that history? Shall we be one of the robber

1. Speech in the Senate July 6, 1898.

nations of the world, and have it said of our flag, as Labouchere, in the London *Truth*, said of the flag of England?

WHERE IS THE FLAG OF ENGLAND?

Let the winds of the world make answer!

North, south, east, west—

Where'er there is wealth to covet

Or land to be possessed;

Where'er are savage nations

To coddle, coerce, or scare,

You may look for the vaunted emblem—

The flag of England is there.

Aye, it waves o'er the blazing hovel

Whence its African victims fly,

To be shot by explosive bullets

Or wretchedly starve and die,

Or where the beachcomber harries

The isles of the southern sea,

From the peak of his hellish vessel

The English flag flies free.

The Maori full oft hath cursed it

With his fleeting, dying breath,

And the Arab hath hissed his curses

As he spat at its folds in death.

The hapless fellah hath feared it

On Tel-el-Kebir's parched plain,

And the blood of the Zulu hath stained it

With a deep, indelible stain.

It has floated o'er scenes of pillage

And flaunted o'er deeds of shame;

It has waved o'er the fell marauder,

As he ravished with sword and flame;

It has looked on ruthless slaughter

And assassination, dire and grim,

And has heard the shrieks of its victims

Drown even the jingo hymn.

Where is the flag of England?

Seek the land where the natives rot,

And decay and assured extinction

Must soon be the people's lot.

Go to the once fair islands

Where disease and death are rife,

And the greed of a callous commerce
Now battens on human life.

Where is the flag of England?
Go sail where rich galleons come
With their shoddy and loaded cotton,
And beer and Bibles and rum.
Seek the land where brute force hath triumphed
And hypocrisy hath its lair,
And your question will thus be answered—
For the flag of England is there.

* * * * *

Mr. President,¹ it is late in the session and I will draw my remarks to a conclusion, but I wish to speak of one more thing before I do. Is it the desire of the jingoists in this Chamber that they shall have the pleasure of seeing this worthless population represented on this floor? I imagine I see the Senator from Hawaii pleading for an additional appropriation for the relief of 1,200 lepers or urging on the floor of the Senate that we must repeal our contract-labor laws because of the declining sugar industry carried on by contract labor. It seems to me we already have problems enough; that we can not afford to add more of the dark-skinned races to our population. With the negroes of the South, the Chinese of the Pacific Coast, the Indians of the West, and the dagoes of the East, I believe that every problem we are able to solve will be presented to us in the near future; and that it is our duty rather than to add this unfit population to ours to maintain our present area and pass those laws which will give every man an equal opportunity and promote the more even distribution of wealth throughout our borders.

Our duty is to educate and elevate the population we already have, and thus perpetuate our institutions. In the past every republic has sown the seeds of its final destruction by gratifying the desire for conquest and for glory. Let us profit by their example and pursue a course that will make the masses happy and prosperous rather than dazzle and allay the mutterings of misery and discontent by the march of armies and the glory of conquest.

1. Speech in the Senate March 2, 1895.

CHAPTER IX

WHO STARTED THE WAR?

THE Senate having under consideration the following resolution, submitted by MR. PETTIGREW on the 3d instant.

"Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate whether General Torres, one of the officers of the Philippine army, came to General Otis with a flag of truce on February 5, 1899, the day after the fighting commenced between our forces and those of the Filipinos, and stated to General Otis that General Aguinaldo declared that fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by him, and that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies of a width that would be agreeable to General Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflict between the two armies, and whether General Otis replied that fighting having once begun must go on to the grim end. Was General Otis directed by the Secretary of War to make such an answer? Did General Otis telegraph the Secretary of War on February 9, 1899, as follows: 'Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference. Have declined to answer.' And did General Otis afterwards reply? Was he directed by the Secretary of War to reply; and what answer, if any, did he or the Secretary of War make to the application to cease fighting?"—

So far¹ as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing that both of the Senators from Massachusetts should make such inquiries as they choose and seek such information as they desire. I think it is entirely proper. If they believe the information is necessary in order that they may the better discharge their duties, they ought to seek it, and the Senate ought to give them the opportunity to seek it.

Of course the details of the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [MR. LODGE] might be

1. Speech in the Senate January 11, 1900.

considerably extended in the pursuit of valuable information for the public. We might inquire whether our soldiers did not desecrate churches and plunder sanctuaries; whether they did not kill prisoners, murder women, burn houses, rob the persons of the inhabitants of the country, both men and women, of their jewels, and so on, covering the usual train of horrors that follow the operations of hostile armies in the field.

It seems to me that my resolution is exceedingly pertinent. It pertains to questions the people of the United States ask to have answered. They want to know what our course has been in regard to the Philippine people previous to the commencement of hostilities, what our course was immediately after hostilities began, what our relations were to those people, and whether or not war on our part is justifiable. Certainly no nation should wage war unless there is the best of cause and unquestioned justice on the side of the aggressor. For the purpose of ascertaining these pertinent facts, as they seem to me to be, I introduced a resolution on the 12th of December, which read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate whether the flag of the Philippine republic was carried by vessels in the bay of Manila, and whether the flag of the Philippine republic was ever saluted by Admiral Dewey or any of the vessels of his fleet at any time since May 1, 1898. Were Spanish prisoners delivered over to the Philippine forces at the time of the surrender at Subig Bay? Did a vessel commanded by the forces under Aguinaldo, flying the Philippine flag, accompany the vessels *Concord* and *Raleigh* back to Subig Bay in June, 1898, in order to compel the surrender of the Spanish forces?

One object in offering this resolution was to ascertain whether or not the Filipino people had been the allies of the United States Army and Navy; whether we had operated with them against a common enemy. The resolution was laid upon the table on the motion of the Senator from New Hampshire [MR. CHANDLER], and the only reason given for the attempted suppression of information was that if the Senate passed the resolution, such action would be telegraphed immediately to the insurgents.

The object in concealing conditions or operations in time of war is to keep from an enemy information it does not already possess. If what I state in the resolution is true, the facts were well known to the insurgents at the time the facts were established. If we saluted their flag, they knew it; if their vessels came from Subig Bay to Manila, and if the insurgents asked Admiral Dewey to assist them in the conquest of the Spanish garrison at that place, and our vessels went back and captured the garrison and turned the prisoners over to the insurgents, the insurgents knew it at the time. Therefore the passage of the resolution or the promulgation of the facts to the American people could not encourage the enemy.

Mr. President, the object in this suppression of information is to keep from the American people certain transactions which after history will record. The trouble with these imperialists is that they confound the government of the United States with their puny President. The trouble is that his interests are paramount to the interests of the whole people of this country, and that the desire for political success has more bearing upon grave questions than the mere encouragement or non-encouragement of the insurgents. My resolution was laid upon the table. The information asked for was denied. I want it answered specifically, because I think it is pertinent to this controversy.

* * * * *

This resolution embodies direct questions. They are pertinent questions, and upon them I desire information.

MR. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator if he has information that the contents of the resolution are true?

MR. PETTIGREW. I do not assert in the resolution that the contents are true, but I believe they are true; for if they were false, every imperialist in this body would be in great haste to secure replies, and they would have passed my resolution without any delay whatever.

MR. ALLEN. Has the Senator any information in his own possession about the truth of the assertion contained in the resolution?

* * * * *

MR. PETTIGREW. I will come to that, Mr. President. The facts recited in the resolution are facts, and they are therefore true. I am much obliged to the Senator from Nebraska for bringing out this fact at this time. I will produce abundant proof of these facts later on in my remarks.

Mr. President, is war such a flippant thing to engage in that when an enemy with whom we are fighting declares that the conflict was not intentionally commenced and desires to cease fighting in order that peace may be restored and the killing of men stopped, we should answer that the war having commenced, it shall go on to the grim end, and when later—but a few days later—the request for a cessation of hostilities is again made, our general telegraphs to the Administration that he has declined to answer. It seems to me the questions are so pertinent, so pointed, so important, Mr. President, that they ought to be the subject of a separate resolution; not be clouded by a series of events which have occurred since, not clouded by those horrible deeds which occur on both sides when men are engaged in shedding each other's blood.

Therefore I believe that resolution is important. Any other resolutions which may be presented covering other phases of this controversy will not be objected to by me. If information is wanted by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [MR. LODGE], I am willing he shall secure it. But I want these questions—these two or three pertinent questions—answered, and answered directly and at once. That is why I object to the substitute. The substitute of the Senator from Massachusetts is what? It reads as follows:

Resolved, That the President be requested to send to the Senate, if not inconsistent with the public interest, all reports and dispatches relating to the insurrection in the Philippines, and especially any information as to communications or correspondence with the insurgents, from the 1st of January, 1898, on the part of any officer in the military, naval, consular, or diplomatic service of the United States.

I have no objection to that information being secured, but I do not wish to have action delayed on these two great important questions until the information desired by the Senator from Massachusetts can be secured; neither do I care to leave

discretion to the President as to whether his reply shall be in accord or consistent with public interests. The people of the United States, who are sovereigns in this country, have a right to know the facts regarding which I ask.

Leave it to the discretion of the President! Why, this resolution, Mr. President, should be amended so that it will accord with the facts. The President himself is unable to distinguish between his own interests and the interests of his country, between the political contest which is about to come on and the question of the destiny and duty of the United States. This resolution might be changed so as to read: "If not inconsistent with the interests of the President as a candidate for reelection," for that will govern the answer we shall get. The concealment of news, the suppression of facts, has marked the course of this miserable and wretched transaction from the beginning.

Even the report of General Otis, which is sent to us purporting to give a history of the war, does not contain all the facts and was either censored at this end of the line or the other. It does not contain his report of the 6th of April, which gives an account of how the fighting commenced and who inaugurated the war. It does not contain MacArthur's report, before whose forces the fighting was begun. MacArthur describes the opening of hostilities, but that report was not included. It does not give any recital since the war commenced of repeated efforts on the part of the insurgents to cause the cessation of hostilities; it does not give the telegram which Otis sent to the Department dated the 9th of February, 1899, and which is as follows:

Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference; have declined to answer.

His report does not contain that exceedingly important telegram. Fighting commenced on the 4th. On the 9th General Otis telegraphed the Department that Aguinaldo desired to cease fighting and have a conference, and that he had not answered. There is no reference in the report to so important

an incident as the officially expressed desire of the commander of the enemy to stop the effusion of blood.

There were innumerable efforts on the part of Aguinaldo to stay the tide of war. He sent flags of truce time and time again, accompanied by communications, asking if hostilities might cease; and what General Otis did with those messages of good will, and what the Department here did with them, is not contained in Otis's report; all were censored out of it. For what purpose? The facts are known to the insurgents. They are not known to the people of the United States. They were omitted to conceal the true situation from the people of the United States.

That is not all, Mr. President. This process has been going on at both ends of the line. Of Otis's telegrams, of Otis's reports, it is well known that only portions were given to the American people. Negotiations with regard to the Sulu agreement were mangled and partially denied until after the election in Ohio. The President himself sent a proclamation to General Otis, which I will read. It is dated the 21st of December, 1898:

With the signature of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain by their respective plenipotentiaries at Paris on the 10th instant, and as a result of the victories of the American arms, the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States. In fulfillment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired and the responsible obligations of government thus assumed, the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine Islands becomes immediately necessary, and the military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor, and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory.

Here, then, is a declaration on the part of the President that we had acquired sovereignty by purchase, and that we proposed to extend a military government over the entire group of the Philippine Islands. What was the situation on that day? We occupied simply the city of Manila and a small promontory about 20 miles from the city.

MR. HOAR. What is the date of that proclamation?

MR. PETTIGREW. The 21st day of December, 1898. The

city of Manila was invested by the army of the Philippine republic. That army had built earthworks from water to water, fourteen miles in length, clear around that city, hemming in the Spanish garrison at the time the city was surrendered, and the position of the Filipinos was maintained up to the date of this proclamation. This was the message sent to a government exercising jurisdiction over millions of people, maintaining an army of 30,000 men surrounding the city of Manila, occupying only the country they had conquered and captured from Spain. Then the President goes on:

In performing this duty, the military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants, and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the sovereignty of the persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be, but without severity so far as may be possible.

Here was a direct declaration of war. Lay down your arms, submit to our sovereignty, to our military rule throughout the whole of these islands, or we will proceed against you by force of arms and compel you to do so. What is the use, after the issuance of this proclamation, of quibbling about who commenced the war?

But General Otis, fearing that something might occur that would be disagreeable in this connection, did not give out the proclamation sent to him. He altered it materially. He altered it so that it was not the same proclamation. He altered it so that it reads as I shall now read. This is to the people of the Philippine Islands:

Instructions of His Excellency the President of the United States relative to the administration of affairs in the Philippine Islands have been transmitted to me by direction of the honorable the Secretary

of War, under date of December 28, 1898. They direct me to publish and proclaim in the most public manner to the inhabitants of these islands that in the war against Spain the United States forces came here to destroy the power of that nation and to give the blessings of peace and individual freedom to the Philippine people; that we are here as friends to the Filipinos; to protect them in their homes, their employments, their individual and religious liberty, and that all persons who, either by active aid or honest endeavor, coöperate with the Government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes will receive the reward of its support and protection.

The President said all those who surrender, all those who yield, will have protection, and those who do not will be caused to yield by force of arms. Mr. Otis, feeling that this proclamation of the President was too harsh, that it might involve trouble, censored it, as the President has evidently censored Otis's report. So Otis was willing to deceive, swindle, and defraud the people of the Philippines by putting out a proclamation which was not transmitted to him to issue, and the Administration is willing to humbug the American people at this end of the line with a meager report of the facts in regard to this whole subject.

The entire wretched business is one of duplicity and concealment—an evident effort not only to deceive the people of the United States, but the people of the Philippine Islands. But as soon as General Otis received this proclamation he sent it to General Miller, down at Iloilo, and Miller promulgated it exactly as he received it, and within four days the genuine proclamation was back in Manila, and all its brutal phrases were presented to the people there. They were suddenly stunned by the edict which declared war against them and which so unexpectedly announced that they should not have their liberty, for which they had sacrificed so much life and so much property.

MR. GALLINGER. What were those brutal phrases? I should like to have one or two of them read.

MR. PETTIGREW. I will read them to the Senator.

All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be, but without severity, so far as may be possible.

A straight and square declaration of war—an announcement that if you do not surrender, if you do not lay down your arms, if you do not give up your liberty, we will make you do all these things by force of arms. The other is as follows:

The military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor, and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory.

The military government of the United States was to be extended over those 30,000 men in arms and over that government of a sister republic, founded upon a constitution similar to ours. I am glad the Senator from New Hampshire asked the question, for I have thought for a long time that those who are maintaining this policy on the part of the United States were ignorant with regard to the facts and stood in need of information.

MR. GALLINGER. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, it strikes me that his declaration that those expressions of the President's message are brutal is absolutely refuted by reading them. The President of the United States used no brutal language and has not done so during the period of hostilities.

MR. PETTIGREW. Now, Mr. President, let us see what General Otis says about this matter. If we have an ally and he has been fighting with us and has lost thousands of men in contact with a common enemy, for his advantage and for ours, and he has established a government and has helped us capture a city with a garrison of 13,000 men, and we then turn around and say to him, We have purchased title, from the persons whom we have been jointly assailing, to your country and to your land, and if you do not lay down your arms and surrender to us the liberties for which you have been contending, we will make you do it by force of arms. And if that is not brutal language and that is not a brutal course, then the estimate of these things placed upon them by the Senator from New Hampshire must be quite different from what has been placed upon them by the history of the world through all time.

Otis says, with regard to this proclamation, as follows:

Before publication of this proclamation I endeavored to obtain from able Filipino residents of the city an expression of opinion as to its probable effect upon the population, but was not much encouraged. A few days thereafter they declared the publication to have been a mistake, although the foreign residents appeared to believe the proclamation, most excellent in tone and moderation, offered everything that the most hostile of the insurgents could expect, and undoubtedly would have a beneficial influence.

Perhaps the proclamation which Otis put out, if it had not been for the President's proclamation itself, which came to them from Iloilo, might have been tolerated. How do we know? Otis sends out a lie to insurgents; Miller sends out the truth. A few days afterwards the truth comes out, and then the difficulty of course ensues. Here is what he says with regard to the President's language:

After fully considering the President's proclamation and the temper of the Tagalos with whom I was daily discussing political problems and the friendly intentions of the United States Government toward them, I concluded that there were certain words and expressions therein, such as "sovereignty," "right of cession," and those which directed immediate occupation, etc., though most admirably employed and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalo war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives.

Remarkable, is it not, that such words as "sovereignty," and "cession," such words as "conquest" and "oppression," might have disturbed the inhabitants? How gratifying it must be to the President to have this censor of his praise the Executive language!

So, Mr. President, the war was commenced, and yet the insurgents used every effort and every endeavor to prevent actual hostilities. I think I can prove from the record that such was their course.

But before I conclude with regard to this censorship question I want to call attention to the report of the Associated Press. Robert M. Collins, who represented the Associated Press in Manila, in connection with the concealment of facts and of truth from the people of the United States, makes the

following statement in an interview which the press representatives had with General Otis. He threatened to court-martial the correspondents for sending the truth to the United States. Mr. Collins says:

But when General Otis came down in the frank admission that it was not intended so much to prevent the newspapers from giving information and assistance to the enemy (the legitimate function and, according to our view, the only legitimate one of a censorship), but to keep the knowledge of conditions here from the public at home, and when the censor had repeatedly told us, in ruling out plain statements of undisputed facts, "My instructions are to let nothing go that can hurt the Administration," we concluded that protest was justifiable.

In other words, Mr. President, the purpose of the censorship in Manila was not to keep facts from the enemy, not to keep information from the enemy, but to keep it from the people at home, the people of this great Republic. We have adopted a new policy along with the adoption of an empire and a pseudo emperor—a policy of no longer taking the American people into our confidence and consulting them with regard to questions of great national moment. Our military censors are instructed not to cut out from the dispatches sent to the newspapers in this country that which might help the enemy, but that which might hurt the Administration at home. Such instructions are issued by the Administration itself, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy must be obeyed by his subordinates. Military power is imperial, and the imperialist employed it not for the country's good, but to attain personal political ends.

Continuing, Mr. Collins says:

Otis had gained the idea, from the long submission by the newspaper men to his dictation, that it was a part of the duty of the Governor-General to direct the newspaper correspondents as he did his officers. Much of the censorship was conducted by him personally, the censor sending a correspondent to the General with any dispatch about which he had doubts. The process of passing a message was identical with the correction of a composition by a schoolmaster, Otis or the censor striking out what displeased him and inserting what he thought should be said; or, what came to the same thing, telling the correspondent he must say certain things if his story was to go.

And in this way these correspondents say they were compelled to send falsehoods home to us. What is more, Mr. President, further, Mr. Collins says:

Recently I filed what I thought a most inoffensive statement that the business men who had appeared before the commission had advocated the retention of the existing silver system of currency. The censor said: "I ought not to let that go. That would be a lift for Bryan. My instructions are to shut off everything that could hurt McKinley's Administration. That is free silver."

Now, then, Mr. President, I object to the resolution or amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts because he proposes to leave to the President the discretion as to whether I shall have my questions answered or not. How can I leave that to the President and expect to get the information when he instructs a censor to deny to the American people the facts for fear that the truth will hurt his Administration? How can we expect to be given the facts when Otis's reports suppress everything almost that would be of importance as against the conduct and course of the Administration and give us that only which he chooses to divulge?

Now, Mr. President, who commenced the war? I contend, in the first place, that the President inaugurated hostilities before the treaty with Spain was ratified, when he sent his declaration of war to Otis to be transmitted to the people of the Philippine Islands. What is more, Mr. President, Mr. Otis, in his report, in the first letter he wrote to Aguinaldo after he took command, made the statement which I shall read. I might preface this by saying that at the time Manila fell the insurgents had conquered the island of Luzon. The Spanish flag floated over only one port. They (the Filipino republic) had occupied many of the other islands, and shortly afterwards captured the city of Iloilo.

Their troops had taken 10,000 Spanish prisoners. They had captured garrison after garrison. They had several small vessels which patrolled the coast flying their flag. They surrounded Manila with a cordon of earthworks. They had 30,000 men in the trenches. When General Merritt went there he asked the insurgents to allow him to land his forces

on the beach in order to take the city of Manila. He sent General Greene, who was instructed not to recognize Aguinaldo or his forces, to try and avoid that, but, nevertheless, by some hook or crook, to get a lodgment upon the beach. I will read from the statement of Francis V. Greene, major-general, with regard to this matter:

General Merritt arrived at Cavite on the *Newport* on the afternoon of July 25, and, after examining the ground the following day, promptly decided two points: First, that the attack would be made along the shore; and second, that it was necessary to get the insurgents off to one side, so as to give us the right of way. He was very anxious to avoid any entangling alliances with Aguinaldo, with whom he had no direct communication. He therefore sent his chief of staff, on the afternoon of July 28, with a verbal message directing me to persuade the insurgents, if possible, to evacuate a portion of their trenches; but I was to do this on my own responsibility and without intimating that I had any instructions to this effect from him. I had previously met General Noriel, who commanded the brigade of insurgents nearest to the beach, and on receiving General Merritt's message I sent my orderly, who spoke Spanish fluently, to find this general and give him a most polite message that I desired to see him on matters of common interest.

What was the purpose of the President? When General Merritt was sent to the Philippines he went with different instructions from those which had been previously given. Previous to that time Aguinaldo had been armed by us, taken to the islands by us, had declared constantly that he wished to set up a government of his own, and that his people desired independence and had adopted a constitution, had established a government, and that they had consulted with Dewey about it. Dewey had said in one of his dispatches that he went ashore to consult with the Filipino people with regard to the establishment of a civil government. Their flag had been saluted.

Spanish prisoners had been turned over to their government. But suddenly the policy of the Administration changes, and the departure was instigated by England, in my opinion, for the tone of the English papers about this time changed. They began to talk about our duty in the Philippines. The men who were dominating England were opposed to war with

Spain because they held Spanish bonds. They were in favor of our conquering the Filipinos because they would like to get more of the bonds of the United States. The great money oligarchy which has ruled the world for the last twenty or thirty years, dictated the march of armies, and the movement of navies, bidding war to commence or war to cease, has now crossed the Atlantic, and is to-day wielding the destinies of the great republic and directing every movement, every thought of the servile President of this most corrupt and un-American of all Administrations.

So General Merritt was to try to fool the Filipinos and prevail upon them to do what he wanted and not let them know what was his purpose. He was armed with different instructions from those that had been given to any one else. He tells General Greene to get possession of a piece of the shore; to do it without letting the Filipinos know that he recognized them in any way, but to accomplish it. Aguinaldo said he would give possession of the shore if they would make the request in writing. Upon that he withdrew his troops from the trenches and our troops took possession of 400 yards of Aguinaldo's works, from the shore part way around Manila. Without giving the request in writing, we simply promised that it should be sent the next day. This is contained in General Greene's statement.

Now what occurred? Manila surrendered. It was 14 miles around Manila, and of that 14 miles all but 400 yards was occupied by the Filipino forces. When the city surrendered we took 13,000 Spanish prisoners, according to General Greene's report, and there was no fighting. In fact, the surrender had been arranged. We were simply to make a demonstration and then the Spanish garrison was to lay down its arms. They were to give themselves up to us that they might avoid capitulating to the Filipinos, who had surrounded them. Thus the surrender of the Spanish forces was secured without bloodshed, except for an accident, or except for such bloodshed as the generals commanding our armies thought was necessary in order to humbug the insurgents, so they would be content to allow us to enter the city without them.

Immediately upon our occupation of the city we began to push the insurgents back. We gave them nice talk. We told them we were their benefactors. We pointed to our resolution with regard to Cuba. We declared that we had the highest motives and that conquest would not be thought of—that it was immoral. Thus we gained possession of one point after another.

In demanding the retirement of the Filipino troops the first letter which Otis wrote to Aguinaldo is as follows: Aguinaldo had protested against retiring from territory which he had conquered by sacrificing the blood of his men. A parley ensued.

On September 8, 1898, General Otis forwarded to Aguinaldo this communication, the first one he had sent to that officer:

It only remains for me to respectfully notify you that I am compelled by my instructions to direct that your armed forces evacuate the entire city of Manila, including its suburbs and defenses, and that I shall be obliged to take action with that end in view within a very short space of time should you decline to comply with my Government's demand; and I hereby serve notice on you that unless your troops are withdrawn beyond the line of the city's defenses before Thursday, the 15th instant, I shall be obliged to resort to forcible action, and that my Government will hold you responsible for any unfortunate consequences which may ensue.

Here, then, on the 8th of September was a declaration of war, a threat to an ally who had done as much against the common enemy as we had done.

Permit me to believe that my confidence in the sound judgment and patriotism of yourself and associates is not misplaced.

We were parleying with Spain. It was long before the treaty was made and many months before it was ratified.

You will please pardon me for my apparent unnecessary delay in replying to your communication of the 27th ultimo, but press of the duties connected with the administration of the affairs of this city is my excuse.

In conclusion, I beg to inform you that I have conferred freely with Admiral Dewey upon the contents of this communication and

am delegated by him to state that he fully approves of the same in all respects; that the commands of our Government compel us to act as herein indicated, and that between our respective forces there will be unanimity and complete concert of action.

Now, this is Otis's report, from which I read:

On September 13 a commission sent by Aguinaldo and consisting of three members, one of whom was the treasurer and another the attorney-general of the insurgent government, called for the purpose of discussing the subject of my letter of the 8th. They asked me to withdraw it and simply request in writing that the insurgent troops retire to the line designated by General Merritt, which I refused to do, stating that unless they withdrew as directed we would be obliged to resort to force.

Pretty talk, is it not, toward an ally who was fighting with us? If this Administration had a spark of honor when they sent General Merritt there they would have told the whole truth in his instructions to the insurgents, would have told them that they had nothing to expect but slavery at their hands, instead of still parading as their friends.

They then asked that I withdraw the letter and issue a request unaccompanied by any threat to use force, as Aguinaldo was fearful that he would be unable to remove his troops upon a demand, to which I replied that the letter of the 8th instant would stand. They then said that as the demands of that letter must remain unchanged, the insurgents would withdraw as directed therein, but that if I would express in writing a simple request to Aguinaldo to withdraw to the lines which I designated—something which he could show to the troops and induce them to think that he was simply acting upon a request from these headquarters—he would probably be able to retire his men without much difficulty; that, of course, they themselves understood the direction to withdraw, which he obeyed, and thereupon repeated their desire to obtain a note of request, whereupon I furnished them with the following.

Then comes a request simply to withdraw, designating the line, and this request was complied with.

Now we complain and the Administration justifies its commencement of the war upon these people because they were uneasy during this time; that threats were heard; that assertions were made that they had a right to independence. Aguinaldo issued a proclamation in answer to the President's

proclamation, declaring that he sought independence for his people.

Now, Mr. President, who did begin the war? Here is Otis's letter of the 8th of September, saying that he would resort to war if they did not surrender to him some of the territory which they had conquered from Spain. Here is the President's proclamation, saying, "If you do not surrender the islands on the 21st of December, I will wage war against you to the death."

What is more, it is well to inquire who fired the first shot. It appears that there was a town between the lines of the two armies, occupied by the forces of Aguinaldo—a town 150 yards in advance of the line of the American troops—and that Otis wished to obtain possession of it. He therefore entered into an agreement to have Aguinaldo withdraw his pickets therefrom and retire to a greater distance.

This was done. On the night after this had been accomplished a patrol of the insurgents entered the abandoned town. A patrol is not a war party; a patrol is simply to pick up stragglers. They had occupied the place the night before, and they sent a patrol in the evening to see if any of their men had remained behind—if there were any stragglers in this village. We had occupied the place as a picket station, and when these Malays, who do not speak our language, came along, a Nebraska boy ordered them to halt, and they did not halt.

It is very strange, is it not, that the insurgents did not understand the Spanish or the Malay tongue of the Nebraska boy? He fired upon them and killed a lieutenant, and within a few minutes two or three more Filipinos were killed; and thus the war was begun. And who started it? We commenced it by the declaration of war on the part of our President, by every act of ours which indicated that we did not propose to give them their freedom. We inaugurated the conflict by killing the first man. But what does General Otis say about this? On page 92 of this report you will find the following statement:

It is not believed that the chief insurgent leaders wish to open hostilities at this time—

It is not believed they wished to open hostilities. Let us see. On the same page he describes the battle of Manila:

The battle of Manila commenced at half past 8 o'clock on the evening of February 4 and continued until 5 o'clock the next evening.

The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and of vigorous attack by our forces.

Here, then, Mr. President, is the killing of two or three or four Filipino soldiers who composed the patrol, which was not a war party, by a picket of ours; and then what? "The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and of vigorous attack by our forces." Then we rushed upon their works, and the killing and destruction were well under way. We took their trenches and drove them back. And yet it is claimed by the President, in his proclamation, that the Filipinos struck a foul blow. Who really struck the foul blow? Who was guilty of duplicity? Who was guilty of deception through the whole of this miserable transaction?

General Otis conceals the rest of the facts. The report of General MacArthur is not here, but I have read the reports of various soldiers, for the South Dakota troops were along this line. I have talked with many of them, and there is no possible question but that we were first guilty of shedding blood; that we began the attack, and that we followed it up.

What occurred, Mr. President? General Rives, of Minnesota, who was in charge of the city of Manila at the time fighting commenced, in an interview said:

But I can tell you one piece of news that is not generally known in the United States. On Sunday, February 5, the day after the fighting began, General Torres, of the insurgents, came through our lines under a flag of truce and had a personal interview with General Otis, in which, speaking for Aguinaldo, he declared that the fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by Aguinaldo; that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies of any width that would be agreeable to General Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflicts between the two armies. To these representations of General Torres General Otis sternly replied that the fighting, having once begun, must go on to the grim end.

MR. SPOONER. What date was that?

MR. PETTIGREW. February 5.

Now, Mr. President, under all these circumstances, I would like to know what more Aguinaldo could have done. What more could he have done than to continue to fight as long as resistance was possible? If I were a Filipino, I would fight until I was gray, if I were not killed before, against this unholy and infamous aggression.

I do not indorse the sentiment, Mr. President, of the Senator from Nevada, that having once commenced we must go on. That would compel him to join his brother if he found him stealing. That would compel him, if he found his comrades committing any crime, to join in the crime until it was consummated. If we are wrong, this Government can take no higher or grander position before the nations of the world than to acknowledge it.

My country, right or wrong, is a sentiment I indorse with this qualification: When right, to keep it right, and when wrong, to make it right. Neither do I confound the President with the Government. He is but our servant, and if he pursues a wrong course, if he precipitates us into a war unjustly and wrongfully and undertakes to override the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, then I am against him, and it is my privilege to attack his position.

I believe he is wrong in this contest. I believe my country can only be great and grand by pursuing that honorable course which has marked our career in the past, and by exercising that powerful influence which we can exercise and have exercised all over the world since we became a nation, because of the honor and dignity of our course and the respect we have always maintained for the rights of others. We have reached the turning point.

Are we to abandon this grand history; are we to pursue a course of aggression and wrong, plunder and robbery, on the English principle that having once commenced we must continue to the end? What would we think of the greatest athlete of the world to-day in insisting that, having begun the

beating of a boy of 12, he should beat the boy to death in order to convince the world that he was strong.

Mr. President, if it takes more courage to do right than to do wrong, then the American people and the American nation should commence at once. Empire has been acquired before only to ruin the nation that started upon a career of conquest. Rome with her legions robbed the world. When the Roman Empire was founded most of the people owned 12 acres apiece—12 acres per family—indicating a dense rural population. But during the first century of the Christian era centralization had done its work; the lands had been absorbed by the usurer and gathered into vast estates, cultivated by tenants and often by slaves.

Spain once had an empire which covered almost the world—greater than Rome or any other people ever acquired. Where is Spain to-day? No nation can pursue a course of wrong toward others and long preserve its own liberties. No nation can long give to its people happiness and prosperity, equality, necessary to the preservation of its institutions, when it proceeds to disregard the rights of other nations or plunder other men, no matter what the color of their skin.

CHAPTER X

DEWEY AND AGUINALDO

WHEN¹ the present session of Congress convened six months ago, the Senate expected and had a right to expect, and the American people expected, that the Administration in charge of the Government, in charge of events which were occurring in the Philippine Islands, would report to Congress the results of our operations in that distant country. A complete résumé of everything that had been done by our Army and our officers should have been laid before both Houses of Congress, but it was not done. The public was well aware that some information in regard to what had been occurring in the Philippines had reached us through the censored press and the correspondence of our soldiers. That such information was meager, that it was uncertain, and that the facts were hard to secure, was known to all. When Congress assembled, those statements regarding the situation which we had a right to expect were not forthcoming. December passed, and in January resolutions were introduced in this body calling for important facts in connection with the war on the Filipinos.

The resolutions introduced were promptly laid upon the table by the Administration majority in the Senate. Finally a resolution prepared by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] passed the Senate, asking the Administration for a detailed account of all its doings in connection with the Philippine Islands. We waited many weeks, and finally a partial statement was sent in. It did not cover the scope of the inquiry, and at the close of the session we are without the information. The report of the President in answer to our resolution of inquiry concerning transactions in the Philip-

1. Speech in the Senate June 4 & 5, 1900.

pires did not convey all the truth. It contained only fragmentary selections from the record. All that has come to us in a direct way has been printed. I believe it is insufficient; that it does not cover the ground; that such information was withheld as the Administration desired to suppress; that the American people are no longer trusted by the party in power; they are no longer taken into the confidence of their administrative servants and intrusted with the facts. Proof conclusive that facts were withheld was furnished by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] in his speech a few days ago. He read from the printed reports which came from the Administration in reply to our resolutions; but, Mr. President, he also read from manuscript, more than from anything else, that which was withheld from Congress, that which had not been furnished to the whole people. He read what was accessible to Administration Senators and not accessible to other members of the Senate.

Congress is about to adjourn, the facts are withheld, and the American people are to go on another summer with such information as they are able to gather without the confidence of an Administration that again asks for their votes.

The friends of the Administration, the imperialists in this body, have complained that we were unwilling to believe the officers of the Government and their statements regarding the situation in the Philippines. Mr. President, up to the time the treaty with Spain was sent to this body there is no doubt that the Administration sent us all the facts in its possession. Document 62 contains the story of our operations in the Philippines up to November, 1898. Since that time, owing to a change in the policy of the Government, information upon this important subject has been withheld. We base our case on the arguments that have been made upon information drawn from Document No. 62, transmitted to us, accompanied by a message from the President. Aside from the matter contained in Document 62, we have been unable to secure facts, and we are accused of not believing what is said by the officers of the Government.

We have reason, Mr. President, to question the veracity of

the officers of the Government in their later utterances. There is no doubt that when our representatives first went to Manila they promised the people of those islands liberty and independence if they would help us destroy the Spanish power in the East. There is no doubt but that every American who talked with Aguinaldo and his followers gave them to understand that they would be assisted in setting up a government. There is no doubt that our consuls and our generals and Admiral Dewey gave Aguinaldo such promises in abundance; but since we decided to conquer the Philippines, to destroy republics in Asia—since we decided to deprive those people of the right to govern themselves, the reports we have received from our own officers are subject to question and to doubt—in the first place, because all the facts in possession of the Government have not been placed before us; and, in the second place, because we find our officers willing to pursue the course which Otis pursued, that of distorting the facts, or of changing the reports and placing a wrong construction upon words. It has been the general policy, from the President down, to deceive the public.

The commission we sent to the Philippines came back and made a partial report just before the election. This report is signed by Mr. J. G. Schurman, Admiral Dewey, Charles Denby, and Dean C. Worcester, and in it they say:

On the arrival of the troops commanded by General Anderson at Cavite, Aguinaldo was requested by Admiral Dewey to evacuate that place, and he moved his headquarters to the neighboring town of Bacoor. Now for the first time arose the idea of national independence.

This appears to have been on the 4th day of July, 1898, and Admiral Dewey had been in the islands and had had dealings with Aguinaldo since the previous May. Mr. Schurman had undoubtedly thoroughly investigated the question, but in order to make out a case which would justify the position they took in this report, they must insert a statement that Aguinaldo never had a notion that he desired independence until July 4, 1898.

What are the facts? They were known to Admiral Dewey. He must have known them, and Mr. Schurman must have known them; and yet they were willing to put forth a misleading statement, because it better suited the purpose for which they made their report. It is statements of this sort, not founded upon the exact truth, but enunciated for the purpose of deceiving the American people, that causes us to question what this commission, headed by Mr. Schurman, may say, and makes us doubt the information which we receive from the Administration.

Let us look back in the authentic record to the time when the Filipinos first declared that they desired independence. Consul Wildman tells us that a delegation of Filipinos came to him in November, 1897, and said that in case of war with Spain—and this was months before war was declared—the Filipinos then in revolt would be glad to join us and be our allies; that they aspired to independence; and Mr. Wildman so notified the State Department; and the document is official: I read from Senate Document No. 62, part 1, third session Fifty-fifth Congress, on pages 360 and 361. This is a letter from Aguinaldo to President McKinley, dated June 10, 1898:

I come to greet you with the most tender effusion of my soul, and to express to you my deep and sincere gratitude in the name of the unfortunate Filipino people for the efficient and disinterested protection which you have decided to give it to shake off the yoke of the cruel and corrupt Spanish domination, as you are doing to the equally unfortunate Cuba, which Spain wishes to see annihilated rather than free and independent. * * *

I close by protesting once and a thousand times in the name of this people, * * * a people which trusts blindly in you, not to abandon it to the tyranny of Spain, but to leave it free and independent, even if you make peace with Spain.

Again, on June 18, 1898, on page 432 of Document 62, I find the following:

I have proclaimed in the face of the whole world that the aspiration of my whole life, the final object of all my efforts and strength, is nothing else but your independence, for I am firmly convinced that that constitutes your constant desire and that independence signifies for us

redemption from slavery and tyranny, regaining our liberty and entrance into the concert of civilized nations.

Here, then, was an aspiration, an aspiration clearly expressed in the proclamation by Aguinaldo on June 18, and yet our commissioners say and Dewey, in whose hands this proclamation was, says to the American people, in November, 1898, that the first thought Aguinaldo and his people had of independence was on the 4th of July, 1898.

On page 434 of the same report appears the first article of the provisional constitution promulgated June 23, 1898, in which I find the following:

The dictatorial government will be entitled hereafter the revolutionary government, whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippines until all nations, including the Spanish, shall expressly recognize it, and to prepare the country so that a true republic may be established.

What can be more plain, more distinct? And yet because it suited the purpose of the Administration previous to the election of 1898, our commissioners, Dewey joining, stated to the people of this country the falsehood that the Filipinos first thought of independence on July 4, 1898.

On page 437 of Document 62, from the message of the Filipino president to his Congress, on June 23, 1898, on the desires of the Filipino government, I find the following:

It struggles for its independence in the firm belief that the time has arrived in which it can and ought to govern itself.

But back further than this we find the same record on page 351 of Document No. 62, which was sent to us by the President of the United States. Here is an address to our consul, Mr. Pratt, by the Filipinos resident in Singapore, dated June 8, 1898:

Our countrymen at home and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our beloved native land, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy, will efficaciously second the program arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States.

On page 352 we find Consul Pratt replying to the above address; and in that reply he says:

I am thankful to have been the means, though merely the accidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey, which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventual outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and welfare of the Filipinos.

Then, on page 346 of Document 62 I find the following proclamation of the Filipino leaders in Hongkong before Aguinaldo sailed for Manila:

Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for.

Aguinaldo, in a proclamation of May 8, 1898, to be found on page 431 of Document No. 62, says:

Filipinos: The great nation, North America, cradle of true liberty and friendly on that account to our people, oppressed and subjugated by the tyranny and despotism of those who have governed us, has come to manifest even here a protection which is decisive as well as disinterested toward us, considering us endowed with sufficient civilization to govern by ourselves this our unhappy land.

So I say, Mr. President, it is not without cause that we doubt the recent statements of the officers of the Government so long as the Administration refuses to send to the Senate or to give to the American people the complete facts.

Here is a report from Consul Wildman, at Hongkong, found in Document No. 62. It is dated Hongkong, July 18, 1898, and addressed to Mr. Moore, the Assistant Secretary of State:

Mr. Wildman to Mr. Moore.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Hongkong, July 18, 1898.

SIR: The insurgents are fighting for freedom from Spanish rule and rely upon the well known sense of justice that controls all the actions of our Government as to their future.

In conclusion, I wish to put myself on record as stating that the insurgent government of the Philippine Islands can not be dealt with as though they were North American Indians, willing to be removed

from one reservation to another at the whim of their masters. If the United States decides not to retain the Philippine Islands, its 10,000,000 people will demand independence, and the attempt of any foreign nation to obtain territory or coaling stations will be resisted with the same spirit with which they fought the Spaniards.

I have the honor, etc.,

ROUNSEVELLE WILDMAN,
Consul-General.

What does Admiral Dewey say about this matter? On June 27, 1898, Admiral Dewey sent to Secretary Long the following:

I have given him (Aguinaldo) to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government.

"For the purpose of forming a civil government!" And yet Admiral Dewey says to the people of the United States that the insurgents under Aguinaldo and Aguidnaldo himself never thought of independence until the Fourth of July, although he telegraphed to the Secretary of the Navy on the 27th of June that he had gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government.

Now, the fact of the matter is that in this interview Dewey advised with Aguinaldo about the form of that government and about the steps to be taken to set it up.

Admiral Dewey said:

Aguinaldo has acted independently of the squadron, but has kept me advised of his progress, which has been wonderful. I have allowed to pass by water recruits, arms, and ammunition and to take such Spanish arms and ammunition from the arsenal as he needed. Have advised frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has done invariably.

And yet he now declares that Aguinaldo is not an ally; and Admiral Dewey further says in his recent utterances that there was no alliance; that his purpose was only to use Aguinaldo to whip Spain. Yet Dewey telegraphed to the Secretary of the Navy that Aguinaldo was allowed to pass recruits, arms, and ammunition, and to have such Spanish arms and am-

munition from the arsenal as he needed. He armed and consulted the insurgents about the whole operation; his (Aguinaldo's) progress was officially announced to have been wonderful; and yet there was no alliance! Mr. President, it is hardly necessary to comment further upon this subject. Any person who will look to ascertain what an alliance is will find that the Philippine situation at that time constituted an alliance in every particular.

I do not propose to question Admiral Dewey's veracity; but I am going to leave the public to decide that question upon the record which he has made. Compare his statements then and now and let them stand. Admiral Dewey says:

I never promised him, directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. I never treated him as an ally except so far as to make use of him and his soldiers to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards. He never uttered the word "independence" in any conversation with me or my officers. The statement that I received him with military honors or saluted the Filipino flag is absolutely false.

He never treated Aguinaldo as an ally except for the purpose of using him and his soldiers to "assist me in my operations against the Spaniards." Well, who ever made fuller use of an ally in the world? Where was there ever a case? We might as well have claimed that in the Revolutionary war France was not an ally of the United States because we only used the French and their armed forces and soldiers to assist us in operations against England.

But let us see, Mr. President, whether this is a fact. In the first place Admiral Dewey says he never saluted the flag of the Filipino republic. It is well known that shortly after Aguinaldo had organized his forces a flag was adopted; that a ship was donated by one of the wealthy Filipinos to the government; that upon it was placed a battery of guns, and that it was used in operations against the Spanish garrisons at different points.

I looked up the question of a salute in the Century Dictionary. This is the definition of a salute:

In the Army and Navy a compliment paid when troops or squadrons meet. There are many modes of performing a salute, such as firing

cannon or small arms, dipping colors, presenting arms, manning the yards, cheering, etc.

Webster says:

A token of respect or honor for a foreign vessel or flag by a discharge of cannon, volleys of small arms, dipping the colors or the top sails, etc.

Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia gives about the same definition.

I therefore wrote to Lieut. C. G. Calkins, who was on Dewey's ship in Manila Bay through the summer of 1898, one of the officers on Dewey's own vessel, and here is what he says about it:

BRANCH HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE,
San Francisco, Cal., March 28, 1900.

DEAR SIR: In regard to salutes to the Philippine flag in Manila Bay or elsewhere, I am satisfied that no regular naval salute was ever rendered by any vessel of Admiral Dewey's fleet. A naval salute involves the firing of guns, and none of the vessels cruising under Aguinaldo's authority had a saluting battery or made any attempt to offer a formal salute.

The references to saluting in Filipino reports are probably due to the fact that their vessels in passing through our lines, as they were freely allowed to do, dipped their colors, and the *Olympia* and other ships did the same in response. This might be called a salute by persons unacquainted with naval routine.

Very respectfully,

C. G. CALKINS.

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,
Senate of the United States, Washington, D. C.

In other words, Mr. President, Admiral Dewey brands as an unqualified falsehood the statement made by Aguinaldo and by others that he saluted their flag; and when we look to the Century Dictionary, to Webster's Dictionary, or to Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia, we find that a salute may be dipping the colors; and the executive officer of the *Olympia* says that they did dip their colors in response to the dipping of the colors of the Filipino ships as they passed by.

Murat Halstead, who was one of the officers of the present Administration in the city of Manila, says in his book, *The Story of the Philippines*:

The Philippine flag is oriental in cut and color, having red and blue bars—a white obtuse angle—the base to the staff, and a yellow moon with fantastic decorations occupying the field. This flag is one that Admiral Dewey salutes with respect.

Halstead was over there in an official capacity. He says that:

On the 17th I was appointed to take charge of the duties performed by the intendente general de hacienda or minister of finance and all fiscal affairs.

Now, let us see how it was upon land. I have here a letter addressed "To whom it may concern." It is signed by C. P. Van Houten, Captain Company D, South Dakota Regiment, United States Volunteers. He says:

STATE HEADQUARTERS AMERICAN LEAGUE,
Canton, S. Dak., February 8, 1900.

To whom it may concern:

On or about the middle of September, 1898, the Philippine troops marched by the First South Dakota Regiment in columns of four, and the First South Dakota Regiment, through general orders, saluted the Philippine army by turning out guard.

C. P. VAN HOUTEN,
*Ex-Captain Company D, South Dakota Troops,
United States Volunteers.*
H. E. GREENE, *Sergeant.*

I have another:

The Fifty-first Iowa Regiment saluted an armed body of insurgents near Calumpit during the stay of hostilities, and our men saluted the Filipino officers at Cavite.

E. E. HAWKINS,
Late Second Lieutenant Company B, First South Dakota Infantry.

So it appears that we did salute the Filipino flag. It seemed to be very important on the part of the imperialists to show that such was not the fact. They seemed to think it absolutely necessary that it should not be established, because if they did salute the flag, if our officers helped arm them to fight the common enemy, they became our allies, and then in attacking them we attacked our allies.)

Mr. Schurman, one of these commissioners who went over

there to negotiate with these people, makes the following statement:

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Ithaca, N. Y., February 3, 1900.

DEAR SENATOR DEPEW: I see, from page 1362 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that Senator PETTIGREW, speaking of myself, says:

"The fact of the matter is that he tried to bribe the insurgents, as near as we can ascertain, and failed; but they would not take gold for peace."

Had this preposterous statement been made anywhere else I should not have paid any attention to it, but as it has been made in the Senate of the United States I desire to say to you that it is absolutely without foundation.

Very truly yours,

J. G. SCHURMAN.

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Now, let us see whether it is without foundation or not. I go into this matter in detail, because I propose to show by the record that these men are not entitled to credit. Their statements will be used on the stump during the entire summer and fall. I quote from the Chicago Tribune of September 15, 1899, an interview purporting to be with Mr. Schurman, said to be authentic, never disputed except in this letter, which does not dispute the interview, but undertakes to dispute my statement that they undertook to bribe the insurgents:

It is stated on authority that the Schurman Peace Commission offered every possible inducement short of absolute self-government to Aguinaldo and his followers. Aguinaldo was promised as the price of the restoration of peace in the Tagalo tribe a bonus of more than \$5,000 a year while the Tagalos remained peaceful. He was told that he could choose men from his tribe for the minor municipal offices.

The commission, it is asserted, went so far as to promise Aguinaldo the moral support of the United States Government, if such were needed, to make his leadership of the Tagalos thoroughly secure.

With all these inducements, tempting as they must have been, Aguinaldo, as the recognized head of the insurgent movement, declined to yield. He insisted upon immediate self-government, and, as his insistence was so firm as to make an agreement impossible, the American commissioners ceased negotiations.

I quote from an editorial in the Chicago Tribune of September 21:

President Schurman says Aguinaldo rejected with scorn an offer to take a salary of \$5,000 and become governor of Tagalos.

It seems to me it is clearly proved that they did undertake to bribe the insurgents. Further, we all know they offered, and the offer is still open, \$30 a gun for every arm they will surrender.

Now, I am going to read from the only continuous, consecutive, and truthful, so far as I can ascertain, statement of affairs in the Philippines that has been published, and that is, the statement by Aguinaldo, giving a history of the Philippine revolt from its beginning up to last fall. It is the only consecutive statement we have. The Administration refuses to furnish one; has concealed the information, and has refused to send to us the facts which are in its possession. So far they have been unable to impeach this statement in any material particular, and it has been corroborated in very many particulars. Aguinaldo says that the flag of the Filipino republic was saluted.

Ah! what a beautiful, inspiring, joyous sight that flag was, fluttering in the breeze from the topmasts of our vessels, side by side, as it were, with the ensigns of other and greater nations, among whose mighty warships our little cruisers passed to and fro dipping their colors, the ensign of liberty and independence!

* * * * *

Admiral Dewey said his reply to the French and German admirals was—with his knowledge and consent the Filipinos used that flag, and, apart from this, he was of opinion that in view of the courage and steadfastness of purpose displayed in the war against the Spaniards the Filipinos deserved the right to use their flag.

I am going to ask to place in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, without reading, the report of Robert M. Collins, of the Associated Press, in which he makes a statement in detail in response to the Associated Press managers of this country, with regard to the suppression of news and the total unreliability of Mr. Otis in his statements during the summer of 1899, last year.¹ I will read the protest of the Manila

1. See Appendix V.

correspondents, presented to Otis July 9 and cabled from Hongkong July 17, 1899.

The undersigned, being all staff correspondents of American newspapers stationed at Manila, unite in the following statement: We believe that owing to official dispatches from Manila made public in Washington the people of the United States have not received a correct impression of the situation in the Philippines, but that these dispatches have presented an ultra optimistic view that is not shared by the general officers in the field.

We believe the dispatches incorrectly represent the existing conditions among the Philippines in respect to dissension and demoralization resulting from the American campaign and to the brigand character of their army.

We believe the dispatches err in the declaration that "The situation is well in hand," and in the assumption that the insurrection can be speedily ended without a greatly increased force.

We think the tenacity of the Filipino purpose has been underestimated, and that the statements are unfounded that volunteers are willing to enlist in further service.

The censorship has compelled us to participate in this misrepresentation by excising or altering uncontroverted statements of facts on the plea, as General Otis stated, that "they would alarm the people at home," or "have the people of the United States by the ears."

Specifications: Prohibition of hospital reports; suppression of full reports of field operations in the event of failure; numbers of heat prostrations in the field; systematic minimization of naval operations, and suppression of complete reports of the situation.

ROBERT M. COLLINS,
JOHN P. DUNNING,
L. JONES,

The Associated Press.

JOHN T. McCUTCHEON,
HARRY ARMSTRONG,

Chicago Record.

OSCAR K. DAVIS,
P. G. McDONNELL,

New York Sun.

JOHN F. BASS,
WILL DINWIDDIE,

New York Herald.

E. D. KEANE,

Scripps-McRae Association.

RICHARD LITTLE,

Chicago Tribune.

The Associated Press thereupon wrote to their correspondent in the Philippines to ascertain the truth of this statement, and Mr. Collins makes a reply which I ask to have printed in the RECORD. I will read an extract from it:

The censorship enforced during the war and before the beginning of it was, according to newspaper men who had worked in Japan, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, and Russia in war times, and in Cuba under the Weyler régime and during our war, so much more stringent than any hitherto attempted that we were astonished that the American authorities should countenance it, and were confident that public opinion would be overwhelmingly against it if its methods and purposes became known.

Here, then, was a censorship of the press more thorough than that practiced by any despotic nation in the world, according to these newspaper correspondents, and yet we are asked to believe everything that Mr. Otis says.

CHAPTER XI

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLT

MR. PETTIGREW. Mr. President,¹ the ship which brought General Lawton's body to this country brought also the body of one of my dearest friends, the adjutant of the First South Dakota Regiment, killed after the treaty of peace was signed, killed in a service in which he did not enlist, killed in a service which he believed was wrong. Yet, brave boy that he was, he led his forces to victory many a time and finally fell in that distant land.

Mr. President, I want a truce. I wanted it before my friend was killed. I wanted a truce before the sixty South Dakota boys were killed. Aroused by a just indignation and a grand patriotism and a splendid enthusiasm, they enrolled their names to drive from this continent the despotic power of Spain. But they are gone, drafted into an unwilling service and killed in an unwilling service, after they had a right to go home—after their term of enlistment had expired. With unparalleled bravery and courage they obeyed the commands of their President and went to their death.

The day after fighting began at Manila, Aguinaldo asked for a truce. He said, "Fix the limits of a zone which we shall occupy, and let us try, without bloodshed, to settle this difficulty;" and the answer was, "Fighting having once begun, it must go on to the grim end." But if the request had been granted, if the truce had been given, General Lawton would be living to-day and the South Dakota boys would be in the bosoms of their families instead of moldering in the soil of Luzon. Day by day, constantly from that time to this, the Filipinos fighting for freedom have sent their envoys asking

1. Speech in Senate January 31, 1900.

for peace, begging a truce. The President at Fargo says Aguinaldo offered peace for independence. Peace for independence!

He said he had another price for peace a short time ago, but the United States never gave gold for peace. Aguinaldo did not ask gold for peace. He asked for that boon, dearer than life, which made our forefathers found this Government and which has brought into being every republic throughout the world. Fight until they surrender! If that rule had been applied, the war of the Revolution would still be going on. No self-respecting people would lay down their arms at such a challenge.

That the Filipinos have the capacity of self-government is demonstrated by that fact. All we have to do to stop bloodshed in the Philippines is to say to those people they shall have that priceless boon which is so dear to us and which they have shown is dear enough to them that they are willing to lay down their lives for it. Why shall we not do it? Why shall we continue this war of aggression? But a few provinces only in those islands have been conquered. Our troops occupy less than one-quarter of the area, and over the rest Aguinaldo's government still prevails. That is the situation to-day. All the provinces of northern Luzon are untouched, and the peaceful government which Sargent and Wilcox describe is still being carried on. Much of the southern part of Luzon is still unoccupied by our troops. Almost no portion of the other islands of the archipelago have been occupied by us. We are on the shore and in but a few places; and this war, in my opinion, will go on and on for years unless we say to those people that which we ought to say and say it at once, "You shall have your independence."

This talk about revolt, about fighting insurgents, it seems to me, is absurd. How can we have title without possession? I think it is a fair proposition, well sustained in international law, that when a country is purchased, possession must come in order to give sovereignty. Spain could not give any possession, because her power was ousted and another govern-

ment existed in its place. There is no revolt; if we stop fighting, the war will be over.

The other day the Queen of England, in her message to the Parliament, made this statement:

In resisting the invasion of my South African colonies by the South African Republic and Orange Free State my people have responded with devotion and enthusiasm to the appeal which I have made to them, and the heroism of my soldiers in the field and my sailors and marines who were landed to coöperate with them has not fallen short of the noblest traditions of our military history.

Here, then, is a charge that the Boers have attacked Great Britain. The same charge is made against the Filipinos, although the facts do not bear it out any more than they do in the case of the Boers. The excuse, then, is the cry of the flag, the appeal to patriotism, the effort to rally our people to sustain an Administration in doing the greatest wrong ever perpetrated by a government in the history of the world. It is the policy Great Britain has followed always, and she has become our teacher and our director in our affairs. Great Britain in all her conquests for the last fifty years got in where she had no business to be, and has placed her armed forces in antagonism to the liberties of other people, and then when the flag was fired upon she has rallied her people to the defense of the flag.

She has said, "We can not talk peace. We can not listen to the proposition of right or wrong, or questions whether we had a right to be there or not, until the enemy surrenders." It was so in Ireland from the earliest day. Trouble occurred in Ireland because of resistance to oppression and aggression and wrong, and then they said, "The strong arm of British power must be used to suppress discontent in Ireland, and when it is suppressed then we will try and do right," never doing right when Ireland was pacified by power. Outbreaks again occurred, and then the same plea was made to the English people; and so it has been around the world.

The South African Chartered Company have killed in South Africa in the last twelve years 4,000 men and themselves have lost but five or six men, with the same old plea,

adding territory after territory to their possessions; and now it is argued in the English Parliament, now it is insisted by the Queen of England, that the fighting must go on in South Africa until the two Republics in South Africa are destroyed. The same argument is heard here. Fighting must go on to the grim end, until these men struggling for freedom are all killed or lay down their arms and surrender, and then we will determine, without their being consulted, what shall be done with what is left.

Against this, Mr. President, I protest. I believe that it is an attack upon our institutions, a reversal of the history of this Government, and an abandonment of those doctrines which we have held so dear through all the years of our existence as a nation.

* * * * *

I yield to no man in my devotion to my country and my flag. I am jealous of her honor, and I believe that her honor can only be saved from stain by a reversal of the policy into which this Administration has led us. I believe that only by protesting against the violation of our pledges and against the overthrow of all the principles upon which this Government is founded, by insisting upon returning to the doctrines of the fathers, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence—that governments must derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed—can we save our flag from stain and country from dishonor.

That is as much of a reply as I care to make to the insinuations of the Senator from Connecticut [MR. HAWLEY] or the statement of the Senator from New Jersey [MR. SEWELL].

Now, with regard to Aguinaldo, they charge that I am defending a forger and a bribe taker and a scoundrel upon this floor. I will simply read from the record sent to us by the President upon that subject. I will read from Document 62, from the official reports by our officers in Luzon, and we will see whether the statement is sustained by the facts.

Last year the President of the United States in sending the Spanish treaty to this body accompanied it with a document

which contained the reports of our consuls in the East and our officers in Luzon. It is presumed that he knew the contents of the document, that he was not ignorant of the records of his own department. Yet October 13, 1899, the President, at Fargo, in North Dakota, said:

The leader of the insurgent forces says to the American Government, "You can have peace if you give us independence." Peace for independence! He had another price than that for peace once before, but the United States pays no gold for peace. We never gave a bribe for peace in all our history, and we never will.

Wherever that standard is raised, it stands for liberty, for civilization, and humanity.

The President thus charges that Aguinaldo sold out to Spain, reiterating a charge that had been proven false by the repeated statements of his officer; repeating a charge that was conclusively proven untrue by the records of the Department of State.

The charge is now made by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of this body [MR. HAWLEY], the Senator from Connecticut, that Aguinaldo sold out to Spain. In Document No. 62, transmitted to us by the President, on pages 380 and 381, General Merritt says:

There are a number of Filipinos whom I have met, among them General Aguinaldo and a few of his leaders, whom I believe thoroughly trustworthy and fully capable of self-government. * * * Aguinaldo, honest, sincere, and poor; not well educated, but a natural leader of men, with considerable shrewdness and ability, highly respected by all.

In a memorandum which General Greene presented to the peace conference at Paris he says:

In August, 1896, an insurrection broke out in Cavite under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, and soon spread to other provinces on both sides of Manila. It continued with varying successes on both sides, and the trial and execution of numerous insurgents, until December, 1897, when the governor-general, Primo de Rivera, entered into written agreement with Aguinaldo, the substance of the document which is in the possession of Señor Felipe Agoncilla, who accompanied me to Washington.

In brief, it required that Agoncilla and the other insurgent leaders should leave the country, the Government agreeing to pay them \$800,-

ooo in silver and promising to introduce numerous reforms, including representation in the Spanish Cortes, freedom of the press, general amnesty for all insurgents, and the expulsion or secularization of the monastic orders.

Aguinaldo and his associates went to Hongkong and Singapore. A portion of the money, \$400,000, was deposited in banks at Hongkong, and a lawsuit soon arose between Aguinaldo and one of his subordinate chiefs named Artacho, which is interesting on account of the very honorable position taken by Aguinaldo.

“On account of the very honorable position taken by Aguinaldo.”

Artacho sued for a division of the money among the insurgents according to rank. Aguinaldo claimed that the money was a trust fund, and was to remain on deposit until it was seen whether the Spaniards would carry out their promised reforms, and if they failed to do so, it was to be used to defray the expenses of a new insurrection. The suit was settled out of court by paying Artacho \$5,000.

No steps have been taken to introduce the reforms, more than 2,000 insurgents, who have been deported to Fernando Po and other places, are still in confinement, and Aguinaldo is now using the money to carry on the operations of the present insurrection.

This was written August 30, 1898. He took that money and used it as our ally to fight Spain, to buy guns and ammunition to carry on the contest against the common enemy; and yet he is charged with being a bribe taker and a scoundrel.

Oscar F. Williams, our consul at Manila, writes to Mr. Day, the Secretary of State, May 25, 1898, on page 328 of Document 62:

To-day I executed a power of attorney whereby General Aguinaldo released to his attorneys in fact \$400,000 now in bank in Hongkong, so that money therefrom can pay for 3,000 stand of arms bought there, and expected here to-morrow.

Mr. Wildman, our consul at Hongkong, reports to Assistant Secretary Moore exactly the same story, on pages 336 and 337, in Document No. 62. I will not read it, because it is long, but I will insert it, if there is permission, in my remarks. The matter referred to is as follows:

I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semicivilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race, and while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture. I consider the forty or fifty Philippine leaders, with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected, both the superiors of the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncilla, and Sandico are all men who would all be leaders in their separate departments in any country, while among the wealthy Manila men who live in Hongkong and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the annexation to the United States, men like the Cortes family and the Basa family, would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.

* * * * *

There has been a systematic attempt to blacken the name of Aguinaldo and his cabinet on account of the questionable terms of their surrender to Spanish forces a year ago this month. It has been said that they sold their country for gold, but this has been conclusively disproved, not only by their own statements but by the speech of the late Governor-General Rivera in the Spanish Senate June 11, 1898. He said that Aguinaldo undertook to submit if the Spanish Government would give a certain sum to the widows and orphans of the insurgents. He then admits that only a tenth part of this sum was ever given to Aguinaldo, and that the other promises made he did not find it expedient to keep.

I was in Hongkong September, 1897, when Aguinaldo and his leaders arrived under contract with the Spanish Government. They waited until the 1st of November for the payment of the promised money and the fulfillment of the promised reforms. Only \$400,000, Mexican, was ever placed to their credit in the banks, and on the 3d of November Mr. F. Agoncilla, late minister of foreign affairs in Aguinaldo's cabinet, called upon me and made a proposal, which I transmitted to the State Department in my dispatch No. 19, dated November 3, 1897. In reply the State Department instructed me "to courteously decline to communicate with the Department further regarding the alleged mission." I obeyed these instructions to the letter until the breaking out of the war, when, after consultation with Admiral Dewey, I received a delegation from the insurgent junta, and they bound themselves to obey all laws of civilized warfare and to place themselves absolutely under the orders of Admiral Dewey if they were permitted to return to Manila. At this time their president, Aguinaldo, was in Singapore negotiating through Consul-General Pratt with Admiral Dewey for his return.

On page 347 of Document No. 62 Mr. Pratt, our consul at Singapore, June 2, 1898, makes the following statement to Mr. Day:

No close observer of what had transpired in the Philippines during the past few years could have failed to recognize that General Aguinaldo enjoyed above all others the confidence of the Filipino insurgents and the respect alike of Spaniards and foreigners in the islands, all of whom vouch for his high sense of justice and honor.

Mr. Schurman, in his Chicago interview (and this is the only authority I will read which is not vouched for by official documents) August 20, 1899, said:

[President Schurman, Chicago interview, August 20, 1899.]

General Aguinaldo is believed on the island to be honest, and I think that he is acting honestly in money matters, but whether from moral or political reasons I would not say.—*Oriental American*, page 99.

The fact of the matter is that he tried to bribe the insurgents, as near as we can ascertain, and failed; they would not take gold for peace.

Now, I should like to ask the imperialists in this body what they think of a President who will go about the country saying that Aguinaldo had another price for peace, in the face of the official documents from his own officers in the State Department, where they declare that he acted with the highest sense of honor, that he took no bribe, but, on the contrary, deposited the money, and used it, when Spain failed to carry out her promises, to help us fight the Spanish forces?

What do you think of a President that will state that the United States never did give gold for peace, and never will, and then approve of the treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, which provides that we shall pay to the Sultan \$250 per month and to his subchiefs a sum which in all amounts to \$9,200 per year? In view of all these facts, of what future value is any statement the President may make upon this subject? Mr. President, I can not contemplate the fact without great sorrow that a man can occupy so high a position as that of President of the United States and yet disgrace that great office by re-

peated falsehoods—falsehoods proven so by the record of his own officers sent to us.

* * * * *

Mr. President,¹ we have before us a bill to continue the authority which the President has been heretofore exercising until the revolt in the Philippines is suppressed:

A bill (S. 2355) in relation to the suppression of insurrection in, and to the government of, the Philippine Islands, ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when all insurrection against the sovereignty and authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898, shall have been completely suppressed by the military and naval forces of the United States, all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the said islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

And this, after a six months' session of Congress, is all that the Administration offers in this connection. We are told that when all resistance is suppressed the President is to govern the Philippine Islands as an emperor (without restraint, without advice, absolute despotic power enforced by an army) would govern his empire. We are asked to vest in him authority greater than that enjoyed to-day by any other person ruling over any other people on the face of the globe. Yet, while this bill when it was introduced was undoubtedly the policy of the Administration, it appears that it has now been abandoned, and the intention is that Congress shall adjourn and that nothing will be done. I read in the morning paper what purports to be an interview sent back from Manila by Judge Taft, of the new peace commission which we have sent to the Orient. He says:

1. Speech in the Senate June 4, 5, 1900.

I am surprised that Manila has not received news regarding the Spooner bill, a measure calculated to help us greatly in our work here.

In other words, when Mr. Taft sailed for the Philippines the programme evidently was to pass the Spooner bill and make him the civil governor, or rather the despot, of the Philippine Islands, with all power in his hands; and he is surprised that the news has not reached Manila of the Spooner bill. Why? Because the Administration has changed its policy and there is no purpose or intention on the part of the party in power to pass this measure.

It is said that we are encouraging the Filipinos by discussing this question. Mr. President, I hope my voice will never be raised except in encouragement of every aggregation of people throughout the world of every race who are struggling for independence, I care not what color or where they live, who are striving to establish a government based upon the principles of our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence.

Mr. President, I offered the following amendment as a substitute for the bill introduced by the Senator from Wisconsin, which I present as embodying what I think ought to be done in this connection:

That all hostile demonstrations on the part of the armed forces of the United States in the Philippine Islands shall at once cease, and that we offer to the people of said islands self-government based upon the principles of our Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and that negotiation on this basis be at once opened with the existing native government for a settlement of all differences, with a view to the speedy withdrawal of our armed forces, and that full authority is vested in the President of the United States to carry out the provisions of this act.

I propose that we shall cease all armed hostile demonstration against the people of those islands, that we shall negotiate with them and at once set up a government patterned after our own, after the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

It is said on the part of the imperialists in this body that by advocating this course we are giving aid, comfort, and en-

couragement to the enemies of our country. This I deny. Mr. President, the people of the Philippines are not the enemies of my country. What have they done to us that we can charge them with being the enemies of the people of the United States? They joined us in a contest to drive Spain from the Philippine Islands. They were our allies and fought by our side. They took 9,000 Spanish prisoners. They laid down their lives in great numbers in order to fight a common foe. They captured the entire Spanish garrisons in the Philippine Islands, except in the city of Manila, and invested that so that the Spaniards were unable to escape. What have they done to us? Nothing but resist aggression, nothing but combat our forces attacking them and undertaking to destroy their liberties. If we would cease hostile demonstration against the people of the Philippines, do you think they would attack us? Do you believe for one moment there would be any difficulty in establishing the most cordial and friendly relations? Why should we go on with this war of conquest?

Have we any other title to these islands than conquest? It is true that our opponents dispute upon that question. Some of them say that we acquired title by purchase. I think that is the view of the Administration; I think that was the view of the Senator from Wisconsin; but others who undertake to justify this course of aggression claim that we acquired title by conquest.

MR. FAIRBANKS. Will the Senator from South Dakota permit me to interrupt him? I think he misunderstood the position of the Senator from Wisconsin. He expressly denied that the Government acquired the Philippines by purchase.

MR. PETTIGREW. Does he contend that we acquired them by conquest?

MR. FAIRBANKS. That is as I understand the Senator's position; at least, he disclaimed the proposition that we acquired them by purchase.

MR. PETTIGREW. I think he was perfectly right in disclaiming the proposition that we acquired them by purchase; and if that is the case, and I presume the Senator from In-

diana is right, I accept the correction. I will read from Kent's Commentaries, volume 1, page 177:

With respect to the cession of places or territories by a treaty of peace, though the treaty operates from the making of it, it is a principle of public law that the national character of the place agreed to be surrendered by treaty continues as it was under the character of the ceding country until it be actually transferred. Full sovereignty can not be held to have passed by the mere words of the treaty without actual delivery. To complete the right of property, the right to the thing and the possession of the thing must be united. This is a necessary principle in the law of property in all systems of jurisprudence. * * * This general law of property applies to the right of territory no less than to other rights.

I read also from a treatise on international law, by Mr. Baker, published recently in Boston by Little, Brown & Co.:

In modern times sales and transfers of national territory to another power can only be made by treaty or some solemn act of the sovereign authority of the state. And such transfers of territory do not include the allegiance of its inhabitants without their consent, express or implied.

At page 355 the same author says:

The rule of public law with respect to the allegiance of the inhabitants of a conquered territory is, therefore, no longer to be interpreted as meaning that it is absolutely and unconditionally acquired by conquest, or transferred and handed over by treaty as a thing assignable by contract and without the assent of the subject.

On the contrary, the express or implied assent of the subject is now regarded as essential to a complete new allegiance.

What are the facts in regard to the Philippines? We could not purchase title unless they could deliver possession of the property purchased. The facts are simply these: When we decided to attack Spain, when Dewey was ordered to sail from Hongkong and to destroy the Spanish fleet, a rebellion was going on in the Philippine Islands. The inhabitants of those islands were trying to throw off the Spanish yoke. Knowing that at Singapore there was a man the most capable among the Filipinos who led a former revolt, our officers in the East induced this man to go back to Manila and organize the insurgent forces. Aguinaldo arrived on the 17th day of May,

1898. He immediately organized the insurgent forces. He purchased arms in Hongkong. Admiral Dewey furnished him with arms taken from the Spanish forces, and he attacked the Spanish garrisons all over the province of Cavite and secured arms from his prisoners. He pursued this course during the summer of 1898, until he had captured the entire island of Luzon except two Spanish garrisons, very small ones, and before winter he captured those. Dewey in his report says his progress was wonderful. He took 9,000 prisoners. After having captured the entire island he set up a government, which was a peaceful government, a government suitable to those people, a government which protected life and property throughout the entire area of that country. He also captured the southern islands, the island of Panay, of Cebu, and Negros, and organized governments there.

He assembled an army of 30,000 men and surrounded Manila. His army was intrenched. He invested the city on the land side, while our Navy blockaded the port on the ocean side. We acted in absolute concert with each other, consulted together, and when Manila was finally taken our troops landed, asking the insurgents to give up about a quarter of a mile of their trenches. They marched out and allowed our troops to occupy a portion of their works. They believed that they were to act in concert with us in the attack upon Manila. When the attack was ordered, their troops marched into the city along with ours. They took the principal suburbs of Manila. We took and occupied the walled city. When they came to the walled city, which contained less than one-fifth of the population of the city of Manila, they found our bayonets turned against them. They were told that they could not enter. They had lost thousands of lives in their contest with Spain. They were in possession of that entire country, and yet, although in the assault upon the city of Manila they had lost more men than we did, they were denied admittance to the city, and they yielded and occupied the suburbs for some time.

Finally we requested that they retire from the suburbs, and they retired. Aguinaldo asked that he might be permitted to

retire slowly, as it was difficult to govern his people and convince them that it was right that they should surrender possession of territory which they had conquered and for which many of their comrades had laid down their lives. He also asked that in case we made a treaty with Spain the territory which he had conquered should be restored to him, and this we refused. So we did not conquer the islands from Spain, for Spain had been conquered and driven out by the government of Aguinaldo. We had simply helped to take the city of Manila. Therefore we took no title by conquest from Spain, for at the time of making the treaty with Spain we had not conquered any territory from her.

We did not acquire title by purchase, because title by purchase requires delivery of possession; and as Spain was not in possession, she could not and did not deliver the islands to us. By what right, then, are we there? By no right in morals or law: by no right that can be defended before God or man. We are there as conquerors, we are there as the armed banditti would enter your premises in daytime, and we have no better right to be there than the bandit has to enter and despoil your home.

If our title is by conquest, then it is as yet incomplete. If our title is by conquest, we did not acquire it from Spain, and it is nearly two years since the war with Spain ceased, and yet the conquest is in progress.

In October he was again asked to give up more territory. He was again asked to retire his troops beyond not only the city of Manila, but the adjoining towns. Then he called the attention of General Otis to the fact that the towns which Otis desired him to surrender were not a part of Manila—you will find it on pages 20 and 21 of General Otis's report. General Otis said, "You are right; the territory which I now demand I can not find as embraced in the city of Manila or its suburbs; but," he said, "that makes no difference; I insist upon the possession of the territory anyway." So our lines were pushed out constantly, creating irritation and bad feeling.

Finally Dewey seized the ships of the Filipinos in the harbor. Was not that an act of war? Why talk longer about

who commenced the war in the Philippines, when in October we seized the vessels of our allies—and they were vessels of war—dismissed the men who manned them, took down the Filipino flag and removed it from the sea?

On the 24th of November Otis again wrote to Aguinaldo saying that he must retire beyond the village of Santa Mesa, and that if he did not he would attack him. On the 21st of December the President sent a proclamation to be published in the Philippines telling the inhabitants that the United States had assumed sovereignty over the islands—a proclamation which was a clear declaration of war—a declaration that we would extend our military control then existing in the city of Manila throughout the entire area of the group.

This proclamation was published in the Philippines on the 4th of January, 1899. What necessity, I say, Mr. President, is there for trying to ascertain who commenced the war, when it is demonstrated that we seized their ships in October, when we drove them beyond the territorial limits of the city of Manila, the only country we had occupied or had a right to occupy under the protocol with Spain, when we on the 4th day of February attacked their forces and fired the first and the second shot, and killed three of their people? I say of what use is it to try to contend that those people began the war. And after that, on the 5th day of February, the day after hostilities were inaugurated, Aguinaldo asked to have hostilities cease, and said that he had no notion of making an attack upon our people and had not done so. The reply was that, fighting having once commenced, it should go on to the grim end.

I say under these circumstances we are precluded from taking any other position than that we betrayed and attacked an ally, that we are now undertaking to conquer an unwilling people, and that the only honest and honorable course for us to pursue is to withdraw our armed forces and negotiate with the Filipinos for the establishment of a government.

To-day our army occupies a few towns. Out of the 1,100 villages in the Philippines having more than 2,000 people we occupy, according to the Army reports, less than one-fourth. We occupy to-day and hold possession simply of the territory

upon which is planted the feet of our soldiers, and beyond the range of their guns we have no possession whatever. Those people are furnishing their own government and are pursuing the peaceful course of life described by the two officers of the Navy who traveled through the islands in the summer of 1898.

Mr. President, it is customary when the English nation wishes to conquer a weaker people to deprive them of their rights, their liberties, and their government, to begin a systematic course of slander and libel against them, to begin to assert that they are in every way bad and possess infamous customs, and after public prejudice has been manufactured, England marches an army into the coveted territory and begins killing the inhabitants and conquering the country.

Aguinaldo and his followers are a grand people. You can not find a line in Document No. 62, sent to us by the President, that does not describe the people of the Philippines as a Christian people, 6,000,000 out of the 7,000,000 being members of the Catholic church, having schools and churches in all their towns; not a line that does not describe Aguinaldo and his followers as men worthy to act with us.

When we decided to conquer that country our course was changed. Then we began to imitate England and to slander the people; then Aguinaldo was a half-caste, without character, and had taken a bribe, and after that we heard rumors that he had issued orders, or one of his chief officers had issued orders, for the murder of the inhabitants of Manila, sparing no one. The Senator from Wisconsin [MR. SPOONER] repeated and repeated again a document purporting to have been signed by Sandico, a member of Aguinaldo's cabinet, and he commented on it. It purports to have been a proclamation. It is unsigned. It was picked up in Manila. It was anonymous as sent to us. It never was signed by anybody, and yet when Otis was asked who issued it he reported back that Sandico was the author. Now, I deny that Sandico ever issued it, and I assert that it is a forgery. Yet it is brought in here to prove that these people are a bloodthirsty race, and that they intended to murder the inhabitants of Manila who were foreign born.

There is nothing in Aguinaldo's history or the history of his people since the difficulties commenced to justify the charge. We captured the Spanish garrison in Subig Bay, 1,300 prisoners were surrendered to us, and Admiral Dewey turned them over to the insurgents. If they were bloody monsters and savages, would we have done that? Aguinaldo captured Iloilo when our fleet anchored off that city and threatened to bombard it. The English and the German residents sent out a delegation of citizens to ask us to desist, saying that life and liberty were thoroughly protected and that there was peace within the town. General Miller reported these facts to General Otis. He said the Filipinos were collecting the customs, were administering the government, and he advised an immediate attack upon Iloilo, because he said if they discovered they could do these things they might want to continue to do them. This information can be found in Otis's report.

To offset all this; to offset the admitted facts that they treated their prisoners kindly; that they did not even kill the members of the religious orders against whom they had their greatest grievances, but preserved their lives and cared for them—against all this an anonymous circular is produced and commented upon in order to prove that the Filipino people are savages.

The Senator from Wisconsin commented upon this section of the circular:

Second, Philippine families only will be respected; they should not be molested, but all other individuals, of what race they may be, will be exterminated without apprisement (or) compassion, after the extermination of the army of occupation.

And so on. Now, let us go deeper into the facts touching upon this circular. I hold in my hand an article from Harper's Magazine of August, 1899, entitled "Filipino insurrection of 1896," written from a study of the Spanish archives left in Manila, by Lieut. Carlos Gilman Calkins, of the United States Navy, one of the officers of Dewey's flagship. He says:

In August (1896) the champion of denunciation, the chief of clerical detectives, came forward, Fray Mariano Gil, of the Augustinian order, parish priest of a huge-domed church at Tondo, a northern suburb of Manila. A native was led to make avowals which enabled this friar to discover certain articles which might pass for "concrete proof" in the curious legal system of the Latin races. One of them was a stamp used in receipting for monthly dues of members in a lodge of the Katipunan. Incriminating documents and lists were taken from the same locker in the office of the *Diario de Manila*, the oldest journal in the island. Fortified with these, the police hurried to make arrests, and the period of panic began on August 20. This amateur detective was hailed as a savior to society, and his services were compared with those of Father Urdaneta, the Augustinian who piloted the expedition for the conquest and conversion of the archipelago in 1564.

* * * * *

On August 30 Blanco had to proclaim martial law throughout the Tagalo provinces. He was also forced, much against his will, to accept the services of volunteers, including all able-bodied Spaniards. Magistrates hurried to join their companies. Courts were closed and civil law was extinguished. The lives of some 2,000,000 people lay at the mercy of courts-martial—of summary courts-martial, since *sumarisimo* is the watchword of Spanish military justice.

The principal document cited in justification of these extraordinary measures is a proclamation attributed to the chiefs of the Katipunan, of which the essential clause is as follows: "When the signal H. 2 Sep. is given, each brother will perform the duty imposed by this grand lodge, murdering all Spaniards, their women and children, without consideration for kindred, friendship, or gratitude." Other savage directions follow, but they were never carried into execution.

The document may be, in some degree, authentic. It may have been drawn by some native agitator, and even adopted by some lodge of the Katipunan; but we can not accept the assertion that Rizal and other intellectual martyrs were responsible for this atrocious jargon. There is a recurrent legend that plots have been formed "to kill all Spaniards, each servant slaying his master." This was the charge against the native priests shot in 1872, and the rumor was revived on December 15, 1898, substituting Americans for Spaniards.

This old document, issued in 1872, to justify the butchery of the Filipinos, is repeated, changing the word "Spaniards" to "Americans," and is issued again to prove that Aguinaldo is a savage.

Let us see what Mr. Foreman says. On page 589 of

Document No. 62, Part II, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session, which was transmitted to us by the President, a statement before the Peace Commission at Paris, signed by John Foreman, reads as follows:

Any governor-general who displeases the monks is recalled. In recent times General Despujols had to leave in 1892, after eight months of office, because he ceased to be a *persona grata* to the priests. A native, Dr. Rizal, had written and published some facts about the monastic orders, and Despujols refused to have this man put to death for it.

Then, again, he ordered a search to be made in a convent of the Austrian friars; and there he found a printing press and seditious leaflets being printed for the priests, who intended, by distributing them, to attribute to the natives an attempted revolt.

It had been the custom, Mr. President, in order to justify the course of the Spanish Government toward these people, to find an excuse for the Spanish authorities to the persecution of the Filipinos to issue these anonymous or forged circulars, in order to excite the animosity of mankind against the Filipinos, and we are following this same practice. That is all there is to the Sandico circular.

The other document which has been circulated and which came to us, anonymous as it was, purporting to have been found among Aguinaldo's papers, was a letter written to the commanding Spanish officer at Iloilo in October urging that officer to surrender and join the insurgent forces. Even if the document is genuine—but I believe it is spurious—it was written after we had seized the ships of war of the Filipino republic in the harbor of Manila, and had thus begun a conflict against them. They could regard us no longer as allies and friends after that act.

Mr. President, it has been said that we were forced to take title to those islands from Spain because, if we had not done so, Spain would have reconquered them, and that we could not turn them over to Spain. With what grim satisfaction Spain must look upon our efforts to acquire a title which she could not deliver! What grim revenge it must be to her to view the loss of nearly 2,000 soldiers by us and the expendi-

ture of the vast sums of money which it has cost us not to conquer the Philippines, but to occupy 20 of the 1,100 towns of that country, to feel that we possess nothing except the territory which we actually occupy with our armies! How Spain must rejoice to know that not a soldier of ours can step anywhere in the islands outside of the protection of our guns without losing his life!

What page in history gives an account of a more noble and determined effort to secure their independence than that written by the Filipinos? I say, Mr. President, that if we had not taken title from Spain, she could not have recovered the islands. Crippled, her fleet destroyed, bankrupt, Spain had not the power to reconquer the Philippines, and if we had simply left them out of the treaty to-day they would be free and independent; to-day they would be administering the quiet and the peaceful government which we found after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; to-day a republic would exist there founded upon our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence. I say Spain could not have reconquered the islands; that they would have been free and independent, and for proof of that I read from Document 62, page 369. This is a hearing before the Paris Peace Commission. The witness is General Merritt, fresh from the Philippines, fresh from the capture of Manila. The query was put to him by Mr. Gray, one of the commissioners:

Suppose by final treaty with Spain we should abandon Luzon and all the Philippines, exacting such terms and conditions and guarantees as we should think necessary, and abandon them entirely, reserving only a coaling station perhaps, what do you think they would do about it?

GENERAL MERRITT. I think in the island of Luzon they would fight to the bitter end. I have talked with a number of them, intelligent men, who said their lives were nothing to them as compared with the freedom of their country and getting rid of Spanish government.

MR. DAVIS. Do you think Spain would be able to reduce them?

GENERAL MERRITT. No, sir.

Where, then, goes all this talk about turning them over to Spain? At the time General Merritt gave that testimony the

Filipinos had captured every Spanish garrison in the island of Luzon; they were in possession of the entire territory; and two naval officers, traveling for sixty days, give an account of the peaceful government they found. They testify that in one of the towns they entered they found Spanish merchants pursuing their business, unmolested and protected by the people. Day by day the account of their journey through those peaceful communities must convince any unbiased person that those people are capable of self-government, and were actually practicing it. Turn them back to Spain! That was impossible.

I also read from Document No. 62 a statement by General Merritt before the Paris Peace Commission. This question was asked by Mr. FRYE, the chairman of the commission:

Q. Where they of material assistance to us?

General Merritt answers:

A. Very great. If the protocol had not been signed, I think the Spanish at home would have insisted upon their army doing something. They dismissed Augustin because he was not disposed to fight, and I think if they had not had this experience of having been driven back into the city and the water cut off, so even that Jaudenes said he could not remove his noncombatants, the Government would have insisted on his making a fight, and he could have made a very good one, for his position was strong, if they had any fight in them at all. But every place had been taken from them by the Filipinos, who managed their advances and occupation of the country in an able manner.

General Whittier, page 500, Document 62.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. How many men did he get together?

A. His forces went around the city, taking the waterworks and the north part of the city, and running up the railroad. I asked that question of several, and the opinions differed widely—all the way from 8,000 to 30,000 or 40,000 men.

Q. Do you think he had as many as 8,000 men before the surrender?

A. Yes, sir; the environment of the city took a great many men. There is a vast extent of country there, including the waterworks and running around the city, and they certainly had to have more than that to do so.

Q. How many arms did Dewey turn over to them?

A. I never knew exactly. I asked him that question, and he said a very few.

Q. Where did they get the rest of their arms?

A. Some captured from the Spanish, some brought to him by deserters, and there were some shipments of arms from Hongkong—I believe Americans brought them in—and they have lately taken some to Batangas, in the southern part, and have taken some new Maxim guns in there, too.

MR. GRAY:

Q. To the insurgents?

A. Yes.

Q. Since the capitulation?

A. Yes; they changed the name of a vessel and used it. She had had a Luzon name, the *Pasig*, and they changed it to the *Abby*. Dewey sent down and seized the boat, and the insurgents followed to Manila Bay, hoping to reclaim it. In other respects their demands, from their point of view, have not been unreasonable, and show a proper appreciation of the status.

The whole country had been captured by Aguinaldo and his people; the Spanish soldiers had been taken prisoners, their arms taken from them, and those who were left had been driven into Manila; the town had been surrounded, and yet Senators stand here and say, "We had to take title to those islands because we could not turn them back to Spain!" France might as well have said to us after our Revolution that she would take title to the American colonies, because she could not turn them back to England. If the French had done what we did in Manila, we would not have waited for their forces to be augmented by new levies; we would not have waited for ship after ship to come across the sea loaded with troops, as the Filipinos did with us. If France had said that she asserted sovereignty over this country and that she proposed to extend her military rule over the American colonies, without waiting for any more troops we would have destroyed those she had here; but the Filipinos trusted in our promises; having fought side by side with us and having been our allies they still further trusted and trusted until we had increased our army and our navy in those waters, and then we turned our guns against them.

Senator Frye seems to have understood the situation at

Paris, for he asked Commander Bradford, of the United States Navy, the following question (Document 62, page 488):

MR. FRYE:

Q. I would like to ask just one question in that line. Suppose the United States in the progress of that war found the leader of the present Philippine rebellion an exile from his country in Hongkong and sent for him and brought him to the islands in an American ship, and then furnished him 4,000 or 5,000 stands of arms, and allowed him to purchase as many more stands of arms in Hongkong, and accepted his aid in conquering Luzon, what kind of a nation, in the eyes of the world, we would appear to be to surrender Aguinaldo and his insurgents to Spain to be dealt with as they please?

A. We become responsible for everything he has done; he is our ally, and we are bound to protect him.

The day after the surrender (August 13) four representatives of Aguinaldo called on General Merritt, who assured them in general terms that "we are the friends of the Filipinos." At that time they occupied a portion of Manila. We soon demanded that they should give that up, to which Aguinaldo's representative agreed, but in seeking confirmation from him the condition was made that in case we gave up the country they should be restored to the positions then occupied and which they had taken greatly by their own merits. However, matters have been amicably settled. Aguinaldo's headquarters are at Malolos, 23 miles up the railroad. His troops control all the settled part of the island (except Manila), as well as much of the southern country.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. What do you mean by the "southern country"—those islands below?

A. Yes.

Their conduct to their Spanish prisoners has been deserving of the praise of all the world. With hatred of priests and Spaniards, fairly held on account of the conditions before narrated, and with every justification to a savage mind for the most brutal revenge, I have heard no instance of torture, murder, or brutality since we have been in the country.

Here is what General Anderson says in the North American Review of February, 1900:

On the 1st of July, 1898, I called on Aguinaldo with Admiral Dewey. He asked me at once whether "the United States of the North" either had recognized or would recognize his government—I am

not quite sure as to the form of his question, whether it was "had" or "would." In either form it was embarrassing.

Not embarrassing to us, Mr. President, if we had been honest, not embarrassing to us if we did not intend to deceive. Why was it embarrassing? It was because he had orders to use those people to fight the common foe. Would it have been embarrassing if he had been instructed to pursue an upright and an honorable course, and to say to Aguinaldo, "I have been ordered to take this country and annex it to the United States, and you can expect nothing from us?" That was the only decent course a great and mighty nation like this could have adopted; but we did not do it. So he says:

My orders were, in substance, to effect a landing, establish a base, not go beyond the zone of naval coöperation, to consult Admiral Dewey, and wait for Merritt. Aguinaldo had proclaimed his government only a few days before (June 28), and Admiral Dewey had no instructions as to that assumption. The facts as to the situation at that time I believe to be these: Consul Williams states in one of his letters to the State Department that several thousand Tagals were in open insurrection before our declaration of war with Spain. I do not know as to the number, yet I believe the statement has foundation in fact. Whether Admiral Dewey and Consuls Pratt, Wildman, and Williams did or did not give Aguinaldo assurances that a Filipino government would be recognized, the Filipinos certainly thought so, probably inferring this from their acts rather than from their statements.

Anderson says they inferred probably from their acts rather than from their statements. I care not the ground upon which they inferred it, whether from a definite and specific act or from their statements, the fact remains that our officers knew that the Filipinos expected independence:

If an incipient rebellion was already in progress, what could be inferred from the fact that Aguinaldo and thirteen other banished Tagals were brought down on a naval vessel and landed in Cavite? Admiral Dewey gave them arms and ammunition, as I did subsequently, at his request. They were permitted to gather up a lot of arms which the Spaniards had thrown into the bay; and, with the 4,000 rifles taken from Spanish prisoners and 2,000 purchased in Hongkong, they proceeded to organize three brigades and also to arm a small steamer they had captured. I was the first to tell Admiral Dewey that

there was any disposition on the part of the American people to hold the Philippines if they were captured.

Anderson, then, was the first who told Admiral Dewey. I say the inference is that Admiral Dewey did, as Aguinaldo says, promise him independence. When Anderson came over he was the first, he says, to tell Admiral Dewey that there was a disposition on the part of the American people to hold the Philippines if they were captured. Why did they not tell the Filipinos so? Why did he allow them to sacrifice their lives in assaulting the city of Manila and act with us until the city fell? Who is it that pretends to stand up here and say now, in the face of these facts, that the Filipinos began the war against us? No; there is no example in the history of the world of such a spirit of forbearance as was manifested by these people after they discovered that we had turned against them.

The current of opinion was setting that way when the first expeditionary force left San Francisco, but this the Admiral had had no reason to surmise. But to return to our interview with Aguinaldo. I told him I was acting only in a military capacity; that I had no authority to recognize his government; that we had come to whip the Spaniards, and that, if we were successful, the indirect effect would be to free them from Spanish tyranny.

Here he knew that we were going to keep the islands, and yet he told the Filipinos that we wanted to act in conjunction with Aguinaldo and his forces to whip the Spaniards and to free them from Spanish tyranny; and he went there bearing information to Dewey that we proposed to keep the islands.

I say, Mr. President, that if any people in America to-day are contending for the honor of the American flag it is the people who protest against the course pursued against these people in the Orient. If any people in America to-day are slandering the flag and covering it with shame and smearing it with dishonor, it is this Administration and the Senators on this floor who defend its course.

I added that as we were fighting a common enemy I hoped we would get along amicably together. He did not seem pleased with this answer.

I do not wonder. At this time he had conquered the whole of Luzon and several other islands to the south, had driven Spain into Manila, and drawn a line of earthworks from ocean to ocean, clear around that city. He had acted with us; he had been brought from Singapore because he was considered fit to be our ally, and because he was considered a most capable man to assist us in crushing out Spanish power.

He did not seem pleased with this answer. The fact is, he hoped and expected to take Manila with Admiral Dewey's assistance.

He had a right to so hope. Admiral Dewey said he could take Manila at any time, and therefore there was no necessity for our sending a single soldier to Manila. These men were good enough for us to turn our prisoners over to at Subig Bay, were good enough to act with our fleet in taking the city, and after we had taken it and after we had acted with them and compelled a surrender, we would never have lost the life of a soldier in the Philippines, not one, for we need not have sent a soldier there; and yet we have treated them in this shameful manner. Dewey telegraphed before a soldier had arrived that he could take Manila any day, and that telegram is in his official report. Why did he not do it? Why did he invite those people to come and assist us and promise them independence? He had advised with them in regard to drawing up a constitution and establishing a civil government. Now, I ask, why did they not take Manila and save all this bloodshed, and save, above all, the honor of our flag and the honor of our country and build a republic there?

"Oh," Senators say, "the Filipinos would have sacked Manila." There is no proof of it. They took possession of cities of 40,000 people; they took possession of cities of 20,000 people; they took possession of cities of 10,000 people; and there is not an instance where there was any massacre of the inhabitants or the destruction of any property. Read again the report of Sargent and Wilcox, two naval officers who traveled through that island, and you will find that they stated there was peace and protection such as has not existed where our occupation has gone.

And he was bitterly disappointed when our soldiers landed at Cavite. In a few hours after our interview two of my staff officers, Major Cloman and Lieutenant Clark, who were walking through the streets of the town, were arrested and taken before Aguinaldo. They were told by him that strangers could only visit the town by his permission, but that in their case he was pleased to give them permission to proceed. We at once landed our forces and on the 4th of July Aguinaldo was invited to witness a parade and review in honor of our national holiday. He did not come, because he was invited not as President but as General Aguinaldo.

Dewey says that he never saluted or treated Aguinaldo with military honors. The proof is conclusive that he did. He was invited as "General Aguinaldo."

This led me to write him a letter stating that while we hoped to have amicable relations with him, I would have to take Cavite as a base of operations, and closing with this sentence:

"I have therefore to ask your excellency to instruct your officials not to interfere with my officers in the performance of their duties and not to assume that officers or men can not visit Cavite without your permission."

A few days thereafter he made an official call, coming with cabinet and staff and a band of music. On that occasion he handed me an elaborate schedule for an autonomous government which he had received from some Filipinos in Manila, with a statement that they had reason to believe that Spain would grant them such a form of government. With this was an open letter addressed to the Filipino people from Pedro Alexandre Paterno advising them to put their trust in Spain rather than America. The day before two German officers had called on Aguinaldo, and I believed they had brought him these papers. I asked him if the scheme was agreeable to him. He did not answer, but asked if we, the North Americans, as he called us, intended to hold the Philippines as dependencies. I said I could not answer that, but that in one hundred and twenty years we had established no colonies.

Anderson says, "I could not answer that." I have just read where he says to Admiral Dewey—and he was the first one to advise Admiral Dewey that we proposed to keep the islands—that he could answer it. What were his instructions? To lie to the Filipinos? Did he go over there with instructions to deceive and falsify? Of course if he did he could not answer, because as an officer of the Army he must obey

his instructions. He says, "I could not answer that," and yet he knew it, because he says he was the one who bore the intelligence to Dewey.

I said I could not answer that, but that in one hundred and twenty years we had established no colonies. He then made this remarkable statement—

That is, Aguinaldo—

"I have studied attentively the Constitution of the United States, and I find in it no authority for colonies and I have no fear."

He understood the Constitution better than some of the members of this Senate and a good deal better than the Administration. "He had studied our Constitution attentively." If the President would do that he would not be undertaking, in violation of that Constitution, to conquer a people and to govern them by despotic power against their will.

The prevailing sentiment of the Filipinos towards us can be shown by one incident.

About the middle of July the insurgent leaders in Cavite invited a number of our Army and Navy officers to a banquet. There was some postprandial speech making, the substance of the Filipino talk being that they wished to be annexed but not conquered. One of our officers in reply assured them that we had come, not to make them slaves, but to make them free men. A singular scene followed. All the Filipinos rose to their feet and Buencomeno, taking his wineglass in his hand said: "We wish to be baptized in that sentiment." Then he and the rest poured the wine from their glasses over their heads.

Statements have been made to the effect that Manila was taken by agreement—

And then General Anderson goes into that question. I will read the portion with regard to the taking of Manila by agreement, and I will leave the people of this country to judge whether it was not taken by agreement, and whether every life that was lost in the taking of Manila was not sacrificed to Spanish pride. The Dakota boys were murdered in that assault, an assault absolutely unnecessary. It was made because they were afraid that, if we did not pursue the course we pursued, the Filipinos would get into Manila:

The negotiations by which it was attempted to secure a surrender without resistance were carried on through Mr. André, the Belgian consul. His method was to go to the Governor-General and get a statement, which he wrote down in a memorandum book; then he would go to General Merritt and Admiral Dewey and get a statement from them, which he would carry back to the Governor-General. This was apart from some formal correspondence. After the surrender, André translated to me the notes in his memorandum book, for they were written in Spanish. The substance of the agreement seemed to be that if the fleet did not throw shells into the walled city or the Spanish part of Manila the Spanish artillery would not open on the fleet.

We could shoot at the part of the city occupied by the native Filipinos all we pleased, kill as many of them as we had a mind to, if we would not shoot at the Spaniards. Whom were we fighting? Spain. Whom had our boys enlisted to fight? Spain. And yet the agreement was that we were not to shoot at the Spanish part of the city, where the Spanish garrison was, and then they would not fire back at us!

There was no agreement, as the memorandum was read to me, that our land forces would not be fired on.

Dewey said he could take the city at any time with his fleet alone.

On the contrary, there was a statement that the honor of Spain required that there should be resistance, and that under the Spanish army code their officers surrendering without resistance or giving a parole would subject themselves to trial by court-martial. Accordingly, we were fired on from the trenches and back through the streets of the city.

We could take the city with the fleet without losing a man, and yet our boys—boys from Dakota, boys from the West—were marched up and sacrificed and shot down to gratify Spanish pride; so that these Spanish officers would not be court-martialed after we paroled them. That is the statement of General Anderson. It is but a chapter in this wretched business.

Then he goes on to the subject of controversy. I propose to relate just briefly right here how Manila was taken. The city was surrounded with earthworks and an army of Filipinos

from shore to shore. We landed on the western side of the city upon the shore, having previously secured from the Filipinos permission to occupy a quarter of a mile of their trenches. Aguinaldo asked that this permission be requested in writing, so that his authority and rights would be on record. Our officers promised to put it in writing. Depending upon their honor, Aguinaldo surrendered his trenches—a quarter of a mile of them—to our forces, and they occupied them.

I should like to ask whether that written request was ever sent. It does not appear in the documents sent to us. It does not appear in any record sent to us. Undoubtedly it never was sent. It was another piece of treachery practiced by our army over there. When I make this charge of treachery I draw it as an inference from the facts I state, and if it is not a just inference then people have a right to differ with me.

We landed our army on the strip of coast. Intrenchments running back from the sea, 14 miles around, were occupied by Filipino troops and then we ordered the assault—I mean this play at an assault. We started our forces down along the beach to the corner of the walled city. The wall was covered with armed Spaniards. When we got down there they did not fire upon our troops. We were in between the Spanish troops who had occupied Paco, a suburb of Manila, and Aguinaldo had driven them out, a thousand of them, and they had started for the walled city and they met our troops. We did not stop them. We had no fight with them. They were allowed to go into the walled city. General Anderson got notice that representatives of our commanding officers were inside the city receiving the surrender. Then he says he rushed his troops up along the wall to take possession of the bridges, so as not to let the Filipinos get into the Spanish city and injure and harm those poor Spaniards whom we supposed we were fighting.

But Aguinaldo assaulted all along the line, 13½ miles. Do you think he would have given us possession of his earthworks but for the fact that he expected to work with us? He lost many men. He took of the city of Manila more than we did.

Outside of the wall is the principal part of the city, and he took those parts of the suburbs. He took them at the cost of lives. He took them at the loss of many of his men. When he came to the walled city, he found not the Spaniards resisting his course, but the bayonets of the troops of the United States. He found his ally turned against him. From that day on our course was one of constant aggression, constant irritation, constant attack upon him. Seven or eight officers of his army were killed by our sentinels. We pushed our sentinels out beyond the boundaries of Manila, out beyond the boundaries of the country we had a right to occupy.

Late in the fall Aguinaldo objected. He said: "I occupy Pandanacan and Santa Mesa, and General Merritt has admitted that they are not within the boundary of Manila." Otis replied, "You are right. I have also examined the maps of Manila, and these places are not within the boundary. I can find no Spanish decree that places them within the boundary of Manila, but I am going to take them anyhow." That was the substance of his statement.

Aguinaldo's letter had recited what towns were not and what towns were within the boundary of Manila. The protocol stated that we were to keep possession of the city, bay, and harbor of Manila. Otis replied to Aguinaldo that the protocol said that we must keep possession of the city, suburbs, and defenses of Manila, and that because of that provision in the protocol we were obliged to compel him to move back.

Now, Mr. Otis stated what was absolutely false, and he discredits himself again. I should like to have any Senator read the protocol and then read Mr. Otis's report, on pages 20 and 21. He lied as to the area of country that we had a right to occupy. He did it purposely, and then he had to admit that even on that statement he was not entitled to the occupation of Pandanacan and Santa Mesa. He did occupy them. He was at Santa Mesa, more than a mile beyond the boundary where we had a right to be under the protocol, violating the protocol with Spain by occupying territory beyond the boundaries agreed upon.

TERMS OF PROTOCOL OF AUGUST 12, 1898.

ART. 3. The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

The fighting commenced, and we commenced the fighting. Now, let us see what Anderson says about that:

The origin of our controversies and conflicts with the Filipinos can, as already explained, be traced back to our refusal to recognize the political authority of Aguinaldo. Our first serious break with them arose from our refusal to let them coöperate with us.

We sent for him, brought him from Singapore on our vessel, and had given him arms, anxious to have him cooperate with us.

About 9 o'clock on the evening of August 12 I received from General Merritt an order to notify Aguinaldo to forbid the Filipino insurgents under his command from entering Manila. This notification was delivered to him at 20 minutes past 10 that night. The Filipinos had made every preparation to assail the Spanish lines in their front. Certainly they would not have given up part of their line to us unless they thought they were to fight with us.

We had got possession, we were in their trenches, pretty close to the wall of the old or Spanish town, and we got possession by lying to them, because Anderson refused to answer, and said he could not answer; and then also said that he was the bearer of the news to Dewey that we were going to conquer and keep that country.

They therefore received General Merritt's interdict with anger and indignation. They considered the war as their war, and Manila as their capital, and Luzon as their country.

That is what our forefathers thought as to this country.

Knowing that they would disregard any remonstrance on our part, I sent a battalion of North Dakota Volunteers to hold a bridge they would have to cross if they followed us into Manila when we made our assault on the next morning, but when the battle began they broke in by way of Santana and got into the city as soon as we did. After the white flag was raised and the firing ceased, it was found that

fully 4,000 armed insurgents had taken possession of Paco and part of Malate, two important suburbs on the south of the Pasig. To hold them within these limits and stop any attempt at looting, a cordon of troops was thrown around them.

It has been said that a letter has been discovered in which Aguinaldo claimed a part of the share of the spoils of war, and therefore that has been claimed as justification for the statement that he was going to loot Manila. What he claimed his share of was what has heretofore always been considered legitimate spoils of war. That was the \$900,000 of public money which was captured when the city fell. That he would not have looted, that he would not have burned and destroyed, is proved conclusively by the fact that nearly the entire population of the city of Manila were of his race and tribe, and fully half of his army were recruited in that city, and their families were living there. They were not permitted even to go in to see their families.

The situation was exceedingly critical. Our soldiers believed that the Filipinos had fired on them, and the Filipinos were almost beside themselves with rage and disappointment. The friendly relations we had with Generals Recati and Morial alone prevented a conflict then and there. At 7 o'clock I received an order from General Merritt to remove the Filipinos from the city. Had we attempted to use force we would have had to fight to carry out our orders. In that event we would certainly have had a serious complication.

The Filipinos would have been justified in fighting right there, before our army was increased. They had been shown that we proposed to conquer their country, and still they forebore.

With 10,000 men we would have had to guard 13,300 Spanish prisoners and to fight 14,000 Filipinos. I therefore took the responsibility of telegraphing Aguinaldo, who was at Bacoar, 10 miles below, requesting him to withdraw his troops, and intimating that serious consequences would follow if he did not do so. I received his answer at 11, saying that a commission would come to me the next morning, with full powers. Accordingly the next day Señors Buencomeno, Lagarde, Araneto, and Sandeco came to division headquarters in Manila and stated that they were authorized to order the withdrawal of their troops if we would promise to reinstate them in their present positions on our making peace with Spain.

If that was not a reasonable request I should like to know how one could be made.

Thereupon I took them over to General Merritt. Upon their repeating their demands, he told them he could not give such a pledge, but that they could rely on the honor of the American people. The general then read to them the proclamation he intended to issue to the Filipino people. The commission then went back to Aguinaldo for further instructions. A member of the commission had brought me a letter from Aguinaldo, complaining that he had been harshly treated, and that his army had given up a part of their lines to us on the understanding that there was to be a coöperation between us in future military movements. I showed this letter to General Merritt after the commission had withdrawn. He directed me to reply that if Aguinaldo had been apparently harshly treated, it was from a military necessity, and that while we might recognize the justice of their insurrection, it was thought judicious to have only one army in Manila at one time.

On the 15th the commission returned with a paper containing ten unreasonable demands. There was an astonishing change, from one very reasonable condition one day to ten aggressive demands the next.

Their one reasonable demand had been denied.

The change can only be accounted for on the theory that Aguinaldo and his counselors plainly perceived from General Merritt's proclamation that we intended to hold the Philippines under military rule. Upon this they determined to obtain the best conditions for themselves at once. There was subsequently ample confirmation of this, from the fact that General Otis suppressed that part of the President's letter (December 24, 1898) to the Secretary of War which directed our military forces to take possession of all the Philippine Islands by right of transfer from Spain and by right of conquest.

This, mark you, is Anderson's statement, the man who took Manila, who was in command of our forces. He said that Otis struck out of the President's proclamation to the people those words because he thought they would create trouble, claiming the right to the island by transfer and by right of conquest. What had we conquered? The city of Manila had been surrendered to us upon an agreement. We had not conquered another foot of the territory of the island. All the rest of the island had been conquered by the insurgents, and the Spanish power absolutely destroyed; and yet he claimed the islands by conquest. We have been trying since to enforce

our title. But it is said that the title came more from God than from Spain. If that is true, it is expensive business clearing up the abstract.

There is a great diversity of opinion as to whether a conflict with the Filipinos could not have been avoided if a more conciliatory course had been followed in dealing with them. I believe we came to a parting of the ways when we refused their request to leave their military force in a good strategic position on the contingency of our making peace with Spain without a guarantee of their independence. From what was known of the situation, our Government was justified in not recognizing Aguinaldo's authority as a *de facto* government. For, even if it had been determined to recognize an independent Filipino government it did not follow that we should recognize a self-appointed junta as constituting a government.

I beg leave to quarrel with that statement of General Anderson's, and I have a right to do it, because we brought Aguinaldo from Singapore on our vessel, and, advising with Admiral Dewey, he formed a government, the government which we helped to set up. Therefore it was the very government we were bound to recognize the very element we ought to recognize to-day.

On the other hand, the dicta of international law that, in war, the powers of the military occupant are absolute and supreme, and immediately operate upon the political conditions of the inhabitants—which the President made the basis of his instructions to General Merritt—could only be made to apply to the Philippines by a very liberal construction.

Let us see what Anderson goes on to say:

Was Luzon a conquered country? We held Manila and Cavite. The rest of the island was held not by the Spaniards, but by the Filipinos. On the other islands the Spaniards were confined to two or three fortified towns.

"The rest of the island," mark you, every acre of it, was in the hands, according to General Anderson, of the Filipinos; cities and towns, with populations of twenty and twenty-five thousand, all in the hands of the Filipinos, not of the Spaniards.

On the other islands the Spaniards were confined to two or three fortified towns.

On all the other islands in the group the Spanish power was destroyed. Iloilo was one of those other towns, on the island of Panay, with a population of 40,000 people, and before the treaty with Spain was consummated the Filipinos were in possession of that city administering its government.

At the time referred to we could not claim to hold by purchase, for we had not then received Spain's quitclaim deed to the archipelago. Making allowance for difference of time, we took Manila almost to the hour when the peace preliminaries were signed in Washington. But, no matter when Manila was taken, it was unfortunate for us that we felt so bound by the meshes of diplomatic amenities as to permit Spain's insurgent subjects to levy war against us and attack us when they felt fully prepared—a philanthropic policy which has cost us many valuable lives.

To return to the question of conciliation, one of Aguinaldo's commission, who was subsequently a member of his cabinet, said to me: "Either we have a de facto government or we have not. If we have, why not recognize the fact? If not, why have you recognized us at all?"

Pretty good logic; pretty hard to meet. All the sophistry of the Senator from Wisconsin never touched this case. I wondered when I heard it why he admired Otis until I read Otis's reply to a dispatch of a few days ago asking him if Aguinaldo had not sent a request, after the fighting commenced on the 4th of February, to cease the conflict. Otis went all around that, but did not deny it, and so the Senator from Wisconsin did in his entire speech. His admiration for Otis must have resulted from the excellent example of how to get around the facts which Otis had furnished him.

This last remark referred to General Merritt's conceding them the control of the Manila waterworks and to General Otis's attempts to negotiate with them without committing himself.

There were other causes of antagonism. Our soldiers, to get what they considered trophies, did a good deal of what the Filipinos considered looting. A number made debts which they did not find it convenient to pay. They called the natives "niggers," and often treated them with a good-natured condescension, which exasperated the natives all the more because they dared not resent it.

So this is the report of General Anderson with regard to the capture of Manila and the situation over there, which must condemn before the civilized world forever the conduct of this Administration as the blackest and most infamous that ever was placed upon the pages of history.

I am going to read, although I think it is not in the consecutive order of my remarks, from page 424 of Document 62:

Memoranda concerning the situation in the Philippines on August 30, 1898, by General Greene.

General Greene was over there. This was made to the Paris Peace Commission for the purpose of furnishing our commissioners with information.

Greene says:

The United States Government, through its naval commander, has to some extent made use of them for a distinct military purpose, viz, to harass and annoy the Spanish troops, to wear them out in the trenches, to blockade Manila on the land side, and to do as much damage as possible to the Spanish Government prior to the arrival of our troops; and for this purpose the Admiral allowed them to take arms and munitions which he had captured at Cavite, and their ships to pass in and out of Manila Bay in their expeditions against other provinces.

Webster says an ally is "anything associated with another as a helper, an auxiliary;" and the Century Dictionary says an ally is "an auxiliary, a friend." If they were not allies, and if the record does not stamp the statement of Dewey that he never made allies of them as untrue, then I am unable to understand the English language.

I am now going to read an account of the first fight. This is by a Colorado soldier, Mr. Abram L. Mumper:

The Filipinos who did enter the city August 13, 1898, were ordered out a month later. They obeyed the order, but formed upon the luneta and marched past and saluted the spot where these patriots died. As that barefoot army of men and boys marched past our barracks one of their bands, to show good will toward us, struck up *A Hot Time in the Old Town*, our national air for the Philippines, made such by the Colorado band playing it as they entered the city August 13—an air every Filipino boy in Manila could whistle a week after we were in the city. We gave them a rousing cheer. They answered, "Vive los Americanos." No, they did not want to fight us. We did not want to fight them, and if we had to fight it was because the master magician in

this drama, behind the screens, by some trick of the black art, brought us together.

You have heard much of Filipino taunts and insults. But we were the aggressors. We first turned the cold shoulder the 13th of August. Then followed in a succession, made more aggravating by the time that intervened, the order to evacuate Malate and Paco; the order for insurgents to quit Singalong and Pandacan. Dewey seized their boats upon the bay; then General Otis sends a map to Aguinaldo and notifies him to remove his forces beyond a line he marked. Disputes along the outposts are settled invariably against the natives. Each time we soldiers are ordered under arms ready to fight if they failed to yield, and judging from the talk you might have concluded that fight was preferred. But each time they yielded. Aguinaldo counseled peace. He trusted to the Peace Commission, and finally the Senate, to recognize his claims. He knew he would sacrifice everything by pursuing the other course.

The order of the President establishing sovereignty over the islands greatly excited the natives. Hundreds quit their stands. Carrimetto drivers passed through our lines to join Aguinaldo's army, and it became next to impossible to hire a carrimetto. So we soldiers had to walk. I was in town the day the President's proclamation was posted. I heard Filipinos who had trusted us till now say we were "No more amigo." I saw this proclamation, which you will remember says so much of the rights of property, torn down by the Filipinos and another put up by them that dealt more with the rights of man. A little later—January 21—a Filipino captain was shot down by an American sentry at the Tondo bridge. I never heard of any cause. It was already the seventh or eighth insurgent shot down in passing our lines. The command "Halt" given in English was often misunderstood, and though most of our soldiers were humane, there were a few that would as soon kill as eat, and were thirsting for their man. The press encouraged this reckless work by making a hero of the man that did the killing. Back of the press, judging from the full-page advertising, stood the beer kings, and upon the ocean were ships loaded with their beer. Trade was following the flag, and the flag must be advanced to make more room for trade. In the very ashes of the cities we burned—

MR. BEVERIDGE. What cities does he say we burned?

MR. PETTIGREW. He does not give the names. We burned, according to the stories, some of the cities. I have talked with soldiers about it. This man does not give the names of the cities. As a matter of fact, I talked with several of the South Dakota boys, and they said the soldiers themselves set cities on fire; that when fighting first commenced the

intention was to make the situation so unbearable and so intolerable that the Filipinos would yield, and we did the burning as a part of that policy. That is the testimony of the soldiers with whom I have conversed. But afterwards when it was found that our inhumane policy was not bringing the desired results the order was changed. The men were furnished with matches with which to perform their incendiary tasks under the original plan of warfare.

When this captain was killed the insurgent newspapers called for war. The Filipino women of Cavite held a mass meeting and begged to be allowed to serve upon the firing line. Aguinaldo again quiets the rising storm. But the armies are approaching a clash. Both forces are becoming impatient under restraint. But a spark is needed. The authors of the drama look on, no doubt, in pious grandeur and say, "It is well."

The Nebraska regiment had been sent to Santa Mesa. Aguinaldo had vigorously protested against this and pointed out to General Otis that Santa Mesa was outside the line of the protocol. General Otis looks it up and admits to Aguinaldo that such is the case (pages 20 and 21, General Otis's report), but holds fast to the position. Here, outside the limits of the protocol, in an effort to make the insurgents move back a sentry post, the first shot was fired. Grayson, the man who fired that shot, told me, on board the *Hancock*, as his regiment was ready to sail for America, that it was "the damn bullheadedness of the officers in invading insurgent territory" that was responsible for that shot. But we fired the second shot and third shot before we got a response. And this was two days before the Senate was to vote upon the peace treaty, and many of the insurgent officers away from the firing line! This is the way the insurgents made what the President calls a "foul attack" upon us. But the Filipinos returned the fire and the war was on.

The fact of the matter is that General Otis's report says that the insurgents were not ready. They did not intend that war should commence then. He says the battle was one continuous attack on our part and simple defense on theirs. It was aggression on our part. Furthermore, it is well proved that firing did not commence all along the line. Several minutes elapsed between the killing of the first and the killing of the second Filipino. It took an hour and a half for the firing to reach the length of our line, showing that they were not ready and did not intend to fight. Aguinaldo says they did not intend to fight. His officers were in the city. They

had been given a holiday. I will not read his statement of this fact, but I will read the words Otis used:

The battle of Manila, which commenced at half past 8 o'clock on the evening of February 4, continued until 5 the next evening. * * * The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and of vigorous attack by our forces.

I supplement that with the statement which I made orally, which is copied from the RECORD.

PROTOCOL OF AGREEMENT, AUGUST 12, 1898.

ART. 3. The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

CHAPTER XII

ATROCITIES

MR. PRESIDENT:¹ I voted against the passage of the Army bill and I would have been glad if I could have defeated it entirely. I do not believe it ought to have been passed or that any necessity has been shown why it should pass. The report of the Committee on Military Affairs disclosed nothing beyond an argument in favor of Army canteens. The only argument the committee made was one in favor of enlarging the usefulness of that institution by enlarging the Army. The Senate having beaten that portion of the bill, which received such earnest attention on the part of the Committee on Military Affairs, the necessity for enlarging the Army, from the standpoint of the committee, disappeared with the defeat of the canteen. If there exist other reasons why the Army should be enlarged the committee have not disclosed it to the Senate or the country. Their report contains nothing on the subject.

I was surprised that the minority found no objection to this remarkable report. They seemed to think that the enlargement of the Army was necessary in order to enlarge the scope of the civilizing influences of a barroom at every post. What lulled them to sleep I know not.

We sought information as to why the Army should be enlarged, what use was to be made of it, what was the necessity for increasing it to 100,000 men, and our inquiries were not answered. I introduced a resolution calling upon the Secretary to furnish us desired information regarding the operations of our Army in the Orient, and the resolution was re-

1. Speech in the Senate January 31, 1901.

ferred to the Committee on the Philippines, and there it slumbered. Information is denied and refused, not only to the Senate, to the Congress, which is expected to create legislation, but to the people of the United States, who give their money to sustain our legislation. Ever since the conflict began in the Philippines a steady practice of concealment has been carried on by the Administration. There has been a constant refusal to furnish information that might justify Army operations. This was not because it was feared the enemy might secure information, but with the purpose of keeping information from the people of the United States.

In the first place, the correspondents found their news censored, and when they made inquiry and protest they were told by General Otis that he took that course because he wanted to do nothing that would hurt the Administration at home; that practically he censored their news to keep the facts from the people of the United States. When we asked by resolution for information, it was denied, and to-day there are concealed in the archives of the State Department a vast amount of information that, in my opinion, if disclosed to the American people would be deemed by them as discreditable to the Administration.

I believe, Mr. President, from what little information we can get from this source that the battle which commenced on the 4th of February near Manila, in 1899, was begun under orders from Washington, and that if we could procure access to the records they would disclose that fact. We began the war, and I fully believe that General Otis was ordered to begin the war. He says the battle of Manila, which began on the 4th of February, was one of vigorous attack upon our part and one exclusively of defense upon the part of the Filipinos.

Important information is denied. Only such portions of the official record are given to the public as it seems in the interest of the party in power to disclose. We were told that if it were not for the sympathy of the people at home the war in the Philippines would cease. It was said to us that if we had not encouraged the insurgents, as they were called, they

would lay down their arms and surrender their liberty. This policy of concealment has continued up to date.

Just before the election in 1899 in Ohio the State Department practically denied that it had made such an agreement as the contract with the Sultan of Sulu, and when the Associated Press sent for a copy of that infamous agreement they were given one written in Arabic—Sulu Arabic—that nobody in the United States could translate. By such subterfuges the contract or agreement with the Sultan of Sulu was kept from the public until after the election in Ohio.

Just before the election the Schurman commission made a partial report, setting forth only such facts as would inure to the interest of the Administration and concealing the remainder. Last year during the campaign, although the instructions to the Paris commissioners were sent to the Senate in secret, the President in his letter of acceptance quotes copiously from the instructions to those commissioners, leaving out lines and paragraphs and words which changed the meaning, in order to deceive the voters during the election campaign. And yet the Senate refuses to make these instructions public and all information is denied to the people except that which the Administration finds it politically safe to disclose to the public.

The Taft Philippine Commission during the campaign was reported in the newspapers to have said that the insurgents were maintaining war because of a hope of the election of Bryan and that the insurrection would fall to pieces in case he was defeated. Now that the election is over we find the insurrection more vigorous than ever, having thus continued up to date. When we asked for the real facts concerning the war from official sources—and such facts would have been serviceable pending the passage of this bill—the desired information was refused. After the bill passes and has gone into conference we are flooded with telegrams stating that the insurgents are about to surrender, that the war is nearly over, and thus the Taft commission again comes to the relief of its masters, the Administration.

One purpose having been accomplished by a partial dis-

closure of the truth, they shift their position and say the rebels are surrendering and that the war is about over. What new purpose they now expect to accomplish I know not, but under all these circumstances the American people are entitled to full disclosures on both sides of the question. As a coordinate branch of the Government, it is our right to know what has been done and what is being done. We ought not to be required to glean our information from a partisan commission, whose members merely obey the orders of the Administration in promulgating an opinion which suits the particular political exigency of the case.

When this bill came before us I supposed an elaborate report, showing the operations of our Army, the extent of territory which had been conquered, the details, the necessity for the continuation of an armed force in the Philippines, would be forthcoming. All we received was a book of testimony in favor of the canteen and some evidence with regard to the re-formation of the Army upon different lines from those heretofore employed and the rearrangement of the staff. The debate in this body has been upon those subjects, and to-day we are ignorant as to what the situation is, though we have passed an important measure, based upon our supposed knowledge of the situation.

I am credibly informed that the United States has not control of one-quarter of the area of the Philippines; that the entire population are arrayed against us. These people are not in revolt, Mr. President. How can they be rebels to a Constitution which the Administration insists never extended over them? How can they defy a Constitution which does not exist within the area of their country? How can they be rebels against a sovereignty which they never acknowledged?

No, Mr. President, they are not rebels. Any citizen of the United States has the privilege of sympathizing with them without being open to the charge of treason. Our Constitution, so our Administration states, does not extend to them. The sovereignty of the United States does not encompass the environment of these Orientals. How can our sovereignty extend beyond the jurisdiction of our fundamental law? Through

what process has such a feat been accomplished? Not through conquest. Once we made this claim, but the cold terms of the Paris treaty dissipated it, and instead of sovereignty by conquest we are now proclaiming ownership of the Philippine islands by right of cession, with a sordid purchase behind the deal. It seems to matter little that, under our Declaration of Independence and its resultant form of government, we are precluded from establishing sovereignty over any people without their consent.

So far as anything can be ascertained officially, Mr. President, the United States is trying to conquer the Filipinos and impose a government upon them, and up to date the effort has not succeeded. It is not a single tribe in that far-off archipelago that is resisting us. It is the entire population, if common report may be relied upon, and we have little else to guide our legislative course. We are asked to vote for a permanent enlargement of the Army and are denied the information upon which we can justify our acquiescence.

But a few days ago I asked the Secretary of War for a copy of General MacArthur's report, and found that it had been suppressed. No citizen can procure a copy of MacArthur's report. Why has it been suppressed? Why is not the information it contains given to the American people? Upon this subject I have received a letter from the Secretary of War only a few days old. It is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, January 14, 1901.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant requesting a copy of Major-General MacArthur's last report in relation to conditions in the Philippine Islands.

In reply I beg to inform you that the same is not at present available for distribution, and that volume 1 of the Report of the War Department, a quota of which, it is understood, will be placed to your credit in the document room of the Senate as soon as published, will contain the annual report of General MacArthur.

Very respectfully,

ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War.*

Hon. R. F. PETTIGREW,
United States Senate.

So I say that I am justified in charging that for political purposes the Administration keeps from the American people information which is necessary for a justification of the passage of this Army bill. I believe that if the information was secured the justification would not be found within it. I believe the American people would say, if they could have access to all the facts, that the way to stop the war is to stop fighting. The people of the Philippines are not our enemies. In speaking for them I am not encouraging the enemies of my country. All they have done to us is to resist the invasion of their islands and the destruction of their liberties. All they have done to us is to insist upon their freedom, their independence as a nation, and, as evidence of their earnest intentions, they participated as our allies in a contest to overthrow the power of Spain. Stop fighting, cease to try to conquer them and to rob them of their country, and the war will be over and bloodshed will cease.

Mr. President, I hope the Filipinos will be successful. I want them to secure their liberty. I believe that they ought to succeed. They are struggling for freedom—for that which has made our history as a nation grand in all its past. I hope the day will never come when I shall fail to sympathize with any people who are struggling for liberty, no matter where they are.

While opposed, Mr. President, to this entire measure, I am especially opposed to one of its features. I am opposed to that paragraph in the bill which requires the United States to copy the infamous policy of Great Britain in the present and in the past—the paragraph which provides that we may enlist soldiers among the Filipinos to fight their own people. I am especially opposed to the legislation covered by that paragraph. It reads as follows:

That when in his opinion the conditions in the Philippine Islands justify such action the President is authorized to enlist natives of those islands for service in the Army, to be organized as scouts, with such officers as he shall deem necessary for their proper control, or as troops or companies, as authorized by this act, for the Regular Army. The President is further authorized, in his discretion, to form companies,

organized as are companies of the Regular Army, in squadrons or battalions, with officers and noncommissioned officers corresponding to similar organizations in the cavalry and infantry arms. The total number of enlisted men in said native organizations shall not exceed 12,000, and the total enlisted force of the line of the Army, together with such native force, shall not exceed at any one time 100,000.

I oppose this action, Mr. President, because, while the majority of the population of these islands, in fact from 70 to 80 per cent of them, are educated and civilized, and 6,000,000 of them worship the same God that we do, and believe in the same religion embraced by over 8,000,000 of our own population, still within the borders of that country as well as within the borders of the United States there are savage and uncivilized tribes—not many, but in my opinion enough to supply the 12,000 troops which it is proposed to enlist. Those are the only people you can secure soldiers from—the barbarous tribes of that country.

We have had experience with those people. We enlisted 200 of them, and their conduct was outrageous. I propose to show from the testimony of the Secretary of War that such is the fact. Secretary Root says:

By far the most economical way to take the place of the outgoing volunteers is to put regulars in their place. I do not believe we could get volunteers. There is not the enthusiasm, the opportunity for adventure, which would attract volunteers. No doubt we could get regulars.

Senator WARREN. If we got into a scrap with England or Germany we would be able to get volunteers easy enough?

Secretary ROOT. We could get them quick enough then. We got them quick enough when there was real, sure-enough fighting in the Philippines.

Senator SHOUP. Have you considered the question of enlisting natives over there?

Secretary ROOT. Yes; and there is quite a good deal of discussion of that in this year's report. I said in that everything I have to say. I think no doubt it will be practical, but we have to do it slowly. We can not take them in fast. We have to take them in slow, as we have officers to discipline them and instill in them the spirit of discipline, because they murder and burn and rob like the rest of the crowd until they get some idea of discipline and the necessity of following the lines of civilized warfare.

And yet, Mr. President, this bill provides for recruiting a class of soldiers who, according to the testimony of the Secretary of War, murder and burn and rob. I intend to give the facts in regard to this burning and robbing in the Philippines on the part of our Army. We enlisted 200 Macabebes. These savages are accustomed to fighting the white man's battles, 300 Macabebes serving in the Spanish army. They were enlisted from a town of that name on one of the western islands of the group. When the Spanish war closed they surrendered to us and were paroled. The captured Macabebes offered their services to Aguinaldo, but he declined their offer and refused to take them into his army, because they had been fighting with Spain after the revolt of 1896 and had been so barbarous in their conduct. Our officers then recruited 200 of them, and we sent out this band of marauding robbers to murder and burn. In perpetuation of uncivilized methods of warfare this bill provides that 12,000 more of them may be secured and turned loose upon the Christian people of that country. You can get no other native troops there, and these 12,000 soldiers must be gathered from among the savages in the archipelago.

The Taft Commission the other day passed a law making it a criminal offense, subject to imprisonment, for natives to refuse to take office under the commission and perform the functions of civil government. If we have made it a crime for the civilized natives to refuse to take office and perform the functions of civil government under us, how are we going to get them into the Army to fight their own countrymen?

No, Mr. President, this paragraph in the bill means the enlistment of 12,000 of the savages of that country, the Moros, if you please, to fight against the civilized and Christian people of those islands. This provision alone ought to prevent us from agreeing to the conference report.

Whether or not the crimes which have been committed in the Philippines against civilized warfare were the result of enlisting these Macabebes I can not tell. But I ask that the Secretary read a letter from the military governor and commander in chief of one of the provinces of the Philippines, he

being military governor and commander-in-chief under the native government, which letter describes some of the things we are doing in that country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Kean in the chair) : In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows :

To the American people :

To you, noble people, model of civic virtues and champion of liberty, the present appeal is addressed, setting forth the inhuman proceeding of your imperialist Army in the present war, which it is maintaining against the Filipino people in order to impose on them the yoke of slavery.

Since General Otis, the blind instrument of the ambitious McKinley, has declared war on us, with the infamous purpose of snatching from us our sacred independence, which we have conquered by dint of very costly sacrifices and at the cost of numberless victims offered up at the altar of our freedom ; since the 4th of February, when, trusting in the friendship which linked us with the army in occupation, we were surprised by the latter ; finally, since the first booming of the imperialist cannon, threatening to destroy our defenseless towns if they would not submit to the dominion of the invader was heard ; since then our land has been the theater of all kinds of vandalic acts, performed by the said army. They have violated the most sacred rights, trampled down even the very laws dictated by the sentiments of humanity, and, not contented with the superiority of their arms and machines of war over ours, they have resorted to all kinds of destructive elements, whose usage in a campaign is entirely forbidden by international law, in order, doubtless, to thus secure the destruction of our race, which is struggling for its freedom. That international law is transgressed in this campaign is proven by the fact that the American cannons are loaded with dynamite and other infernal substance, and by the fact that when the bullets of their rifles penetrate into the body they expand and when they come out they make an ugly and uncommon wound, giving the victims horrible sufferings.

When the American troops occupy a town after it has been cleared by the nationalist troops the noncombatants thereof become the objects of all kinds of abuses and cruelties. Robbery, pillage, violation, and murder, in certain cases, are the first proofs of "protection" which we receive from those who, under pretext of educating the Filipino people and leading them into the way of prosperity and modern culture, violate our homes and deprive us of our properties without even respecting the persons of our wives and daughters.

I wish, however, to pass over this savage conduct in silence, for its

bloody proceedings may be the effect of triumph, drunkenness, and of a thirst for blood, which are generally the consequences of a fierce combat.

I am not going to narrate these ferocious deeds. I will only relate such facts as are taking place in the towns they occupy and in those which are not garrisoned by our troops. In these places such tragical scenes as are only comparable to the savage Roman spectacles in the times of the Neros and Caligulas are witnessed. Savage attempts on the persons of the peaceful inhabitants of the towns are of daily occurrence, both in public and in private. To them right is an empty word and void of sense. Prosperity is a mite and personal security a laughing stock. These tyrants have invented such cruel torments as never occurred to the Spaniards to invent during three centuries of despotic dominion, and, in a word, they have revived in these days of iniquity more torturing and refined punishments than those which the most bloody executioners of the inquisition have devised in Europe.

It is doubtless because we do not behave ourselves in the same way as they do that we are called "savages."

In order to give a slight idea of the beastly proceedings of the American troops I am going to relate some of the deeds they practice and which are seen and testified by a great number of people in almost all the towns of these provinces of Zambales and Bataan under my jurisdiction.

Whenever an American post in any of the two provinces is attacked by my forces, the first step which the commander thereof takes after the attack is to seize all the well-to-do and reputed people in the town under pretext that they are supporting the revolution and maintaining relations with us who are on the battlefield. Such unwarranted and unconfirmed imputation is enough motive to imprison those persons, compelling them to acknowledge the crime they are charged with, and exacting from them to make some disclosures regarding the number and position of the enemies, and, in general, all kinds of information which may occur to the commander of the post to ask. If the prisoner denies to have any relation whatever with us, and if he declares to be entirely neutral, the commander proceeds to inflict on him the most cruel torments, some of which I will here describe:

1. *The water cure.*—This is applied in two different ways. The one is performed by binding the hands of the person who is to be tortured, after which they lay him down on his back, and once in this position they introduce an iron tube into his mouth so as to keep it largely open. Then water is steadily poured through the tube down his throat and through the holes of his nose until he is choked to death or compelled to make any declaration which would at least justify his arrest.

The other way consists in fixing a pulley on an arch placed over a well. The tormented is suspended by the legs upon the pulley and

rapidly lowered down till he is plunged into the water, where he is kept for some time, more or less long, according to the resistance of the patient. After a while he is pulled up in order to plunge him again into the water until any of the above-mentioned effects is obtained.

2. *The whipping torment.*—This is inflicted upon the supposed culprit by striking him with the barrel and the butt end of the rifle on the thorax cavity, on the abdomen, and on the most sensible parts of the body. If this proves insufficient to compel him to admit the infamous accusation made against him, they tie him to a post and whip him with thorny sticks till his flesh is all torn into pieces, thus killing him by force of hemorrhage, amidst infernal sufferings.

3. *The sun torment.*—This is done by submitting the presumed criminal to hard labor during the day in the square of the American barracks, suffering on his head the burning and deadly rays of the tropical sun, without giving him a drop of water even after meals.

Thousands of other tortures and proceedings such as only beasts could do are employed by the Americans to martyrize the peaceful inhabitants of the towns, but the pen, full of horror and shame, refuses to picture them. With what I have stated, however, and in spite of the faint colors with which I have related the facts, I think to have said enough to enable the least intelligent to understand how the ineludible principles of humanity are performed and respected in this unfortunate country by the very people who have proclaimed to the whole world to be the defenders of downtrodden liberties and violated rights, that they have come to the Philippines to bring the light of civilization.

If, as result of these torments, the sacrificed person admits the charges made against him—although he had never thought of committing them—he is soon relieved from these tortures and taken into the famous “calabus” (jail), where he is kept on a miserable and scanty food till our soldiers in one of their combinations attack the garrison. Then the prisoner is shot to death in order to reckon him as a casualty made to our forces.

There is reason for supposing that the intention of such tigers in treating the Filipinos savagely is to frighten them with utterly iniquitous and terrible torments in order to thus oblige them to submit themselves and lay down their arms; but this has a quite contrary effect inasmuch as such unspeakable iniquities only create concealed hatred and eternal vengeance which make the war the more bloody.

Besides these proceedings, which might be called “political proceedings,” the imperialists have others which are, so to speak, “mercantile proceedings,” because in so doing their only aim is to enrich themselves at the cost of their victims. The following are the most common ones:

They pretend sometimes to have received a denunciation that some nationalists are hiding themselves in a “barrio” or district, or that some

rifles are stored therein. Thereupon the commander starts out with some soldiers and arrests all the male inhabitants of the said "barrio." Having done this, the same commander orders every one of the house to be searched in case there are some contrabands of war hidden therein. It is wonderful how the soldiers fulfill such orders. The examination is carried only on the safe in which the little money and the jewelry of the family are kept. All the contents of the safe disappear as per enchantment and land in the pockets of the officer and soldiers. After this most shameful robbery, the soldiers, attacked with a monstrous lust, assault defenseless women and satiate in them their brutal desires.

Having performed this robbery and assault, the officer, in order to show to the public that he has found revolutionists in the said barrio, compels, by force of horrible torments, some of the prisoners to avow themselves as such, and whether they so confess themselves or not they are shot to death and their houses are burned.

Other commanders of garrisons, who are perhaps more human but as rapacious as the rest, content themselves, in order to carry out their greedy desires of appropriating other people's property, with summoning a well-to-do man of the town and intimidating him to give a certain amount of money on pain of being shot.

There are, nevertheless, some honorable exceptions, but they are very rare.

And if these arbitrarinesses are frequent in towns garrisoned by the Americans, they are more so still in those places which, because they have no conditions for defense, are left ungarrisoned. These places are visited once a week by a gross column of Americans who shoot against the houses, loot them, and ravish all the women.

I am ready to prove all that I have stated, either with authentic documents or with the declarations of the victims themselves of such cruelties. I once more affirm that all that I have set forth is nothing but a reflection of what is really and truly happening.

Now, noble American people, I leave to your enlightened judgment and generous sentiments to pronounce a verdict on the infamous proceedings of those imperialists who, in their hunger after conquest and thirst for riches, not only violate the legitimate holy rights of a people and break formal promises, but commit the most atrocious barbarism to the towns, and to the persons the most unspeakable crimes.

McKinley and his followers have thrown on the glorious pages of your brilliant history an ignominious blot, which your noble and worthy conduct alone could wash away by protesting energetically against the aggression made on the Filipino people.

We trust that you, who love justice, who respect the holy principles contained in the Declaration of your independence and affirmed in your Constitution, which made you great, who feel your hearts beat with sentiments of humanity and went to war against Spain with the purpose

of freeing oppressed peoples and releasing them from barbarism and tyranny to which they were submitted, who are not blinded by ambition, who, worthy of your forefathers and tradition, do not wish to put a miserable handful of riches above an immaculate name, who prefer the name of "liberators" to that of "masters," who respect the rights of others and abhor the blood which is iniquitously being shed in an unjust war, who consider all men as brothers, will stop this accursed war in which many of your sons are dying, in which defenseless and weak people are murdered, and in which hyenas in man's disguise tear into pieces in a delirium of madness honor, liberty, conscience, convictions, and sacrifice innocent blood, including children, women, and old men, and destroy entire inoffensive towns and abandon now and then neutral cities to the flames.

Yes, you will stop it with all the energies of your soul, obliging your cruel and greedy rulers of to-day to recognize what by natural right belong to us; what we have conquered with our blood, and for which they have promised us to recognize our absolute independence, without which the country is determined to go to her total destruction and annihilation.

For the provinces of Zambales and Bataan, the military governor and commander in chief:

TOMAS MASCARDO.

JULY 1, 1900.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, I should not put this paper in the RECORD were it not for the fact that our own soldiers have written back accounts which justify the belief that the barbarities complained of by Governor Mascardo are being practiced, and, I believe in almost every instance, by the Macabebes, whom we have enlisted in that country. Yet this Army bill proposes to enroll 12,000 more of them—men who, the Secretary of War says, murder and burn and rob and torture their prisoners.

I am going to read a paragraph from a paper entitled "City and State," published in Philadelphia, under the head of "Imperialism—Torture." It is as follows:

IMPERIALISM—TORTURE.

Very recently our attention was called to a paragraph, which we herewith reproduce, that appeared in the Friends' Intelligencer. We ask our readers to note it carefully:

"A. F. Miller, a member of the Thirty-second United States Volunteers, writing from the Philippine Islands to the Omaha World, under

date of March 5, describes the means used by United States soldiers to compel captured Filipinos to give up their concealed arms. He says:

"We go out, catch a negro, and ask him if he has a gun; he will give us a polite bow and say, "No sabby," and then we take hold of him and give him the "water cure." After which he can get us two or three guns. Now, this is the way we give them the water cure: Lay them on their backs, a man standing on each hand and each foot; then put a round stick in the mouth and pour a pail of water in the mouth and nose, and if they don't give up pour in another pail. They swell up like toads. I'll tell you it's a terrible torture.

"We went up the bay the other day to get some robbers, and secured three. They would not tell where they had their guns, so we gave them the water cure (salt water), and two of them gave us their guns. We gave the other one so much water we nearly killed him, yet he would not tell. Guess he was an old head. They have lots of grit. They will stand and see you half kill one of their friends and won't tell a thing. When it comes to their time to take the cure, they will take their clothes off, lie down, and take two or three pails of water before they will say a word. One of them said, "You can kill me, but you can not make me tell.'"

Upon first reading the above item we could scarcely credit its statements. It seemed so short a time since the nation began a war for humanity and shuddered at "Spanish methods." There is a difference, however, between resisting another man's temptations and one's own.

Happening to meet the editor of the *Intelligencer* at Lake Mohonk, we asked him about the "water-cure" story. He replied, in substance, that it seemed sufficiently authenticated to print, the name, etc., of the soldier who told it being given. A few days later a gentleman well known to us placed in our hands, for perusal and for anonymous quotation, an autograph letter from a correspondent in the Philippines, who holds an official position in our Army. We herewith print an extract from this letter, asserting at the same time that we have entire confidence in the veracity and credibility of the writer:

———, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, *April 25, 1900.*

MY DEAR —: As this is the last day for some time that I will have a chance to write, I thought this would be a good time to begin one. We are still at it, and making preparations for the rainy season, which is expected about the middle or latter part of June.

Any of the natives who have a gun can turn it in to us and get \$30 Mex. [Mexican money] for it, so a good many are bought in that way. We have a company of Macabebe scouts here who go out with white troops, and if they can not get any guns voluntarily they proceed to give the fellow a water cure—that is, they throw them on their backs, stick a gag in their mouths to keep it open, and proceed to fill them with water until they can hold no more; then they get on them, and by sud-

den pressure on the stomach and chest force the water out again. I guess it must cause excruciating agony, as they nearly always disclose where guns are hidden. Of course there is no pay for guns gotten in that manner. It is rather a harsh way for us to use them. I wonder how we would feel were we used in such a manner. The soldiers who look on think it a huge joke.

War is brutalizing, of course. American boys on leaving home would resent the suggestion of such a torture and prevent its accomplishment; but after being engaged in war for months or years the brutalizing effect of the business they are engaged in not only numbs their consciences and perverts their opinions and their judgment, but has its reflex action upon the mass of the people, brutalizing the sentiment of the whole nation. Continuing, the newspaper says:

These Macabebes are a people who have always been held in contempt and subjection by the Tagals. They are not very numerous, and not the equal of the latter in anything except ferocity. Had the former known a year ago that they would take arms for us, I think they would have exterminated them. Between the two there is little to choose, except that the Macs. are more cowardly and indulge their craven ferocity under the protection of Americans.

And yet this bill proposes to enlist 12,000 more of them. The newspaper concludes its article with this paragraph:

I saw two American prisoners who came in here a few days since; one is a Fourth Cavalryman, the other from the Twelfth Infantry. They were with General Macabolas's command. They say they got used pretty well, on the whole. They stole away in the night and arrived here after five days' travel. They looked pretty tough. They say that Macabolas has 4,000 men, all armed, and plenty of ammunition, and that they can get all the food and clothing they want from the people through whose districts they pass. He is presumably waiting for the rainy season to start in. It looks like a concerted plan on his part to make it warm for us. If there is fun, we will not be surprised. I am sorry to say that we will have to call for more troops.

I have read these extracts for the purpose of showing that the soldiers we will enlist under the provisions of this bill will be Macabebe savages. They are the kind of people that England enlisted against us in the war of the Revolution, and

when Pitt or Fox protested on the floor of Parliament the English minister said it was their duty to use every implement God had placed in their hands to accomplish their work. Is that the position of the American Senate? Is that the position of the Republican party to-day? What justification is there for placing weapons in the hands of these barbarous people, whom the Secretary of War in his testimony says murder and burn and rob, and whom our soldiers say torture their victims? Has there been an argument made on this floor in justification of this outrageous clause in the Army bill? Mr. President, this provision in the Army bill should be rejected and the report rejected, with instructions to the conferees to provide in the bill that our military indulgences be confined to civilized warfare.

There has been much said, Mr. President, about the character of the people in the Philippines, and the President of the United States himself—I will not characterize his purpose—has stated that a fragment of one tribe alone was fighting us; that there were eighty tribes; that the majority of the Filipinos were willing to accept our rule. The facts are that two tribes compose the bulk of the population and of the Christian people, and that those two tribes are one race, speaking a common language. These two tribes are united to a man in resisting our efforts to deprive them of their liberty, except it be an occasional individual who has been bribed or induced by offers of some character to join with us. Such men existed during the Revolution by which we gained our liberty. Such men exist in every country, no matter what may be the cause for which their countrymen are struggling.

For the purpose of showing what the tribes of the Philippines are, I propose to have read a communication from Sexto Lopez on the tribes of the Philippines, so as to clear up the false statement and erroneous impression which the Administration has studiously undertaken to distribute, in order to create a sentiment against these people. I will ask the Secretary to read the article. It is an exceedingly interesting one, by the best authority in the world, and I should like very much to have the Senators pay some attention to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER: The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE "TRIBES."

It has been suggested that I should say a few words about the so-called "tribes" of the Philippines.

Statements have been made to the effect that we are divided into 84 tribes, speaking different languages and of all degrees of barbarism and civilization; that these "tribes" are at enmity with each other; that they would never agree to form a united, strong government, and that one warlike "tribe" is seeking to dominate all the others and to rule with an iron hand the weaker and peaceable citizens of our country.

These statements are entirely incorrect.

That there are a few uncivilized or semicivilized peoples still inhabiting the northern part of Luzon and the interior of the island of Mindanao is a fact which no one disputes. They correspond roughly to the uncivilized or semicivilized remnants of the Indian tribes still inhabiting certain parts of the United States.

The Schurman Commission is responsible for the statement about these 84 different "tribes." But it is clear that the commissioners' list has been compiled from imperfectly kept and still more imperfectly spelt Spanish records. The confusion into which they and others have fallen in reference to the so-called "tribes" is due to the fact that our country is divided not only into provinces, but into provincial districts, wherein slightly different dialects are spoken. The inhabitants of those provincial districts have been confused with the few mountain peoples. The latter have been subdivided by purely artificial boundaries, by which means the small community has been subdivided into two or more "tribes."

Additional "tribes" have also been created by the incorrect spelling of local Spanish officials and by giving two native equivalents for the same people, as, for instance, when two "tribes" are created by calling the one Buquils and the other Buquiles, which is equivalent to saying that there are two "tribes" in England, the English and the British.

Examining the list still more in detail, we find that there are said to be two tribes of Aetas, two more of Attas, and one of Atas. These are not tribes at all. The word Aeta is the Tagalog equivalent of Negrito. This word has been spelt in three different ways by careless Spanish officials and thus multiplied by the commissioners into three separate and distinct "tribes." The word Baluga is another native equivalent for the Negritos, and this word is also given by the commission as the name of a separate and distinct "tribe." It would be

just as absurd to regard the Americans as one tribe and the "Yankees" as another and then to increase these two tribes into four or more by misspelling the word "Americans" or by translating it into French. The names are also given of "tribes" which do not exist in the Philippines at all, as for instance, the Manguianes of Masbate, the Manguianes of Ticao, the Negritos of Tayabas. I have been in all of these places, but I never saw or heard of these "tribes," nor have I ever met any one who had seen or heard of them.

Thus, by the processes of imagination, bad spelling, translation, subdivision, and multiplication, the 15,000 Negritos are split up into 21 "tribes."

There are also said to be 16 Indonesian "tribes" in the island of Mindanao. It would be interesting to know where the commissioners obtained this information. The interior of Mindanao has never been explored; all that is known of it with any degree of certainty is that the inhabitants are Indonesians and that they are divided into sections under small chiefs or headmen.

It would be impossible, in the time at my disposal, to even attempt to explain all the errors and confusions of this list prepared by the Schurman Commission. It is sufficient to say that by the processes which I have indicated the few semicivilized people and the civilized inhabitants of the provincial districts in Luzon and the Visayas have been multiplied into 84 "tribes."

Now, as a native of the country and as one who has given some attention to the ethnography of the archipelago, both by personal research and by study of the best works on the subject, I may be permitted to give a brief statement of the facts.

There has been a considerable amount of speculation about the Negritos, who are erroneously regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole archipelago. But Pedro A. Paterno, one of the most capable ethnologists, and others have shown that the Negritos are the surviving remnant of the slaves brought to our islands by the Moros in the eleventh and subsequent centuries. They are not specially Negroid in appearance, and only those inhabiting the province of Bataan in Luzon have curly hair.

In the large and only partially explored island of Mindanao there are several Indonesian "tribes," the chief of which are the Subanos, estimated to number from fifty to seventy thousand, and the Mendayas, who are estimated to number 35,000; and the Tagabauas, comprising about 30,000. The Mendayas and the Manobos are said to practice—the one human sacrifice and the other ceremonial cannibalism. It is also said that the small "tribe" of 4,000 Ilongotes in Luzon are head-hunters. This has been denied and asserted on equally untrustworthy authority. I have never met nor heard of any one who has witnessed any of these practices. The information has always come from a

neighboring people. The idea has probably arisen by travelers having seen the heads of criminals erected on spears, just as one might have witnessed the same thing a century or two ago on Temple Bar or London Bridge. But if that proved head-hunting on the part of the Ilongotes, it also proves that the English people were head-hunters.

If, however, these statements are true, they are paralleled by the scalp-hunting Indians of the United States and by the human sacrifices and ceremonial cannibalism of the Canadian Indians.

There are also the Moros of Mindanao and the Sulus. They are, of course, Mohammedans, and some of their institutions are contrary to the true ideals of morality and liberty.

There are a few natives on Mindoro who have not been Christianized nor tyrannized by Spain. But they have a religion and a code of morals of their own, the latter of which they adhere to, and which in many respects is superior to that practiced by the Spaniards. They believe in one God and are monogamists. They are a moral and hospitable people, who do their duty to their fellow-man, worship God in their own way, and do not believe in any kind or form of devil.

The so-called wild men of Luzon are the Igorrotes, who are "war-like but semicivilized people, living in villages, owning farms and cattle, irrigating their rice fields, mining and working gold and copper and forging swords and spearheads of iron," but who have never been converted to Christianity or subdued by Spain. They are, however, prepared to submit to and recognize Aguinaldo's government, and have sent him presents of gold dust to assist in the war. The Igorrotes are probably an early branch of the Malayan race, which originally populated the island.

These uncivilized and semicivilized people are not separate genealogical tribes. The inhabitants of Mindanao are a homogeneous people of common Indonesian descent, who have become divided into sections under petty chiefs or head men, some of which have slight differences of dialect which have arisen gradually, owing to there being little or no intercommunication. But most of them speak the same dialect.

Let us now glance very briefly at the remaining millions of Filipinos who are generally regarded as belonging to the Malayan race.

They constitute more than nineteen-twentieths of the entire population of the archipelago, and are divided into provincial districts, inhabited by the Visayans, the Tagalogs, the Bicol, the Ilocanos, the Pangasinans, and the Cagayans. All of these provincial people belong to one race, and all of them are Christian people practicing the morals and arts of civilization, and speaking dialects which are as similar to each other as are the dialects of the different provinces in England. The divergence between these dialects is much less than that between the Spanish and Italian languages. I have traveled alone in Italy; I do not know Italian; but I have had no difficulty in understanding and in

making myself understood by the Italians. Similarly, I have traveled in the Visayas and elsewhere in the Philippines and have had very much less difficulty in communicating with the Visayans and the Bicolos. A Tagalog will become proficient in the Visayan or other dialects within a fortnight, and vice versa.

As a matter of fact, the difference between the dialects of the seven provincial districts would not be a real difficulty to independent self-government: First, because the difference is so slight, and, secondly, because Spanish is the official language of our country, spoken by the educated people of all provinces; and the Schurman Commission declares that these educated people are far more numerous than is generally supposed. When Tagalogs, or Visayans, or Bicolos meet they never dream of speaking in their own dialects; intercourse between them is carried on in Spanish. And I may state, parenthetically, that the Filipinos have so excelled in Spanish as to have won valuable literary prizes in competition with the Spaniards themselves. Dr. Jose Rizal at the age of 17 took the first prize in the Cervantes literary competition at Manila, which was open to Spaniards and Filipinos alike in both Spain and the Philippines.

But if language were a difficulty under Filipino rule, it would be a still greater difficulty under American rule, due to the necessity of the introduction of English, which would form a third language in our islands.

Other countries do not find that a difference in language forms difficulty to self-government. In every country in the world, with perhaps the exception of the United States, there are two or more languages or dialects spoken by the people.

The only difficulty with regard to language in any of these countries has been due to jealousy as to which language should become the official one. This difficulty has already been settled in the Philippines.

Now as to the supposed enmity between the so-called "tribes." Such enmity is quite unknown among our people. There may be, and no doubt there is, enmity between individuals, but the enmity does not exist between the so-called "tribes" or provinces. During the short term when our government was not interfered with the most perfect harmony and unanimity existed, and provincial and racial differences were never even thought of.

When our government was first established, emissaries came from almost all the provinces and islands declaring their support on behalf of those from whom they came. Even the Moros of Mindanao and the Igorrotes of north Luzon, who had never been subdued by Spain, acclaimed Aguinaldo, and were prepared to recognize his government. Our "asamblea" or representative chamber, under the new constitution, comprised representatives of all the provinces. Some of these provinces include two or more islands, while some of these islands are divided into

two or more provinces. Thus, the province of Romblon includes the islands of Romblon, Tablas, Sibuyan, and other smaller islands, while Panay is divided into four and Luzon into many provinces. It should be remembered that these provinces are separated by artificial boundaries. They are geographical but not racial areas. Frequently in one province two dialects are used, as in north Camarines, where Tagalog and Bicol are spoken. On the other hand, in some cases two or more provinces use only one dialect, as in the thirteen provinces where Tagalog is spoken.

A Spaniard or other foreigner can not distinguish any difference in the accent of the inhabitants of these thirteen provinces, although a native may in some cases, but not in all, be able to tell whether a speaker is from, say, Batangas or Bulacan. But to imagine that the inhabitants of these provinces generally are at enmity with each other or that they would be likely to tear each other's throats is as absurd as to suppose that the inhabitants of Massachusetts would naturally desire to rend the men of New Hampshire or Rhode Island.

The interrelations of the people of the several provincial districts show that no such enmity has existed or does now exist. For instance, in the schools and colleges, especially in Manila, there are representatives of all the chief provincials, and it would be impossible to tell which were which. I may be pardoned for here referring to myself. I am a Tagalog, but it would be impossible for another Filipino to say, judging from external appearance only, whether I am a Bicol, a Visayan, a Tagalog, or a Pangasinan. The only way of discovering from which provincial district I came would be by means of the dialect.

There are many institutions in the Philippines the benefits of which are not confined to the people of any one province. For example, there is one educational institution (purely Filipino) granting scholarships which enable the winners to study in Europe. These scholarships are open to all Filipinos in the archipelago.

In Japan the official representative of the so-called "Tagalog despotism" is an Ilocano. In Madrid all the Filipinos have formed themselves into a committee and are working unitedly for independence. The president of the committee is a Bicol, the vice-president an Ilocano, the secretary a Visayan, the treasurer a Tagalog, and the remainder of the committee are Tagals, Visayans, Bucols, Ilocanos, and Pangasinans. In Barcelona, in Paris, and in London, the same diversity of province and the same unanimity of purpose obtain. Among all the Filipinos resident in Europe who represent the educated and moneyed classes, and who know something of European government, there is not one "Americanista."

This is an important fact, because all these men are entirely free from the supposed despotism of Aguinaldo or General MacArthur. They are thus free from all external influences, yet every one of them has

voluntarily chosen to support Aguinaldo and to work for the independence of our country. As a matter of fact, with the exception of the few uncivilized tribes in central Mindanao and the Sulus and the semi-civilized Igorrotes and Negritos of Luzon, to which I have referred, the Filipinos are a homogeneous people belonging to the Malayan race. They speak several dialects, but they are one people. They constitute an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Philippines. They are opposed not solely to American but to any foreign rule, and they are united in the desire for independence and for the purpose of maintaining a stable, independent government.

In conclusion, I again assert, without any fear of contradiction, that the alleged antagonisms between the inhabitants of the provincial districts or between the so-called "tribes" have arisen, not in the minds of the Filipinos themselves, but in the minds of those who do not understand our people and who have reached conclusions in no way warranted by the facts.

I have been asked to say a word about the so-called "tribes" not included in the Commissioners' list. It has been stated that the "Macabebes are fighting on the American side." The statement has been made in a manner which would convey the idea that the Macabebes are a large tribe, somewhat like the Tagalogs, and that it is therefore clear that all the Filipinos do not desire native rule. You will no doubt be surprised to learn that the Macabebes or Macabebians, as they should be called, are simply the inhabitants of the town of Macabebe in Pangasinana. The population of this town has been estimated at from four to ten thousand all told, and of these only 200 are scouting for the American forces. If that shows disunity on the part of 10,000,000 of Filipinos—well, "make the most of it."

I should like to mention that these same Macabebians also fought for Spain against the Filipinos in the insurrection of 1896. Apparently they prefer foreign rule of any kind, whether it be Spanish or American, to that of their own. We are glad, therefore, that such men as these are not fighting on our side.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, it appears from this paper by Lopez that the so-called innumerable tribes of that country fade away upon investigation; that they were created on paper by dividing names and translating names into other languages until one tribe counted for a dozen, and that in reality we are fighting a united people who are struggling for independence. We are trying to deprive them of their liberty by force of arms. We are doing exactly what has been done by every conqueror who has set out to rob a nation of its freedom during all history, declaring to the world we are doing

it for the good of our victim. That the Philippine war will continue for years, if we choose to continue it, I believe is inevitable. It may outlast our own Republic. One hundred thousand men are not a sufficient number to send upon a liberty-destroying mission against 8,000,000 people who have shown themselves to be as brave as the Filipinos. We have killed but 35,000 of them in all our murderous work. The impression is but slight. One-half of their area has never been seen by our soldiers. Less than one-quarter of it is in our possession. If we pass the Army bill and send to that country such men as we can spare, it simply means that we will continue to occupy with scattered posts less than a third of the villages and cities within the islands.

I have in my hand an extract from a leaflet containing letters and notes communicated by the insurgent generals to a general Filipino committee outside of the island, and I am going to read it because it not only describes our methods of warfare, but indicates clearly the purpose of the Filipinos, for it was written before the election, to continue the contest indefinitely:

On the contrary, the defenders of the nation do not sleep nor rest, dealing more or less heavy blows to the enemy and demonstrating by their audacity and persistence that they are fully cognizant of the rights which they are defending. No, never shall we give in. We desire, we want, and we are striving for peace, but peace only on the basis of the recognition of the independence of the Philippines, the only honorable, lasting, and feasible peace possible. Our honorable president tells me that you are to work unceasingly for that recognition; that you are not to enter into any negotiation unless it be on the basis of that condition, and that you are to tell the whole world and America especially, that independence is the only thing we are striving for; that this is the desire of the whole healthy-minded nation, and that only a few whose minds have become diseased by the germs of power differ from that wish, and that there can be no peace whatever in the archipelago until independence has been gained.

* * * * *

A great battle is being fought between imperialists and anti-imperialists, on whose respective banners our slavery and our freedom have been inscribed. I can not tell, nor do I think that I am justified in expressing an opinion as to what will be the final result. All I can say is that I have implicit faith that the voice of justice, properly aided by the

tenacity, conviction, and heroism shown by our soldiers, will finally triumph in the conscience and heart of the American people. I fully trust that the vicious intention of McKinley to subject us by force will never succeed and that we shall not require the iron rod of his education to get a proper government. But if his fate and our misfortune should cause him to obtain by purchasing them a majority of the votes, and therewith the power, I am ready to maintain the same activity that I am showing to-day; ready to remain unreconciled and warlike, not only for four years but for ten and more—in fact, for such a length of time as will be needed to recover that which all of us consider our right and our property. I am of the opinion that to remain unreconciled would be one of the most potent factors in obtaining our longed-for independence and in banishing from our shores those Stars and Stripes to which we once looked with such adoration.

The Americans are issuing orders in which they quote the laws of civilized warfare and in which they promise that they will treat their prisoners fairly; but, very far from fulfilling what they promise, they are treating the officers of our army with the utmost cruelty when they chance to fall into their hands. As, for instance, Capt. Ceferino Francisco, whom they condemned to 50 lashes a day in a prison at Laoag (Ilocos Norte), exposing him then to the heat of the sun, and condemning him afterwards to hard labor. The same was done to Lieut. Andres Gabriel and a captain of "Sandatahan," whom they are whipping daily in the district of Cabugao (Ilocos Sur).

More yet. Many countrymen that are suspected of being participants in the war are subjected to every class of torture. They are exposed to the sun for hours and hours at a stretch, water, vinegar, or wine being poured into their nostrils or their mouth, and a thousand other tortures, all more or less cruel. The deaths of Messrs. José Ber and Juan Avila, living at San Miguel de Sanat, San Nicolas (both in Ilocos Norte), are due to such treatment. Commander Panganiban is now working as a prisoner in the public streets of Taal (Batangas), in the same place where under the Spanish dominion he had been a gobernadorcillo (sort of subgovernor and justice of the peace); and we understand that he is not the only one, either, who is suffering such a shameful treatment in the same province. Information is pouring in from all parts of that district showing us that the rudest treatment, the most humiliating punishments, are dealt out to those whom they take prisoners, without stopping to make any inquiries and without distinction of classes.

A great many inhabitants of the province of Cebu have been also condemned to convict labor, all of them political criminals, amongst whom was the local president of Siloan, a man 70 years old, who more than once has fallen fainting to the ground, without the slightest compassion being shown to his advanced years.

The Americans think, perhaps, that by means of such Neronean conduct they will succeed in intimidating the other islanders, but they will be disappointed; for, like true patriots, they have disregarded the threats of their enemies, and have flatly refused, as did the 329 electors of the capital, to participate in the election to avoid signing the oath of acknowledgment by which they were to recognize the American sovereignty, and they were unanimous in the decision that to give their vote, even without swearing, meant nothing more than the tacit acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the dominion claimed by the enemy, since in doing so they would concede his right to create, even against our wish, authorities and institutions on our soil. The district chiefs and the inhabitants in crowds presented themselves to the American governor, openly declaring that they did not care to swear, that they had their own nationality and authorities; and the local president of Danao and his subordinates, though captured and illtreated, could not be shaken in their firm decision not to acknowledge in any manner the new system nor to assist in introducing the same, because it is the order of an invading government, not our own, and the chief persons have declared that they will rather be shot than submit to any other but a Filipino government.

Thanks to the samples of an imperialistic education that have been offered them, the uncivilized Filipinos, as the Americans are accustomed to call them, are now getting thoroughly undeceived as to the civilization and kindness of those who pretend to be their masters, and, far from thinning our ranks, they are strengthening them daily, for to the love of their country there is added now the desire for revenge, and these together will render the Filipinos immovable in the defense of their country and their rights.

MR. GALLINGER: Who is the author of that paper?

MR. PETTIGREW: It is an extract from a leaflet containing notes communicated by the insurgent generals to the central Filipino committee, outside of the island. It was sent to Europe, to this country, and to Hongkong.

* * * * *

Now, Mr. President, it seems deplorable that the American Army has to be lectured by the people whom it is fighting—has to be asked to maintain the rules of civilized warfare and to conduct its operations humanely. Dewey says that Aguinaldo was wonderfully successful against the Spaniards, and that he advised him to conduct the war humanely, and he had done so invariably. Dewey turned over to the Filipinos

many hundred Spanish prisoners taken at Subig Bay. There has been no complaint of their brutal treatment. On the contrary, it is a matter of history that they were treated kindly and humanely, and finally they escaped or were released.

No, Mr. President; war is brutalizing, and as we continue year by year in the Orient brutality will increase and the disgrace to this great Republic will deepen. The way to escape criticism for our acts is to give the Filipinos their liberty, their own government.

Who are the people we are fighting? No longer is it claimed that they are savages, because the unvarying testimony is that a greater per cent of them can read and write than can be found in the population of many of our States or within half the countries of Europe. It can no longer be maintained that they are savages, because the proof is conclusive that all the people we are fighting are members of the Catholic Church. The benign influence of the Christian religion has been over them for centuries. Our soldiers testify that they found books in almost every house and that they found schoolhouses everywhere. In fact, they set up a government and continued it for six months, and this government was maintained throughout the entire group of islands, covering every portion of it but the dominion of the Sultan of Sulu and the city of Manila, which was occupied by our Army. They had adopted a postal system, had engraved and issued their own postage stamps, and were in control of a telegraph line owned by their government and operated by it. They organized a central school system, under the control of the general government. Peace and prosperity and happiness existed throughout all this great population, now sadly destroyed over about a quarter of the area of the islands by the presence of the despotic power of our imperial army of invasion.

I have, Mr. President, a letter from a gentleman who was taken prisoner and was for a long time in the hands of the Filipinos. For the purpose of corroborating what I have said I will ask to have the Clerk read this letter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER: The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW YORK, *December 26, 1900.*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 20th I hereby offer you any assistance that lies within my power. After a consultation with Messrs. Scribner's Sons, with whom I have made a contract to publish my book on the Philippines, I find that they have no objection to my position as an anti-imperialist before the public, although my narrative takes rather an unbiased stand. It gives merely an account of my ten months' experience as a prisoner of war among the insurgents of Luzon, stating facts as they presented themselves to my eyes, regardless of political factions, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions, which can not, however, but be in favor of the Filipinos.

With regard to the authentic facts for which you have asked me, I am rather puzzled as to what you could make the best use of. If you mean anything that comes within my own personal experience, I am only too glad to serve you. Possibly I had best give you a brief outline. On January 27, 1899, I left Manila in company with a friend and entered the insurgent lines for the purpose of taking photographs. We were arrested as spies and taken on to the insurgent capital at Malolos, and there held until hostilities broke out, a week later. The Filipinos certainly had every right to take us for spies, since we were dressed in civilian clothes and had a camera in our possession, my companion being recognized as a member of the American Army.

Upon learning that the outbreak had occurred, great excitement prevailed at Malolos. A wild rabble gathered before the gates of the prison in which we were confined and attempted to drag us out, but our guards, the insurgent regular soldiers, threw themselves in between us and the mob, fighting in our defense until we were removed to safer quarters. This rather goes to prove that the insurgents are neither savages nor armed rabble, but well disciplined and acquainted with the rules of international law.

We were also informed by Filipino officials several days later that the outbreak was the result of a sentry's blunder and that they had hastened to apologize and offered to make reparation, but that General Otis had refused to consider all advances made by them for a peaceful settlement.

In March the renewed activity of the Americans forced the insurgents to retreat to San Isidro, taking us with them. Our treatment was at times hard, but owing rather to circumstances than to the Filipinos themselves, who seemed on the whole inclined to make our lot as bearable as possible.

In San Isidro we were joined by Lieutenant Gilmore and several of his men on April 22.

In May we were once more on the march, together with several

hundreds of Spaniards, retreating constantly until, in June, we found ourselves in Vigan, the capital of the northern province of Ilocos.

Here several of us became seriously ill and were sent to the local hospital. Medicines and medical skill were sadly in want. Still we were treated equally as well as the wounded Filipinos themselves, the women nursing us as they did their own.

In September we were taken up the Abra River to Bangued, in the heart of the Abra Mountains, and here we were allowed the full liberty of the town, well treated and cared for. I was able to teach school here, for which I received a pay almost equal to that of a second lieutenant in the insurgent army. Many of my companions were able to do likewise; all, in fact, that were capable of speaking the Spanish language. Even during the war the Filipinos established schools in every town, and Vigan could boast of an excellent college which followed its daily routine as in times of peace. Upon the arrival of the Americans these schools and colleges were broken up, and the buildings ever since have been confiscated as barracks.

I also observed that every Filipino under 30 could read and write, if not Spanish, at least his native dialect. The Spanish friars discouraged the study of Spanish, and for this reason the poorer people were unable to learn more than what was taught in the convent schools—reading, writing (in native dialect) Bible history, psalm singing, and the rudiments of arithmetic. Whenever given the opportunity, however, the people of all classes are anxious to learn and improve themselves.

In November I succeeded in effecting my escape, and was appointed guide and interpreter to General Young's forces. In this capacity I was able to make comparisons between the two governments and am forced to say that I drew my conclusions in favor of the Aguinaldo government. The people were more discontented, becoming more and more so every day. Our officers do not seem to understand the natives, and inspire fear rather than respect. Cock fighting, which is strictly forbidden by the insurgents, is freely allowed in American territory. Taxes are heavier than formerly, and our soldiers have so raised the prices of food products that the poorer people are suffering heavily from want.

These are the facts which I present to you now, but whether they are suitable for your purpose or not I can not say. Should you wish further details, I am willing to oblige you—or the cause rather—of which I am strongly in favor.

Respectfully yours,

ALBERT SONRICHSEN.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, this letter, written by an American who was a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents

for weeks, discloses a condition of peace and good government broken into by our Army. What are the conditions in that country to-day, where we are practicing the Spanish policy of concentrating these people in the towns? Already the newspapers inform us that the vacant room and space intended to be used for the accommodation of these reconcentrados in Manila are overcrowded. Not only are we collecting the population together as prisoners, after the Spanish method, removing them from their homes and congregating them in barracks, but we are deporting the leaders. This was what Spain did, and we complained about it. I suppose we are doing this to make the Filipinos love us and trade with us; that is what our statesmen say. In the interest of civilization we are concentrating this population in the barracks of the cities and deporting their leaders. For what? Simply because they have offended us by demanding their own government; simply because they ask for independence.

For my part, I can not understand how any American citizen can justify such a course or support it for a moment. Perhaps Senators do it because they neglect or refuse to inform themselves concerning the situation; because they neglect or refuse to call upon the Department for information, decline to listen, and refuse to read. It can not be that they hunger for information. They say they will not read in order to equip themselves for intelligent discussion. We are pursuing a course so contrary to everything in our history that our action certainly must be a matter of great astonishment among thinking men throughout the world.

I have here a letter written by A. Mabini, whom our imperialized Government has deported in an arbitrary, monarchical manner to the island of Guam. Mabini is a cripple, deformed and distorted by hardships inflicted upon him in an inquisitorial Spanish prison, because he rebelled against Spain when Spain maintained the sovereignty of the sword over that country. This punishment was bestowed upon him because he undertook to secure freedom for his people. He was deported by us because, when the Filipinos had thrown off Spain's dominion, we tried to deprive his people of their liberty and he

resisted the effort. I ask unanimous consent to have the Secretary read this letter. It is brief, and it states what the Filipinos want, from one of the ablest men among them, written by a man who would do honor to any country if he were a citizen thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER: The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[Letter of A. Mabini, addressed to the correspondents of the principal American newspapers then at Manila.]

MANILA, January 22, 1900.

Messrs. WILLIAM DINWIDDIE, JOHN F. BASS, and JOHN F. McCUTCHEON, Correspondents of *Harper's Weekly*, *New York Herald*, *San Francisco Call*, and the *Chicago Record*.

GENTLEMEN: Being convinced that you are treating the Philippine questions with an impartial mind and with a tendency to prevent that the public opinion in the United States be led astray, and that it be such as becomes a great, free, and civilized people, I take the liberty of requesting you herewith that you make generally known the following points:

(1) The Filipino nation does not cherish any systematic hatred against the foreigners; on the contrary, it is ready to receive with the greatest gratitude all who evince the desire of coöperating with it in the pursuit of its freedom and happiness.

(2) The Filipinos maintain their fight against the American troops not because of an especial hatred, but in order to show to the American people that, far from being indifferent as to their political situation, they know how to sacrifice themselves for a government which assures them their individual liberty and which governs them in conformity with the wishes and the needs of the people. They have been unable to avoid that fight, owing to the fact that they have been unable to obtain from the American Government any kind of formal and clear promise regarding the establishment of such a kind of government.

(3) The present condition and state of war deprives the people of the chance to manifest freely their aspirations; therefore the Filipinos desire most ardently that the Congress of the United States provide for some means to listen to them before adopting a resolution that would mean a definite decision regarding their future.

(4) To bring about that, the Filipinos request the Congress that it nominate either an American commission, which would have to find ways and means to meet such Filipinos who enjoy a positive influence both with the peaceful part and with that part of the nation which is now in arms, or that it call for a commission composed of such Filipinos,

in order to be informed by them directly as to the wishes and needs of the people.

(5) In order to provide a possibility of receiving a complete information of this sort and in order that the work of the commission, whichever may be its composition, have for a final result the establishment of peace, it is requested that the American army of occupation do not interfere with the free and unhampered manifestation of the opinion of the people in either the press or in peaceful meetings; that the same suspend for the time being their attacks on the Filipino posts, while, of course, also the latter would bind themselves not to undertake anything whatever against the American troops, and, further, that the commissioners be given the greatest liberty to communicate with the revolutionists.

(6) In view of the obvious success of the American arms, even the least rational Filipino can not help admitting that all concessions of the class would mean nothing else but an act of liberality on the side of the North American people, which appears to me to be one additional reason why the Congress should show benevolence and indulgence.

I confidently hope that when the Americans and Filipinos have come to know each other better not only the present conflict will come to an end, but that also any future ones will be avoided. The opinion prevailing among the impartial part of the American nation appears to tend toward adhering to its old traditions and the spirit of justice and humanity, which constitute at the present time the sole hope of all upright Filipinos.

Thanking you beforehand for the great favor which you will confer upon me by complying with my request, I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

AP MABINI.

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MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, I am very glad to have a choice made and to find out what is the most important business before the Senate and the country. Yesterday it looked as though it was more important that the campaign debt should be paid and that the subsidy job should be the first thing to be considered, no matter if we kept our volunteers in the Philippines and refused to relieve them when their terms of enlistment had expired, and that the haste over the Army bill had disappeared from the horizon.

I am very glad to find out to-day (and I thought I would try and test the question) that after all the Army bill is the

most important to consider. I fear, however, if there were not time to consider both, the Army bill would have to give place to that most important consideration, the question whether the trail of corn, as the Senator from Tennessee [MR. TURLEY] designates it, should be strewn from the crib to the hungry mouths of the so-called shipbuilders of this country.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: The question is on agreeing to the report of the committee of conference.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, I do not care to continue this discussion. I must regret that such a discussion is necessary in an American Congress. Still more do I regret that it is made possible; that it is true that we are engaged in an effort to subjugate another people against their will to a rule distasteful to them. I would have said four years ago that it could never happen that this Republic would be pursuing a murderous warfare against another people for no offense in the world but their refusal to surrender their own liberty and become either a State in the Union against their will, or a colony outside of the Constitution. Who would have believed it? We thought we were writing a new page in the history of the world, declaring to all mankind that nations could do right; that the obligation was upon them as strongly as upon the individual; that the integrity and character and honor of the people in the aggregate was as sacred as the integrity and character and honor of the individual, who is a component part of the aggregation. And that this nation, dedicated to liberty, an example for the world, inviting all the oppressed of every land to share our freedom, should be proposing to raise an army to crush out the liberty sought for and fought for by another people, certainly marks an era in our affairs, and writes a page in our history burdened with everlasting disgrace and shame.

If Mr. McKinley's opponent had triumphed in the last campaign, to-day there would be no effort to pass an Army bill, no effort to raise taxes to carry on a conquest across the sea. This bill would not have been brought in; and on the 5th of next March the first act of the incoming Executive would have been to withdraw our troops from that country and

give its people their liberty. Five thousand men only would have been needed to protect American interests until the government could be restored, which we have partially destroyed in that country, which would have been to the satisfaction and contentment of the people who reside in those islands. I wish this might have happened. I believe it might have happened if the American people had not been deceived by withholding information and by disseminating among them false information concerning the issue.

I do not believe the great heart of the American people throbs in response to this policy of conquest; that the people favor this enlargement of an army for the single purpose of unprovoked conquest. I do not believe they will do other than condemn the paragraph in the bill which allows us to enlist savages to murder, burn, and rob the Christian people of the Philippines, as the Secretary of War says has been their practice.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SULTAN OF SULU

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ the Sulu group of islands are located between the island of Borneo and the island of Mindanao, of the Philippine group. They are 150 in number. These islands were conquered by the Moham-medans about eight centuries ago, and they have maintained, as long as we have any history of them, a government of their own, having an absolute monarch for a ruler. Spain claimed ownership over these islands, and has undertaken at various times to take possession of them. Her power and authority reached the distance only from the shores of the islands which could be traversed by projectiles from the cannon of her fleet. These people have been pirates and slaveholders and polygamists from the earliest record of their transactions.

In 1876 Spain undertook to conquer their islands and assert her authority over them, but the effort failed; and finally the aggressive powers entered into a treaty with the Sultan by which Spain was to keep an officer representing that Government and a small number of troops at the capital of the Sulu group. The Sultan agreed to recognize the suzerainty of the King of Spain and promised to suppress piracy. He received from Spain certain salaries as compensation for his recognition of the suzerainty of the King of Spain.

Whether or not the commissioners at Paris knew what they were buying I can not tell; but in some way we purchased the entire group, including all the Philippines; and we now find that the Sultan not only has the Sulu group under his jurisdiction and control, but also the large island of Mindanao, embracing an area as large as the State of Indiana, and also the

1. Speech in the Senate January 24, 1900.

island of Palawan. These two islands, or portions of them, nearly their whole area, are under the immediate control of a subsultan, who owes some sort of allegiance to the Sultan of the Sulu Islands.

The island of Mindanao has never been explored by the white people, and it was never under the jurisdiction of Spain, except that two or three of its coast ports were occupied by that power. In our treaty with Spain we take title to this entire group, as well as to the Philippines. Last summer we made a new agreement with these people, which I desire to read in order that it may go in the RECORD. I will read first this dispatch from Manila, dated July 12, 1899:

Manila special, July 12, 1899.

General Bates, in the capacity of agent of the United States Government, sailed for Jolo this morning to negotiate with the Sultan of Jolo regarding the future relations of the Jolo (or Sulu) Archipelago, including the Basilans, as a naval station. The Sultan assumes that the Jolos reverted to him, the evacuation of the Spaniards nullifying the treaty of 1878. General Bates will explain to the Sultan that the Americans succeeded the Spaniards in the treaty, assuming its obligations and continuing the annuities it provides for. He will also present to the Sultan \$10,000 in Mexican money as an evidence of good will. The local administration of the Jolos will remain unchanged. The Sultan will enforce the law, and will also be expected to fly the American flag continuously and coöperate with America to maintain order and suppress piracy. The Sultan will retain possession of the pearl fishing and the island trade, which will be conducted in such a way as to forward the development of the resources of the islands for the mutual benefit of Americans and natives.

General Bates then entered into the following agreement:

Agreement between Brig. Gen. John C. Bates, representing the United States, of the one part, and His Highness the Sultan of Sulu, the Dato Rajah Muda, the Dato Attik, the Dato Kalki, and the Dato Joakanain, of the other part; it being understood that this agreement will be in full force only when approved by the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands and confirmed by the President of the United States and will be subjected to future modifications by the mutual consent of the parties in interest.

I deem it proper to state that this agreement has been confirmed by the President of the United States in a letter

transmitting the treaty to the Senate. However, this is a treaty apparently with a quasi sovereign power, over which the Senate, according to our new doctrine of imperialism, has no other authority and no control, and it requires no ratification by the Senate and no consideration on our part.

ARTICLE 1. The sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged.

ART. 2. The United States flag will be used in the archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies on land and sea.

ART. 3. The rights and dignities of his highness the Sultan and his datos shall be fully respected; the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion.

ART. 4. While the United States may occupy and control such points in the archipelago of Sulu as public interests seem to demand, encroachment will not be made upon the lands immediately about the residence of his highness the Sultan unless military necessity require such occupation in case of war with a foreign power, and where the property of individuals is taken, due compensation will be made in each case.

Any person can purchase land in the archipelago of Sulu and hold the same by obtaining the consent of the Sultan and coming to a satisfactory agreement with the owner of the land, and such purchase shall immediately be registered in the proper office of the United States Government.

ART. 5. All trade in domestic products of the archipelago of Sulu, when carried on by the Sultan and his people with any part of the Philippine Islands and when conducted under the American flag, shall be free, unlimited, and undutiable.

ART. 6. The Sultan of Sulu shall be allowed to communicate direct with the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands in making complaint against the commanding officer of Sulu or against any naval commander.

ART. 7. The introduction of firearms and war material is forbidden, except under specific authority of the Governor-General of the Philippines.

ART. 8. Piracy must be suppressed, and the Sultan and his datos agree to heartily coöperate with the United States authorities to that end and to make every possible effort to arrest and bring to justice all persons engaged in piracy.

ART. 9. Where crimes and offenses are committed by Moros against Moros, the Government of the Sultan will bring to trial and punishment the criminals and offenders, who will be delivered to the Government of the Sultan by the United States authorities, if in their

possession. In all other cases persons charged with crimes or offenses will be delivered to the United States authorities for trial and punishment.

ART. 10. Any slave in the archipelago of Sulu shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value.

And I will show later on that slavery exists in its worst form.

ART. 12. At present Americans or foreigners wishing to go into the country should state their wishes to the Moro authorities and ask for an escort, but it is hoped that this will become unnecessary as we know each other better.

ART. 13. The United States will give full protection to the Sultan and his subjects in case any foreign nation should attempt to impose upon them.

ART. 14. The United States will not sell the island of Sulu or any other island of the Sulu Archipelago to any foreign nation without the consent of the Sultan of Sulu.

ART. 15. The United States Government will pay the following monthly salaries:

To the Sultan, \$250; to Dato Rajah Muda, \$75; To Dato Attik, \$60; to Dato Calbe, \$75; to Dato Joakanain, \$75; to Dato Puyo, \$60; to Dato Amir Haissin, \$60; to Habji Buter, \$50; to Habib Mura, \$40; to Serif Saguin, \$15.

Signed in triplicate, in English and Sulu, at Jolo, this 20th day of August, A. D. 1899 (13th Arakuil Akil 1317.)

The SULTAN SULU.
Dato RAJAH MUDA.
Dato ATTIK.
Dato CALBE.
Dato JOAKANAIN.

Signed: J. C. BATES,
Brigadier-General, U. S. V.

The annual aggregate of these salaries is \$9,120. The Spanish agreement was for \$6,300 a year. This agreement was one we offered to the Sultan, not one that he insisted upon. It is our own proposition that we are to maintain slavery in the Sulu Islands.

Further than that, Mr. President, an investigation would show that, although this agreement was made on the 20th day of August, it was not possible to secure from the State Department a copy of the agreement until after the election in Ohio.

More than that, the Associated Press endeavored to secure a copy of the agreement, and as a response to the application of that great news-promulgating organization, its representative was handed a copy of the agreement in Arabic—Sulu Arabic at that; and they could not find anybody in the United States who was able to translate it. The State Department had a copy in English, for the last paragraph of the treaty says, "Signed in triplicate, in English and Sulu, at Jolo, this 20th day of August, 1899."

From this it would appear that the State Department does not hesitate to withhold information or mislead and deceive the public. I therefore expect but little in the way of the real facts in answer to our resolutions.

I wonder if our State Department has two branches, as the English state department has—one that is secret, where secret matter is concealed forever from the public and never published in the Blue Book, and one which is given to the people in order to justify English robbery, English plunder, and English annexation, in which is filed the information that goes in the Blue Book to silence the conscience of the English people. Have we adopted the same policy of concealment, the same policy of refusal to let the public know what exists?

I say this agreement, when the Associated Press tried to get a copy of it before the Senate convened, was furnished in Arabic, and an Arabic used in the Sulu Islands. Therefore it was not possible to have it translated in the United States, and we only got this copy which I have read after Congress convened and after the elections last fall were over. This is on a par and in line with the whole business of concealing from the American people the facts in regard to our maiden foreign venture. We are unable to procure the truth through General Otis. Mr. Collins, of the Associated Press, says the censor told him he was to send nothing and they were going to allow nothing to be sent that would injure the Administration or help Mr. Bryan.

Here is an agreement by which we are to maintain not only slavery, but polygamy in the Sulu Islands. Here is an agreement by which our flag is made to float over two crimes; and

we further solemnly agree that no nation in the world shall be permitted to interfere. It is the chief part of the business of the Sultan of Sulu to get into quarrels with the natives of the interior in the island of Mindanao; then to declare that they are in revolt against his authority. Upon this pretext he takes prisoners and sells them into slavery, the planters of Borneo being the purchasers. That has been his business heretofore whenever he needed money. We now propose to maintain that sort of thing under the flag of the United States, and we stipulate, and the stipulation is approved by the President, that no foreign nation shall be permitted to interfere.

MR. SPOONER: Does the Senator wish to be understood as asserting that the President approved article 10 of this agreement, which refers to slavery in the archipelago of Sulu?

MR. PETTIGREW: I do.

MR. SPOONER: Well, the President says in his message—and if the Senator will permit me I will read it—

I have confirmed said agreement, subject to the action of the Congress, and with the reservation, which I have directed shall be communicated to the Sultan of Jolo, that this agreement is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu Archipelago. I communicate these facts to the Congress for its information and action.

MR. PETTIGREW: The President approves of an agreement which provides that the slave may purchase his liberty at the usual market price, and according to the first paragraph of the agreement it goes in full force upon the approval of the President and can not after that be altered except by another agreement. This transaction is on a par with all the other inconsistencies attached to this miserable business. He then says that he wants the Sultan to understand that he does not authorize slavery; though he has approved the agreement which ratifies slavery. How could he transmit the agreement to us with his approval and then send word back to the Sultan that he did not wish to be understood as approving slavery? Who knows whether or not the word will ever get to the Sul-

tan? It is merely an effort at double dealing and can not be otherwise construed, in my opinion.

The President sends a proclamation to Mr. Otis to be announced to the people of the Philippines, and Mr. Otis edits it, censors it, and then inserts other matter in the place of that taken out, so as to convey a wrong impression to the people of the Philippines. After it has been sufficiently doctored he publishes the revised proclamation. After this sort of deception he still continues to hold his office. He is still maintained there with the approval of the President, and now we are told that word has been sent to the Sultan of Sulu that the Administration does not mean that which it has approved. I say it is in line with the whole policy from the beginning to the end. Almost everything we receive here in regard to this matter is on a par with the transmittal to the Associated Press of a copy of the Sulu agreement in Sulu Arabic to conceal the infamy until after the elections were over last fall. It is on a par with the statement of the commissioners who made this agreement, which I shall proceed to read. Mr. Schurman in an interview says:

It seems to me that were it not for the ignorance displayed the present hue and cry about polygamy and slavery in these islands would be absolutely criminal.

If it were not for the ignorance displayed, the present hue and cry about polygamy and slavery would be absolutely criminal! I suppose the hue and cry about slavery before our civil war was criminal. Many people so asserted, many people honestly so believed, and I presume that Mr. Schurman honestly believes that the hue and cry about polygamy and slavery again existing under the flag of the United States would be criminal but for the ignorance of the people who cause it.

In taking over the Sulu group we have acquired no rights of any sort there except those bequeathed us by Spain.

And yet the President, time and again during last fall in his speeches everywhere made to the people, asserted that the flag meant the same thing everywhere, meant the same here, in the Sulu group, and in Hawaii; that it meant in every place

the same, and that its presence conferred liberty and happiness upon the people under it.

She was bound by her agreement with the Sultan not to interfere with the religion or customs of the islands, and it would be most unwise for us to attempt this by force when it can be ultimately accomplished by the slower method of civilization and education.

Mr. President, we tried the slower method of disposing of slavery and polygamy in the United States, also the slower method of civilization and education, but finally we resorted to war—the greatest war in modern times—and thereby succeeded in destroying slavery under our flag. It has been restored by the act of a President elected by the Republican party. How will it strike the veterans of that war to annex slavery after all these sacrifices and then propose to abolish it when the slaveholders conclude it is wrong and give their consent?

The Sulu group proper contains about 100,000 inhabitants. They are all Mohammedans. To attempt to interfere with the religion of these people would precipitate one of the bloodiest wars in which this country has ever been engaged. They are religious fanatics of the most pronounced type, who care nothing for death and believe that the road to heaven can be attained by killing Christians. Polygamy is a part of their religion, and slavery, about which so much is being said just now, is a mild type of feudal homage. The Sultan believes from what he has seen of Americans that they are ready to be friendly and deal honestly by him.

Mr. President, I will show what kind of feudal homage this slavery in the Philippines is. Owing to the fact that those people will fight, we prefer to indorse slavery and polygamy, and we attack the Christians in the island of Luzon and compel them to surrender—what? Surrender their desire for a government of their own. We prefer to turn from polygamy and slavery and indorse them, put our flag over them, and declare that nobody shall interfere with them, and then turn our armies and our navies to the destruction of the independence and freedom of a Christian population, which we also purchased from Spain.

I will read from the second edition of Mr. Foreman's

book, which was published in 1899, and brought up to date. He says:

The Sultanate is hereditary under the Salic law. The Sultan is supported by three ministers, one of whom acts as regent in his absence (for he might have to go to Mecca, if he had not previously done so), the other is minister of war, and the third is minister of justice and master of the ceremonies.

Slavery exists in a most ample sense. There are slaves by birth and others by conquest, such as prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, and those seized by piratical expeditions to other islands. A creole friend of mine, Don A. M., was one of these last. He had commenced clearing an estate for cane growing on the Negros coast some years ago, when he was seized and carried off to Sulu Island. In a few years he was ransomed and returned to Negros, where he formed one of the finest sugar haciendas and factories in the colony.

I now read from *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, by Featherman:

Slavery exists on Sulu Island, and the slaves, who were formerly brought from the Philippines, are not well treated, for their masters exercise the power of life and death over them, and sometimes kill them for trifling offenses. The *datos* frequently punish a disobedient or fugitive slave by drawing their *campilan* or *kris* and cutting off his head at one stroke without process of law.

And this is the mild form of feudal homage Schurman would have us believe should enjoy the protection of our flag until we can persuade the slaveholders that it is wrong.

Why did Schurman make this statement? The reason is plain. He did it just before the elections—about the time the State Department gave out the Sulu copy of the treaty for the information of the people of the United States. I contend that after this statement, made at the time it was, made by Mr. Schurman with an evident purpose to deceive, he has forfeited all right to be believed by anybody hereafter, and that his statements on all subjects in relation to the Philippines are not worthy of credence.

I read also from *St. John's Far East*, volume 2, page 192, as follows:

The slaves are collected from all parts of the archipelago, from Acheen Head to New Guinea, and from the south of Siam to the most northern parts of the Philippines. It is a regular slave market.

Then he describes the people. Not only have the slaveholders the right of life and death over their slaves, but the monarch himself has complete and full right to take the life of any of his subjects whenever he so chooses. There is no restraint upon him. In Senate Document No. 62, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session, there is printed from the *Contemporary Review* of June, 1898, by Claes Ericsson, what I shall read upon this subject. It is a description of a visit by Mr. Ericsson to the subsultan of the island of Palawan in 1894. It appears he went there for the purpose of gathering orchids, and he thus describes his visit to the Sultan of Palawan:

The Sultan was not in state attire; at least there was no suggestion of the imperial yellow in his close-fitting white trousers and vest, slippers embroidered with seed pearls, and scarlet fez. The two attendant nobles were much more gaily clad. Both wore tight jackets of blue silk, decked with gold buttons, and trousers of salmon red, ornamented with buttons of gold or gilt from the knee downward.

His Highness, who appeared to be about 50 years of age, had rather a pleasant expression, with a twinkle in his eye that reminded one of Arabi Pasha. A chair was brought, also vermouth and chocolate. With a cup of the last in my hand, I explained the purpose of my visit, which was to crave the Sultan's assistance in exploring Marangas Mountain. Smiling, he promised as many coolies as I needed, and I took my leave.

After visiting the mountains Mr. Ericsson returned for the purpose of securing another escort. He says:

Leaving men to collect the plants, I returned with the Sulus to the coast and embarked for Marangas. Wanting coolies for a journey to Dato Guah's village and an ascent of Panilingan Mountain, I paid the Sultan another visit; but the master of the ceremonies whispered that the moment was unfavorable. His highness was *susa*—that is, he had been vexed or troubled.

By means of discreet inquiries I learned the nature of his *susa*. It is a rather common story in the far east. Unable to lodge the whole of his wives in the "palace," His Highness boarded a few of them—not the prettiest, I suspect—in the houses of his followers. One of these peris, an outcast from the Palawan paradise through want of

room, consoled herself in the usual way—quite innocently, I was assured. The news reaching the Sultan, he sent for the venturesome lover and smilingly bade him be seated opposite himself. Not being altogether an idiot, the man had come armed. From his sarong the jeweled handle of his kris protruded, plain to see. After a few complimentary commonplaces had been exchanged His Highness remarked the weapon.

"Allah has been good to you, S'Ali," said he. "Those emeralds are very fine, and the diamonds are as stars in the heavens. If the blade match the hilt, you have a treasure. Show it to me."

Thrown off his guard, S'Ali drew the kris from its sheath and, holding it by the wavy blade, presented it to the Sultan. Instantly half a dozen of His Highness's attendants threw themselves upon the unfortunate fellow. He was overpowered in a moment and his hands securely tied behind his back.

"Take him out," said the Sultan, still smiling.

S'Ali was led away and lowered to the ground. Not a word did he utter. It was kismet. Why waste his breath? I did not learn the manner of his end, but it would be either by kris or bowstring. Let us hope it was the first. In the hands of a skillful executioner the kris is a merciful weapon. He was buried in the jungle behind the Sultan's "palace." Such was the susa of Muhammad Harum Narrasid, Iang de per-Tuan—"he who ruleth"—in the year of our Lord 1894. And the Spaniards were supposed to govern the island of Palawan!

And so are we supposed to govern these islands, and Old Glory floats over the throne.

I could understand why the Sultan did not care to see a European so soon after his crime. However, I obtained the coolies and sent them on.

I do not care, Mr. President, to delve deeper into the character of those people. I simply desire to show what we have secured by this purchase. It has developed that we have bought about 6,000,000 Christian people who are members of the Catholic Church, occupying the northern islands of the Philippine Archipelago; that we have purchased from one to two hundred thousand Mohammedan slaveholders, polygamists, who live by prosecuting the slave trade against the native population of the southern islands of the group; that we have agreed to maintain this condition of affairs; and the treaty is so arranged that it goes into force without the legislative bodies of this Government having anything to say about it.

It seems to me, under these circumstances, that it is incumbent upon the Senate and upon the House of Representatives to take up this matter at once, and take such action upon it as will blot out the stain upon our flag placed there by the Administration.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FAILURE OF IMPERIALISM

EARLY¹ in the session, nearly a month ago, I introduced a resolution asking whether the vessels of our Navy, the officers of our Navy, had saluted the flag of the Philippine republic; whether two of our vessels accompanied a Filipino vessel to Subig Bay for the purpose of capturing a Spanish garrison, and whether after the surrender of that garrison we turned the prisoners over to Aguinaldo's forces. That resolution was tabled by the Senate without allowing me the privilege of speaking upon it. The facts contained in that resolution, in my opinion, were true. We made Aguinaldo and his forces our ally by saluting their flag and by accompanying them in the capture of a Spanish garrison, the prisoners of which were turned over to them.

I introduced the resolution in good faith. I was not sure then, but I feel sure now, that the facts contained in the resolution were true, and I wanted the record evidence. Information has come to my knowledge since—the statement of an officer who accompanied this expedition to Subig Bay—corroborating the facts contained in the resolution, and thus is disclosed the reason why the information was denied. The resolution was in the proper form; it was a proper question.

The storm of indignation on the part of the American people and many of the Republican newspapers throughout the country at the suppression of this resolution led to a change of tactics, and then I introduced the second resolution, asking if the insurgents, after fighting had commenced, did not send General Torres with a flag of truce and ask that fighting

1. Speech in the Senate January 17, 1900.

be stopped, and that a neutral zone should be agreed upon, the boundaries of which were to be established by General Otis and satisfactory to him, until negotiations could be had to see whether the difficulties could be settled, and I also asked in that resolution what reply was made and whether General Otis did not reply that fighting having once commenced, it must go on to the grim end.

That resolution was not laid upon the table at the time, but an amendment or a substitute was offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [MR. LODGE] asking for all the information and all the dispatches which may have passed between our officers and the insurgents, as they are called. But on yesterday my second resolution calling for these facts was laid upon the table. I conceived these facts to be pertinent. If we had recognized Aguinaldo's forces and Aguinaldo's government by saluting their flag, and had acted with them and made them our allies, then we are now fighting our allies.

If we began the war, as General Otis indicates in his report, by killing the first man and then acting on the aggressive while the enemy acted upon the defensive, it seems to me the proof is conclusive that the war was commenced by us, and if, after two days' fighting, the insurgents wanted to stop the war, to stop the killing, and we said it must go on to the grim end, then I assert, Mr. President, that the blood of every soldier who has fallen since that time is on the head of this Administration and there is no escape from it; the puerile and silly talk about those who oppose the policy of the Administration being guilty of the death of our brave men disappears absolutely, and the responsibility goes where it belongs; the sixty boys from South Dakota who lost their lives, conscripted into an unwilling service, retained after their term had expired, lies at the doors of the Administration, and there is no chance to avoid it.

This information has been withheld. My resolution to acquire it has been laid upon the table. I hope the resolution which we are now to pass will bring the information. It is pertinent to the issue.

But, Mr. President, I offered another resolution yesterday

—a resolution calling for all the instructions to our commissioners at Paris and the correspondence between the Administration and the commissioners at Paris; but that was laid upon the table, and then the Senator from Wisconsin [MR. SPOONER] charged me with trying to put the Administration in a hole.

Mr. President, it seems to me, in the light of the facts which have been developed in this contest to secure information, that the only thing that can put the Administration in a hole is the truth and that it is the purpose to keep the truth from the American people in order to keep from putting the Administration in a hole. If getting the truth before the people of the United States will embarrass the Administration, I can not help it, and I shall try to get it. I charge that this censorship of the press, this concealment of facts, was for the purpose of protecting the interests of the Administration for reelection, and now I am charged, because I tried to get the facts by a proper resolution, with trying to put the Administration in a hole.

Now, let us see. It is asserted by the imperialists that this situation was brought upon us by an act of God; that these islands are in our hands by the act of Providence. The President alludes to this fact in his message, and in speeches he has stated that God has placed a duty upon us, or similar language. Many of those who advocate this policy, not of expansion but of imperialism—the government of colonies against their will and by conquest—declare that we are doing God's service.

Now, Mr. President, if this information which is asked for by this last resolution discloses the fact that the President of the United States immediately upon the signing of the protocol which led finally to the treaty of peace instructed our commissioners to take nothing less than the island of Luzon, and if afterwards he instructed them to take the whole group, the only way I can see that God's hand is in this work is that He must have made Mr. McKinley His prophet. He must have appeared in a vision to the President. Of course, if this is true, the disclosure of these instructions and this information would put the Administration in a hole.

What are the facts which led up to the treaty with Spain? I find in the report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1898, on page 122, volume 2, the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, *August 13, 1898.*

DEWEY (care American consul), *Hongkong*:

The President desires to receive from you any important information you may have of the Philippines; the desirability of the several islands; the character of their population; coal and other mineral deposits; their harbor and commercial advantages, and in a naval and commercial sense which would be the most advantageous. If you have other information which may be of value to the Government in their negotiations, the President may desire your presence here. If he should request you to come, take the quickest route of travel.

ALLEN.

Here, then, is a telegram the day Manila fell and the day after the protocol was signed, sent by Mr. Allen, the First Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to Mr. Dewey to know which island or whether all the islands were worth grabbing or not. Dewey answered as follows:

MANILA, *August 20, 1898.*

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, *Washington*:

Referring to the Department's telegram of August 13, important islands are: Colon, Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Negros, Leyte. Others, owing to the nature of the inhabitants, have a small amount of civilization, want of cultivation. They may be neglected, especially isles of southern group.

The isles of the southern group are where the Sultan of Sulu reigned, where they have polygamy and slavery. Dewey said, "They may be neglected, especially the isles of the southern group."

Luzon is in all respects the most desirable to retain. Contains most important commercial ports. Manila is farthest north. Produces all of the good tobacco. Friendly natives. Civilization somewhat advanced. Not yet developed. Possible rich minerals. Population, 825,000. Subig Bay best harbor for coaling purposes and military. Water deep; landlocked; easily defended. Strategically, command of bay and city of Manila, with arsenal at Cavite, most valuable.

Panay, Cebu, Negros thickly populated, most civilized, and well cultivated. Iloilo second commercial port; center of sugar trade; a good harbor strategically; in view of the situation, good for defense.

Cebu third commercial port; a good harbor, very desirable. No coal of good quality can be procured in Philippine Islands. Some has been mined on Cebu, English company. I trust it may not be necessary to order me to Washington. Should regret very much to leave here while matters remain in present critical condition.

DEWEY.

Now, Mr. President, it appears that immediately upon signing the protocol the President attempted to ascertain the value of these islands, whether they had coal and mineral, etc.—their resources. Was it an inspiration that led the President to make this inquiry? Certainly if God had anything to do with this transaction the inspiration must have come to the person who had the power and did direct that we should take nothing less than the island of Luzon.

Afterwards we took all the group, polygamy and everything else. Who directed that? Was that God's work also? Who insisted that our flag should fly above a harem and a slave market? Why, Mr. President, it seems to me that if a man did a philanthropic act, if he did something prompted by the better nature of man, it would be well to charge it to the Supreme Being. But if a man is going to plunder somebody else and wants to know whether what he has is worth stealing or not, the inspiration ought to come from the devil and not from God.

But, Mr. President, this extreme philanthropic view of the subject, this extreme responsibility thrown upon the Deity, is not shared in by all men. They are divided on the subject. The Senator from Indiana [MR. BEVERIDGE] is extremely intense in this direction, and also in the direction of taking the islands, because they are rich and will be so profitable to have, while the Senator from Colorado [MR. WOLCOTT] objects to the sordid view of the Senator from Indiana and does not want quite so much philanthropy mixed up with the transaction.

Now, what I want to ascertain is what the argument is on the part of the imperialists. Are we going to rely on the doctrine that we are going to bless those people with our civilization against their will, and that God has ordered us to do a

great work? That is the English doctrine, the doctrine which has justified the plunder of every colony she has conquered on earth. Are we going to do that, or are we going, after all, to fall back on half of the position of the Senator from Indiana and the whole position of the Washington Post on this subject, and are we simply going to say, "They are rich and worth seizing, and therefore we will seize them, no matter how much blood and treasure it costs"? If the contest is to settle down to this proposition, then perhaps the information asked by my amendment which was tabled yesterday, for the instructions to the commissioners, is immaterial.

If we are going to settle down to the proposition that here is a foothold from which we can join the other robber nations of the world in plundering China, and the foothold itself is worth having, then I am prepared to show, Mr. President, that the islands are not worth having; that they will confer no happiness upon the people of the United States; that they will simply increase the burden of the men who produce the wealth of this country, for we raise our taxes by a per capita levy upon consumption.

It will simply lay a burden upon the people who raise the revenue and pay the taxes, and compel them not only to furnish the money, but to furnish the common soldiers, to be officered by the wealthy classes, who own and control the Administration. Our boys will look forward to a career to end in unknown graves in a tropical land. A high aspiration, is it not, for the descendants of men who established, as they believed, a perpetual and eternal republic in this country?

No revenue can come from these islands to the United States. We have spent more money already than every dollar of the commerce, if their commerce is no greater than it has been in the past, that those islands will have for the next fifteen or twenty years. Their total commerce, their imports and their exports, were not to exceed \$15,000,000 a year. We have spent \$200,000,000 already, besides the \$20,000,000 we gave Spain.

Did Spain insist on our taking the Sulu Islands, with its slavery and polygamy, when we offered her \$20,000,000 for

these islands? The correspondence would show. We are in the dark on that subject.

If she did, with what irony, with what concealed satisfaction, she must look upon the act! I imagine the Spanish people enjoying great satisfaction at the wonderful victory which they have gained over us by the overthrow of every principle we ever advocated and the adoption of the Spanish policy. Did Spain force upon us this Sulu group? I should like to have known that fact. But if, after all, this debate is simply to be that this is a profitable venture and the elements of philanthropy are to be discarded and abandoned, if cant and hypocrisy are no longer to be the chief reason given, before this debate is over we shall show that a constant loss and drain must come to the people of the United States if we undertake to hold the group.

* * * * *

The¹ President of the United States, in his speech at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., in October last, said:

That from the hour the treaty was ratified it became our territory; there was but one authority and but one sovereignty that could be recognized anywhere in those islands, and it became our duty to restore order, to preserve peace, to protect life and property.

Yet he went to war with the Christian people of that country, with those who believed in the Catholic religion, and made a treaty with the Mohammedans by which they were to set up and maintain their own government almost absolutely independent and free from us. If he had granted to the Christians of the Philippines the same rights he granted to the slaveholders and polygamists of the Philippines, there would have been no war whatever. And yet we, as a great Christian nation, select for self-government the slaveholding Mohammedans, occupying more than one-third of the area of the entire group, and proceed to establish what? Not Christianity, for they are already Christians; but we make the effort to shoot Protestantism into the Catholic population of the rest of the islands.

1. Speech in the Senate January 15, 1900.

If our flag floats over that entire region, and if, as the President said, it is absolutely under the dominion and control of the Constitution of the United States, it seems to me that he violated the Constitution when he made the treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, and that he ought to be impeached.

Mr. President, it would be in accord more with my ideas of American institutions, if we had gone to the Sultan of Sulu and said, "You must abandon polygamy and slavery, and if you do not do it and recognize the power and authority of the Government of the United States over the whole group of islands under your control we will wage war upon you until you do it," instead of going to the people who had been our allies, the Christian people of the northern islands, and saying to them, "Unless you surrender your constitution which you have adopted, and which is framed after our Constitution, unless you surrender your right as a government of a free people, we will proceed to kill you until you do." Instead of drawing a trail of blood over those islands, where the population can read and write, where they have embraced the same religion as ours and pray to the same God, it would have been better had we attacked the so-called barbarous people of the southern island.

I might read several other extracts from the President's speech all to the same effect. He has hardly made a speech without an allusion to the flag, until I am almost convinced that he receives his direction from the English minister, for it is the same song always that England sings whenever she proposes to rob somebody. Whenever England concludes to go upon an expedition and plunder some of the weaker nations of the world, she makes her first appeal to patriotism, and then step by step, goes on until she has committed the wrong, has transgressed, and then declares that the flag has been fired on, and that no Englishman must question the right or wrong of what they are doing until the enemy is defeated and the country annexed.

We are pursuing the same course. Our Minister of State was trained in the English school, and he has come home with their ideas and their notions, and is going to try their

way of humbugging the people of this country as the people of England have been humbugged. You can do it in England, but you can not do it here. More than a million of the people of England do not vote. Most of the population have been degraded by being herded in manufacturing towns until a very large per cent of her population have no property, no capacity, and no opinions except to toady to the aristocracy.

How appropriate, Mr. President, that the restoration of slavery and the new interpretation of the Declaration of Independence should come together. It seems to me, however, that it marks the saddest chapter in the history of that great political organization, the Republican party. It came into being as a protest against slavery, as the special champion of the Declaration of Independence, and it goes out of being and out of power as the champion of slavery and the repudiator of the Declaration of Independence.

The President says that moral reasons compel us to stay in the Philippines, and that we, under God's direction, owe a duty to mankind, and more of similar cant. Here is what John Morley, the English statesman and writer, and biographer of Gladstone, says with regard to England's policy in this same connection:

First—

Speaking of England—

you push on into territories where you have no business to be and where you had promised not to go; secondly, your intrusion provokes resentment, and, in these wild countries, resentment means resistance; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion (this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them); fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion, and, fifthly, having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition which no civilized power could contemplate with equanimity or composure. These are the five stages in the Forward Rake's progress.

There is not a thing there that does not absolutely accord with the excuses given by the imperialists why we should abandon our former form of government and conquer and rule against their will an unwilling people. What blessing has England given to her colonies that has justified this plan throughout the world? Ireland came first, and the persecutions of Ireland were justified on a doctrine of benevolent assimilation—that they were Catholics, and therefore, unless they were converted from Catholicism, they would go to the devil, and it was England's great and grand mission to make them Protestants anyhow. She has succeeded neither in the one nor the other. Her course in Ireland has been one of the blackest pages in the history of the world—starvation and plunder.

If England will govern Ireland as she has done, what right has she to the claim that she can confer benefits upon any country? What is there in England's example that can justify us in undertaking the same work. The miserable, miserable, contemptible rot of Rudyard Kipling, where he talks about the white man's burden it seems to me in the light of English history is contemptible—the white man's burden to confer the curses of English rule upon the other nations of the world.

England commenced with Ireland. How is it with India? They have made no converts practically to Christianity in India; neither have the natives learned the English language. None of the people of India talk English. They have to keep an army of 210,000 men to hold them in subjection and prevent them from securing modern arms, modern implements of destruction, while they trample upon their rights as a people. What blessing has England conferred upon India? Nothing but the fact that taking away her food supply has caused the starvation of a million of men in India every year for years, and some years six or seven millions of people in a year. One hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of the food products of India are shipped away to pay pensions in England, and the result is that the want of that food causes the people of India to starve.

Compare the provinces of India that do not recognize English rule, that are under an English protectorate, and you will find that there is no starvation there. The native princes rule, and the people govern themselves, and England simply has a suzerainty over them. There is no starvation in those provinces; the starvation is in the English part of India, where the English system of robbery and plunder holds sway. India gives no money to the English treasury, but India is a field for exploiting private enterprise, and thus further enriching the already over-rich classes that govern the English Empire.

What of New Zealand? Did the conquest of New Zealand confer the blessings of Christianity upon New Zealand? Why, it resulted in the destruction of the inhabitants. To-day a great colony of English people is in New Zealand, but the inhabitants who formerly occupied that land have disappeared as the result of English government.

How is it in Egypt. The Egyptian government was bad, and bad for the same reason that the English Government was bad; but England went into Egypt to enforce the collection of a usurious debt for money which Egypt never received. England went there to force upon that people a debt which was composed almost entirely of interest at 26 per cent on a small sum of money, until to-day every acre of Egypt that is tillable is taxed \$10 a year.

Every man, woman and child in Egypt of native population, toiling and tilling the soil, is a slave to the English taxgatherer. Three thousand five hundred Englishmen wring the taxes by imprisonment and by the lash from those people, and yet the so-called civilized world looks on with approval. In order to better enlarge their capacity to pay taxes and bear burdens, the English officials have compelled those people to toil in a systematic manner, leaving nothing for themselves but a bare existence and a bare subsistence. So it is everywhere that England has gone.

As I said before, England's first conquest was Catholic Ireland, and the excuse for oppression there was that the Irish were Catholics. How appropriate that in our first act in the drama of imperialism we should undertake the conquest

of another Catholic country, should undertake the conquest of the Philippines, and should make the same miserable and contemptible excuse which has justified England's atrocities in Ireland during all time. From the pulpits of this country we hear prayers for our success in order that we may introduce Christianity. Oh, Mr. President, if we are to go to war against Catholics, it is not necessary to go half way around the world to do so. We have more of them at home, although there are 6,000,000 of them in the Philippines.

If these islands were rich in every mineral men desire, if their supplies of gold surpassed those of the Transvaal, if every other metal precious and desirable were in unlimited quantities, if their soil were so fertile that it surpassed even the famous valley of the Nile, if they could produce every comfort with half the effort with which it can be produced elsewhere throughout the world, yet I would oppose the annexation of these islands because it is wrong, because it leaves those who have sneered at us in our claim that we were advocates of freedom a justification for their sneer in the future.

Mr. President, we are told by the President of the United States and by the orators who favor imperialism that this will be a paying venture—that trade follows the flag. Well, the morality of that argument can be fairly illustrated, I think, in this way: If a boy of a numerous family should cross a wide desert and find at the foot of a mountain an old man with a family of children, possessed of vast wealth in gold, jewels, horses, and cattle, and should return to his brothers and say, "There are nine of us, and I believe, if we go together, we can overturn the old man, who is not fit to bring up those children anyway, and rob him of his wealth, and I think it will be a profitable venture," and they should start out and accomplish that act, it seems to me they would stand upon exactly the same plane as the man who stands upon this floor and advocates taking all the Philippine Islands because it would pay.

But, Mr. President, trade does not follow the flag. If it be true that trade follows the flag, then England's trade with her

colonies ought to be a good example and an argument in its favor. That ought to settle that question. Trade follows the best markets, and England's experience is a refutation of the doctrine that trade follows the flag.

Let us see. The total imports to England in 1856 were \$860,000,000 from all countries, and from her colonies and dependencies, \$215,000,000. England's imports from all countries in 1896 amounted to \$2,080,000,000, and from her colonies and dependencies, \$475,000,000. Twenty-five per cent of all her imports came from her colonies or dependencies in 1856 and but 22.8 per cent in 1898. After forty years, if trade follows the flag and has such a tremendous influence upon it, the percentage of England's trade with her colonies ought to have increased rather than declined. This is not conclusive, but the other facts taken in consideration with it are conclusive that trade does not follow the flag.

The total exports from England to the whole world and to her colonies in 1856 were \$575,000,000, and of this amount to her colonies and dependencies \$165,000,000. In 1895 her exports to the whole world were 81,125,000,000, and to her colonies and dependencies \$350,000,000.

These figures show that the trade has not increased in proportion to the general increase. In the four years 1856 to 1859, inclusive, the colonies took 32.1 per cent of England's exports, and for the four years 1891 to 1895 they took 32.4 per cent; in other words, there was an increase of three-tenths of 1 per cent of her exports to her colonies during that time, although there were forty years of growth.

Now let us see how the total trade of her colonies compares with the trade of the colonies with the mother country. In 1856 \$340,000,000 was the total value of the exports from the English colonies to all the world, and \$215,000,000 of that trade went to England. The per cent of the colonial exports to England was 63.2 per cent of the total trade of the colonies in 1856. How was it forty years thereafter? In 1895 their total trade with all the world was \$1,310,000,000, and with England \$475,000,000, or 36.5 per cent—instead of an increase, a very great decrease.

Let us see how it is about the import trade. The English colonies imported from all the world \$385,000,000 worth of imports in 1856 and \$165,000,000 from England, or 42.8 per cent. In 1895 it seems the value of the imports to the English colonies and dependencies from all the world was \$1,110,000,000, and from England \$350,000,000, or 31.5 per cent.

Thus the imports to the colonies from the mother country had declined from 42.8 per cent in 1856, forty years ago, to 31.5 per cent in 1895, showing that the colonies constantly decreased in the relative amount of their purchases from the mother country. If trade follows the flag, then more and more of their purchases ought to have been, it seems to me, from the mother country rather than a steady decline.

Let us see whether there is any cause why this should be so. We will take the English trade with the United States. In 1856 the total imports into England from all the world amounted to \$895,000,000, and from the United States to \$170,000,000, or 19 per cent of her total trade. In 1898 England's imports from all the world amounted to \$2,055,000,000, of which \$530,000,000 were from the United States, or 26.7 per cent of her total trade. In other words, our exports to England had grown from 19 per cent of all England bought to more than one-fourth of all she bought, while her trade with her colonies had continuously declined. Why was this? Not because trade follows the flag, but because trade seeks the cheapest and best market.

It will thus be seen that the increase from the United States is very marked as compared with the trade of England when compared with her own possessions. If we compare the total imports into England from the whole world and the United States for four years from 1870 to 1873 and from 1895 to 1898 we will find that the increase from the United States was very much greater in proportion than the increase of English imports from all countries. In other words, our imports increased 183 per cent as against England's imports from the rest of the world of 121 per cent.

English exports to the United States have declined from 13

per cent of her total exports in the four years from 1859 to 1862 to 9 per cent of her total exports for the years 1895 to 1898, caused by tariff restriction. But if trade follows the flag this tariff restriction which we place upon English goods, thus causing a decrease of imports to this country, certainly ought to have affected their purchases in the direction of her flag, and ought to have been an additional reason and inducement to purchase more instead of less of her colonies, where she could sell and not be restricted by tariff provisions and could bring back cargoes.

From another view of the subject, let us see how England's trade with her colonies and the United States compares with relation to population. From 1892 to 1897 England imported from her colonies \$1.25 worth of goods for each inhabitant of those colonies. From the United States she imported goods to the value of \$6.68 for every inhabitant of the United States each year. While the United States purchased of England \$1.50 worth for each inhabitant, the English colonies only purchased from England \$1.02 worth of goods for each inhabitant, purchasing 48 cents' worth for each inhabitant less than we bought from England, even with our purchase of only \$1.50 per capita.

So far as the English tropical colonies are concerned England only sold to them 71 cents worth of goods last year for each inhabitant in those colonies, and most of that was to supply her own army and her own officeholders, who wanted English goods. Her trade would have been infinitesimal, almost absolutely nothing, with her tropical colonies, except for her army in India of 70,000 Englishmen and her equally great army of officeholders there. So, such an argument is all nonsense. Trade does not follow the flag.

The United States can only secure tropical countries as colonies. As Schurman, our commissioner to the Philippines, said, the Sultan of Sulu and his people would fight, and therefore it was not well to bother with them. So the people who inhabit the temperate zone will fight, and our only place to get a people who are easy to control, a people who will not fight too hard, a people who are not armed with modern imple-

ments of war, a people who can be run over with battalions of our troops, is in the Tropics.

How, then, in the light of England's experience, in the light of the fact that England has practically no trade with the inhabitants of her tropical colonies, except the trade that comes from supplying her officeholders and her army, can we expect to have much trade with the people of the Philippines? How are we going to get rich keeping a standing army in the Philippines, so as to make people whose wages are not over 5 cents a day trade with us?

Mr. President, in the Philippines we do not even supply our own Army. If trade follows the flag it seems to me that the trade with our own army ought to follow the flag. So prone is trade to seek the best markets that our Army is supplied with potatoes and beef and butter and pork from the English colonies; practically none of it comes from the United States.

Our soldiers are clothed by the English contractors at Hongkong. Only shoes and a few canned goods go from the United States, and the reason they go is because we export shoes and that people everywhere can buy shoes cheaper in this country than anywhere else, thus proving conclusively that trade does not follow the flag, but goes to the best markets. The coal that propels our ships across the Pacific is English coal. We do not even patronize our own coal mines on the western coast. Every vessel coming this way or going that way in passing Nagasaki, takes on a load of English coal. Our transports are chartered by the Government, and, therefore, every transport carries goods from the United States free of cost to the producers. It seems to me exceedingly strange why, if trade will follow the flag, it does not get under the flag and just float over and supply our own army in the tropics.

What is there in the future to warrant us to believe that trade will hereafter follow the flag in the Philippines? I should like to have somebody tell me. We made a treaty with Spain by which we agreed that the Philippines should have the "open door," so that all the world could trade there through

all time to come. Therefore we broke down the barriers of protection, abandoned the policy upon which the Republican party has ridden into power for years. We declared that we would have the "open door," thereby destroying absolutely all hope of any trade in the future with the people of the Philippines, for, under the decisions of our Supreme Court, we cannot impose a tariff on their products unless we amend the Constitution.

So their products will come to us free of duty. The tobacco made into cigars by the nimble fingers of those capable Malays will close the tobacco and cigar factories of this country and drive our labor into other channels of employment. There is no reason why they cannot supply unlimitedly the cigars for American consumption. Labor there is cheap, labor is abundant, and New England's money—the vast fortunes of the men who have accumulated by the control of monopolies in our country—will go there to exploit this labor, go there to make cotton goods out of Chinese cotton to be sold in the American market.

* * * * *

It seems to me the sum and substance of the whole scheme is to find a field where cheap labor can be secured, labor that will not strike, that does not belong to a union, that does not need an army to keep it in leading strings, that will make goods for the trusts of this country; and, as the trusts dominated the St. Louis convention and own the Republican party, it is a very proper enterprise for them to engage in.

England has not been enriched by her conquests. To-day, what is the happiest country in the world? It is little Switzerland. Where is there the best distribution of wealth, the best opportunity for man? Where is there the least poverty, misery, and distress? It is in Switzerland, without colonies. It is not in England. Her conquests have bestowed no blessings upon her people. Most of her people have no property; most of the people of England own nothing. Two-thirds of them—66 per cent of them—own nothing, while about 222,000 persons own all the property of Great Britain.

They are the people who exploit the tropical colonies; they are the people who build railroads and charge what they choose, and make loans at usurious interest, thus piling up higher and higher their great aggregations of wealth. Do we want to follow this example? From it no money will come into the Treasury for the benefit of the people of the United States. The laborers of this land, from whom we raise our taxes in the same way England raises hers—by a per capita levy upon consumption—are invited to contribute this taxation to support an army of occupation and subsidize ships to carry the trade in order that those people may be exploited by the trusts of the United States. I do not believe the people of this country will do it.

There is another object. It is well when people become restless, when people become dissatisfied with the conditions which exist, when the toilers of a land begin to believe they are not receiving their just share of the products of their toil, to give them amusement, to distract their attention by distant problems, to do as England has done, begin the killing of men in some distant land, and then appeal to the patriotism of the people and talk about the flag being fired upon in order to take the attention of the people from those great problems the right of solution of which is essential to the happiness of the toilers of the nation.

You ask me what I would do with the Philippines. I would draw our army back to Manila. I would send to the Philippine people assurance that they could set up their own government—a republic, such as they have set up under their constitution, framed after ours, providing, as it does, for universal education, for the protection of life and property, and I would say to the world, "Hands off!" Then I would try to neutralize that country—that is, I would try to make a treaty with the nations of the world by which those islands and their waters should be neutral ground, where any vessel of any country could go and coal and trade—not free trade, if they chose to put up a tariff wall against all the world, but it should be equal to all; but no nation could go there to fight.

I would do what Europe has done with Switzerland and what they have done with the Suez Canal; and if the nations of all Europe would not agree to it, I would say, "Hands off; we will plant a republic on the shores of Asia." The Malay race have shown their capacity for governing in their triumph in Japan. No nation in the world stands higher in the scale of civilization than the Malays of Japan, a kindred race to the people of the Philippines. Give them a chance, and they will plant republican principles on the shores of Asia that will spread to that continent and undermine and overthrow the despotism of colonial rule and the despotism of monarchies.

MR. SPOONER: Will the Senator from South Dakota allow me to ask him a question?

MR. PETTIGREW: Certainly.

MR. SPOONER: The Senator from South Dakota would not do that, of course, without the consent of the Filipinos?

MR. PETTIGREW: No, sir; I would not do it without their consent. It seems to me a superfluous question if that is all there is to it.

We are precluded by our Constitution and by the Declaration of Independence and by every claim we have ever made, by every speech of every person who has addressed a Fourth of July audience, from buying sovereignty over a people without their consent first obtained. Purchasing sovereignty and transferring from one nation to another the rights of their fellow-men is simply a species of slavery. How can we justify it with all our boasted eloquence once a year for a century past? I say this Republic, above all the nations of the world, ought to refuse to be a party to the purchase or the effort at purchasing sovereignty over anybody.

In 1867, when we talked of buying the Danish West Indies, Denmark refused to sell until a vote of the inhabitants could be taken, to see whether or not they would consent to be sold. Even Denmark, touched by the influence of our Constitution and our example, refused to sell the sovereignty without the consent of the people, and for this great Republic to stand up to-day before the world and claim title because

they have bought from dispossessed Spain sovereignty over those people it seems to me is remarkable indeed.

I think the words of the immortal Lincoln are applicable to this situation: "A house divided against itself can not stand." Under our flag you can not have a republic and an empire. You can not have self-government and a government by force. One or the other will triumph. Either the republic will go down and the empire survive, or we will at once retrace our steps to the old safe ground and anchor our ship of state to the declaration and to the doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed:

* * * * *

Mr. President, the Senator from Colorado says that I never speak a kind word of my fellow-Senators. I am not going to dispute that assertion except to say that my relations are most pleasant with almost all my fellow-Senators, and I hope he will not undertake to hide the whole Senate behind his large personality. I have not spent much time in laudation of him, because I never saw anything in his public career or private life worthy of praise; but I will confess one thing, and that now, which ought to be to his praise and to his advantage—he has a loud voice. It seems to me that his attack upon me is not worthy of reply, and I shall not reply to it.

As far as his argument is concerned, he has divided his attention between me and the Senator from Indiana [MR. BEVERIDGE]. I should like to know, I should like to hear, I should like to ascertain some settled policy upon this question. We are told by the Senator from Indiana that it is greed, conquest, for the purpose of getting rich, with the idea of despoiling somebody, and we are told by the Senator from Colorado that we are prompted by ideas of philanthropy, but not quite so much philanthropy as the Senator from Indiana wishes to exercise.

Now, Mr. President, this cant about doing somebody good was the very argument which justified Spain in her conquests of the western world. No people ever went forth for

conquest and for plunder who paraded more their pretext that they wished to civilize and Christianize the world. They drew their trail of blood across Mexico. What men in all the world had more religious zeal than Cortez and his followers and his priests? Pizarro destroyed the grand civilization of Peru, butchering her people right and left in the name of God. They said they did it because they wanted to confer blessings upon the people of these countries, and they made them desolate for centuries afterwards.

Russia in her conquest raises the same banner, and her newspapers are full of the same argument, the same cant.

You can pick out Spanish authors whose books are in our library, hundreds of them, who parade this excuse for conquest better than even the Senator from Colorado. And so it is with England. Wherever she has gone, wherever she has carried her conquest, as I read a short time ago, the same excuse has been made: "We are going to carry the blessings of English civilization." If you should ask the people where she has been—if you ask Ireland, and India, and the natives of New Zealand—what their opinion is of the blessing and benefit she has conferred, it seems to me it would deter us from undertaking the task.

I should like to know what the argument is? You can not smother debate or drive me from a discussion of the question by ridicule or abuse. Call me a traitor if you will. Men have been called traitors before because they stood up for what they believed to be right. Lincoln, in the House of Representatives, denounced the Mexican war and voted against its approval, and so did Alexander Stephens, of the South, and so did Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and so did many other names that might be added to the list.

MR. HOAR: Mr. Boutwell was not in the House at that time.

MR. PETTIGREW: The Senator from Massachusetts says that Mr. Boutwell was not there then, and I presume I am wrong in regard to that, although I heard him in a speech say that he took that position, which perhaps was not in the House of Representatives, and he believed that, more than

anything else, had made him twice the governor of Massachusetts. What is more, Mr. President, Daniel Webster denounced the Mexican war and afterwards was charged with being a traitor to his country by these same people who have a philanthropic mission.

Fox and Pitt in the English Parliament denounced the war against the American colonies. Is it Lord North and his miserable cabinet who live in the minds of the people of the world to-day? No; it is those champions of freedom who dared to stand up in the British Parliament and denounce the course of their government of that day. Pitt said:

What has the Government done? They have sent an armed force, consisting of 17,000 men, to dragoon the Bostonians into what is called duty; and we are told in the language of menace that if 17,000 won't do, 50,000 shall. If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I would never lay down my arms—never, never, never.

I should like to know what course this debate is to take. If those who are in favor of imperialism are afraid to embrace the doctrine of greed and of conquest for profit and disagree about the amount of philanthropy that is necessary in order to justify their position, it is hard to tell what we shall answer or combat.

In this connection, Mr. President—for I do not care to talk longer—I wish to put in the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Let us be honest," from the Washington Post, of this city. It seems to me it is quite pertinent in this connection as showing how badly divided are the hosts of imperialism.

LET US BE HONEST!

Why can not we be honest in our utterances touching the territories we have recently acquired? Really it would save time and trouble, to say nothing of life and treasure, to come out frankly with the announcement that we have annexed these possessions in cold blood, and that we intend to utilize them to our profit and advantage. All this talk about benevolent assimilation; all this hypocritical pretense of anxiety for the moral, social, and intellectual exaltation of the natives; all this transparent parade of responsibility and deep

seated purpose; all this deceives nobody, avails nothing, helps us not an inch in the direction of profit, dignity, and honor.

We all know down in our hearts that these islands, groups, etc., are important to us only in the ratio of their practical possibilities. We value them by the standard of their commercial usefulness, and by no other. All this gabble about civilizing and uplifting the benighted barbarians of Cuba and Luzon is mere sound and fury, signifying nothing. Foolishly or wisely, we want these newly acquired territories, not for any missionary or altruistic purposes, but for the trade, the commerce, the power, and the money there are in them. Why beat about the bush and promise and protest all sorts of things? Why not be honest? It will pay.

As a matter of fact, we are not concerned in the ethical or religious uplifting of the Filipinos. After all, the difference between a breech-clout and a starched shirt front is a mere matter of climate and personal opinion. Dishonesty, untruth, crime, and general wickedness are here in our midst—present with us as part of our daily life and growing with our growth. We need not go to the West Indies or the Philippines in search of material for moral rescue. Our own slums abound with opportunities for missionary zeal.

Why not tell the truth and say—what is the fact—that we want Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Luzon, together with any other islands in either ocean that may hereafter commend themselves to our appetite, because we believe they will add to our national strength, and because we hope they will some day become purchasers at our bargain counters? We might as well throw off the pious mask and indulge ourselves in a little honest candor. It will cost us nothing, and it may profit much. At any rate, we shall have the comfort and satisfaction of being honest with ourselves and the privilege of looking into the mirror without blushing.—*Washington Post, Sunday, January 14, 1900.*

I present that as an answer to the whole philanthropic portion of the speeches of the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Colorado.

But in order to bring this debate back, it seems to me, to a higher plane and better character, I will read briefly, some verses by Howard S. Taylor, of Chicago:

THE CREED OF THE FLAG.

Who will haul down the flag?—*President McKinley.*

"Who will haul down the flag?" quoth he.

Why no hand of flesh and bone

Can lower that flag, on land or sea,

Till the faith of the flag is gone!

Till a few shall rule and cunningly keep
The bunting to garnish their greed;
Till dollars are dear and humanity cheap
By the force of a tory creed!
Then will it fall!—but answer us, clear,
Do you fancy that hour is drawing near?
Did our Liberty Bell ring in vain?
Was our Declaration a lie?
Must we turn to the Old World again,
With the penitent prodigal's cry?
Must we arm us and march in the van
Of Europe's barbaric parade,
And boom out a gunpowder gospel to man
To open a pathway for trade?
Shall we strut through the world and bluster and brag
With the dollar mark stamped on the brave old flag?
Nay, haul up the flag—raise it high—
Not yet is its spirit spent!
Let it sing to the wind and the sky
The truth that it always meant!
Let it sing of the birthright of man,
Of progress that never can lag,
Let it sing that trade may go—where it can,
But liberty follows the flag!
Yea, haul up Old Glory—but, comrades, take heed
That no man part the old flag from the creed!

HOWARD S. TAYLOR.

CHICAGO, *January 7, 1899.*

CHAPTER XV

THE RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ I did not at this time intend to address the Senate at length upon this subject, for I had expected that the resolutions of inquiry which I had offered would be adopted and the information thus furnished from official sources before the debate commenced. But the discussions which arose and the impressions which were made seem to have precipitated a general discussion of the question. I shall begin my remarks to-day by reading from one of Lincoln's speeches the following paragraph:

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under the rule of a just God can not long retain it.

I believe that is true. I believe the reflex action upon our own people of the conquest of other peoples and their governments, against their will, will gradually undermine free institutions in this country and result in the destruction of the Republic. What are the arguments urged why we should force a government upon the people of the Philippines? The President of the United States says they are not fit for self-government. From my observation of history I believe there are no people fit for any other form of government. Governments are instituted, not bestowed, and therefore derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Any nation of people are capable of maintaining as good a government as they are entitled to have, and when they can maintain a better government they will evolve it, and you can not give them a better government than they can maintain for themselves. A form of government is the result of

1. Speech in the Senate January 15, 1900.

the social compact, and therefore the government of a people will be as good as the average of the individuals composing the community are willing to have. The American Indians maintained a government, and for them a better one than we have been able to bestow upon them. The Esquimos in the arctic region maintain a government of their own, suited to their condition and their circumstances, and it is a better government than anybody else can give them. Would their condition be improved by sending to them foreign governors and a foreign council to enact laws and direct their course and method of life, to guide them in their civic and civil affairs? So with every other people the world round. There is nothing in the history of the colonies of the so-called Christian nations of the world to encourage the idea that we can give to this people a better government than they are able to maintain themselves.

The old doctrine of the divine right of kings, of the hereditary right to rule, is a doctrine that we disputed and controverted when we established our Government and when we announced the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. So proud have we been of that discovery that each year we have celebrated the birth into the world of a new theory, a new doctrine with regard to governments; and four hundred constitutions have been framed after ours. So powerful has our example been throughout the world, that nation after nation struggling to be free has adopted our form of government.

No nation, no people, in all time and in all history ever impressed such a powerful influence upon the human race as this Republic, and for this reason alone. Empires have been established, a trail of blood has been drawn across the world, and vast aggregations of people have been brought under the rule of an emperor or a monarch since history began, but no people, no nation, in the history of the world has ever produced such a powerful effect for good upon the human race as this great Republic, and simply because of the doctrine laid down by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence.

Is it an old doctrine that all governments derive their just

powers from the consent of the governed? Some have said that it was a nursery rhyme sung around the cradle of the Republic. The doctrine is new. It was announced but a century ago, a day in the birth and life of nations, and yet this great Republic, boasting as we have on each recurring celebration of the event, proposes now to abandon it for the old doctrine and the old theory and the old idea of selfishness.

The Senator from Indiana [MR. BEVERIDGE] says that the Declaration of Independence does not contemplate that all governments must have the consent of the governed; that only those must have the consent of the governed that we think capable of self-government. Under that theory no people in the world are capable of self-government unless they first get our consent that they are fit to give their consent to a form of government which they wish to set up. The Senator from Connecticut [MR. PLATT] says that governments derive their just powers from the consent of some of the governed. Thus the Senator from Indiana would extend the doctrine of imperialism to whole nations of people, while the Senator from Connecticut would extend the doctrine of imperialism to every nation and every people, for he declares that the consent of some of the governed only is required.

Thus we drift back to the divine right of kings, to the doctrine that those who govern shall determine who of the governed shall give their consent. Thus construed, our glorious declaration becomes a mockery and a fraud. Therefore, when we meet each year to celebrate the instrument's birth into the world, the orators of the Republican party will have to explain its meaning and tell the multitude that our notions, our opinions, of the Declaration have been wrong for a hundred years.

Lincoln, in his speech at Springfield, on June 26, 1857, thus defined his notions of the Declaration of Independence:

In those days our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed and sneered at, and construed, and hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it. All the powers of

earth seem rapidly combining against him, Mammon is after him, ambition follows, philosophy follows, and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry.

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I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men; but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with “certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.

They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all, constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that “all men are created equal” was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and it was placed in the Declaration not for that but for future use. Its authors meant it to be, as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to all those who, in after times, might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

It seems to me that Lincoln, with his prophetic vision, must have seen this day, when prosperity, breeding tyrants, should undertake to declare that the Declaration of Independence no longer applies to anybody but the people whom we decide are capable of self-government. It stands to-day as a stumbling block; it is the hard nut to crack that the imperialists of this country find on this occasion, and it will confront them in this contest on every stump and on every platform in the land. Now, let us see what Stephen A. Douglas in that controversy said about the Declaration. I believe my imperialist friends must have been reading Douglas's argument. Said Lincoln:

I have now briefly expressed my view of the meaning and object of that part of the Declaration of Independence which declares that "all men are created equal."

Now let us hear Judge Douglas's view of the same subject, as I find it in the printed report of his late speech. Here it is:

"No man can vindicate the character, motives, and conduct of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, except upon the hypothesis that they referred to the white race alone, and not to the African, when they declared all men to have been created equal—that they were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain—that they were entitled to the same inalienable rights, and among them were enumerated life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British Crown and dissolving their connection with the mother country."

Lincoln says:

My good friends, read that carefully over some leisure hour, and ponder well upon it; see what a mere wreck, mangled ruin, it makes of our once glorious Declaration.

"They were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain."

Why, according to this, not only negroes, but white people outside of Great Britain and America, were not spoken of in that instrument. The English, Irish, and Scotch, along with white Americans, were included, to be sure, but the French, Germans, and other white people of the world are all gone to pot along with the Judge's inferior races.

I had thought the Declaration promised something better than the condition of British subjects. But no; it only meant that we should be equal to them in their own oppressed and unequal condition! According to that, it gave no promise that, having kicked off the King and lords of Great Britain, we should not at once be saddled with a king and lords of our own in these United States.

I had thought the Declaration contemplated the progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere. But no; it merely "was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British Crown and dissolving their connection with the mother country." Why, that object having been effected some eighty years ago, the Declaration is of no practical use now—mere rubbish—only wadding left to rot on the battlefield after the victory is won.

I understand you are preparing to celebrate the "Fourth" to-morrow week. What for? The doings of that day had no reference to the present; and quite half of you are not even descendants of those who

were referred to at that day. But I suppose you will celebrate, and will even go so far as to read the Declaration.

Why, Mr. President, when we quote the Declaration of Independence or the words of Lincoln, the imperialists of this country say that our words are telegraphed to Manila and give encouragement to the insurgents. If, on the last Fourth of July, I should have read here Lincoln's words, that people who disregarded the rights of freedom in others can not long retain their own liberty, I suppose Otis would have had me arrested for an insurgent and insisted that I was giving aid and comfort to the enemy; and if I had there read the Declaration of Independence or the words of Lincoln as referring to all people, no matter what their color, I would have been driven from the islands or placed in prison. Has it reached the point that wherever our flag floats men can no longer, without being called rebels, quote from Abraham Lincoln or read the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln goes on to say:

Suppose, after you read it once in the old-fashioned way, you read it once more with Judge Douglas's version. It will then run thus: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all British subjects who were on this continent eighty-one years ago were created equal to all British subjects born and then residing in Great Britain."

Could you make it any more absurd if on the next Fourth of July you should amend it to accord with the opinion of the Senator from Indiana or the Senator from Connecticut? Lincoln says:

And I now appeal to all—to Democrats as well as others—are you really willing that the Declaration shall thus be frittered away; thus left no more at most than an interesting memorial of the dead past; thus shorn of its vitality and practical value and left without the germ or even the suggestion of the individual rights of man in it?

On another occasion, in Lincoln's speech in Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, he makes this allusion to the Declaration of Independence, and it is so very pertinent to the present occasion and to this debate that I read it as an absolute refutation of the position of the Imperialists on this subject.

I might say here, Mr. President, that I allude to those who advocate the conquest of the Philippines as imperialists and not as expansionists, for the reason that expansion implies the enlargement of the same thing, the adding of more of that which you already have, the acquisition of countries holding a population capable of living and supporting our Constitution to be admitted as States into the Union; while the imperialist doctrine is the acquisition of tropical colonies where it is admitted that self-government can not exist, as we understand it under our Constitution; and therefore the people must be governed perpetually and forever as crown colonies of this Republic.

The holding of such countries, the conquest of an unwilling people, their retention in subjugation by a standing army, means of necessity not a republic where all the people must be consulted, but a despotism where the will of one man can march armies, declare war, and act with great rapidity. A republic is naturally slow in action, because the people must be considered and must be consulted.

We have taken on many of the semblances of monarchy and of imperialism in the conduct of this Administration—concealment of facts from the people, denial of news and information, no knowledge of what is going on, no announcement of policy and purpose; and the excuse for it all was that if we should allow the people to know the facts there was danger of creating disapproval of the course of our monarch, and if the enemy should secure those facts it would be of some assistance to them. This is necessary in a monarchy. Press censorship, too, is a necessary adjunct of imperialism, one of the things our forefathers would not have tolerated for a day. And yet our people are becoming so numb that they are willing to accept it, and even criticise men who protest. Lincoln says:

Those arguments are made that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that

all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class. They always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument, and this argument of the judge is the same old serpent that says, "You work and I eat; you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it." Turn it in whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent—

It is as true to-day as it was when Lincoln uttered it, and it will continue through all time and as long as men struggle for freedom—

and I hold if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book, in which we find it, and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it?

While Lincoln lived and uttered these words forty years ago, there are men to-day in the Senate of the United States who are so bold as to be willing to go and tear them out.

A voice in the audience said, "No, no." Lincoln then said:

Let us stick to it, then; let us stand firmly by it, then.

Henry Clay took the same view on the subject, and I will read very briefly from what he said:

What is the foundation of this appeal to me in Indiana to liberate the slaves under my care in Kentucky? It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that "men are created equal." Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration, and it is desirable in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle.

But the difference, Mr. President, between the doctrines of the Republican party as founded by Giddings and Hale and Lovejoy and the party of Platt and Beveridge is not as

great as the distance between Lincoln, the first President of the Republican party, whose greatest title is that of the Emancipator, earned by issuing on New Year's Day, 1863, the proclamation of emancipation, and McKinley, whose name must go down in history as the last of the Presidents of the Republican party, and whose chief claim for remembrance will lie in the fact that he restored slavery to our country and that under his Administration, under the protection of our flag—the Stars and Stripes—the slave driver plies the lash to the back of unrequited toil. Lincoln in his emancipation proclamation said:

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free, and that the executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

President McKinley approved the treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, which provides:

ART. 3. The rights and dignities of His Highness the Sultan and his datos shall be fully respected, the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion, all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion.

And within that clause is embraced slavery and polygamy, both of them religious customs under the practice of Mohammedanism by the Sultan of Sulu.

But further than that, Mr. President:

Article 10. Any slave in the archipelago of Sulu shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to his master the usual market value.

Nothing is said about where he is to get the consideration. The business of the Sultan of Sulu has been in the past to get into a quarrel with some of the negro tribes of the island of Mindanao, the largest island of the group, having an area nearly as great as the State of Indiana, and then, as an excuse for punishing them for having rebelled against his authority, to take prisoners and sell them as slaves to the

planters raising sugar upon the island of Borneo. This is the way he gets money to carry on his business. Yet we have agreed in this treaty, ratified and sanctioned by the President of the United States, that we will not interfere with any controversy which exists between the Sultan and his subjects, but that they shall be tried and dealt with under the laws which he may make.

He is an absolute monarch, having the power of life and death. No one can question his right. If he commands his assistants to assassinate any one of his subjects, no one can call into question the act; yet we make an agreement with him whereby we pay him \$250 a month to fly the flag of the United States over his slave ships and over his harem.

ART. 13. The United States will give full protection to the Sultan and his subjects in case any foreign nation shall attempt to impose upon them.

Nobody else. And we have agreed not to again interfere to stop his slave ships or stop the practice of slavery and polygamy in that country. And yet the President says that the Stars and Stripes mean the same thing wherever they float!

Article XIII of the Constitution of the United States provides, in section 1, that:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

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Now,¹ Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin [MR. SPOONER] complained that we raised the issue of imperialism and he objects that it shall be raised at this time. He says it is a political issue; that we have trumped it up and have undertaken to charge it against the Administration for political purposes. Mr. President, we did not raise the issue of imperialism. Who raised the issue of imperialism? The men who in sending our flag to Porto Rico refused to send our Constitution there. Who raised it before that? Every

1. Speech in the Senate June 4, 1900.

acquisition of territory that we have ever made up to the time we took Hawaii and the Philippines has contained a provision that the ceded territory should be incorporated into the Union of States and its inhabitants made to share with us the duties of a republic.

MR. HANSBROUGH: The Senator should except Alaska in that statement.

MR. PETTIGREW: I will read the provision with regard to Alaska. After we had adopted the Spanish treaty we first voted down the Bacon resolution and then we voted this resolution:

Resolved, etc., That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex the said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States.

There is your doctrine of imperialism. By it we propose to hold a people against their will as a colony of this Republic—a one man power, absolute despotism government under the resolution. After bringing in that resolution the Senator from Wisconsin complains that we raise the issue of imperialism. You raised it when you said we will take and hold that country without promising to its people citizenship or ever making it an integral part of the territory of the United States.

Now, let us see. When we annexed Alaska the treaty contained the following provision:

The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice, reserving their national allegiance, may return to Russia within three years, but if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

What are the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States? Why, participation to the fullest extent in our Government and, as understood and practiced in all our Territories, admission as States. But the Philip-

pires were not to have that. They were never to become citizens of the United States. It is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States. So the Senator is answered with regard to Russia and Alaska.

Now with regard to Louisiana :

That the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of the citizens of the United States—

“Rights, advantages, and immunities!” The same words exactly are used in the treaty with Russia with regard to Alaska—

and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

Words absolutely the same except the promise that they should be admitted into the Union of the United States. They are superfluous words if used in connection with the pledge, with the contract that they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States.

In the treaty when we purchased Florida there is the present provision :

The inhabitants in the territories which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States by this treaty shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all privileges, rights, and immunities of citizens of the United States.

In the treaty with Mexico, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Article VIII is as follows :

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, defined by the present, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their

being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

Then the treaty goes on to say:

The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.

Then in the Gadsden treaty, where we purchased from Mexico a large portion of territory, there is this provision:

That all the provisions of the two articles of the Guadalupe Hidalgo treaty—

Just quoted—

and that the same articles should also apply to all the rights of persons and property, both civil and ecclesiastical, within the same.

So I fail to find a single instance where we did not provide that they should be citizens of the United States. Who then, I say, raises the issue of imperialism? Why, it is those who voted for the resolution declaring that those people should never be citizens of the United States, and that their country should never be an integral part of our Government; in other words, that they should never be admitted into the Union of States.

Who is apologizing, Mr. President, for the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States? Who is it that has suddenly discovered that the theories of government contained in these great instruments are inapplicable to human affairs? Why, the Senator from Wisconsin and those who agree with him. The rest of us can read the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July, and we can hope that other people will throw off the yoke of despotism and tyranny and adopt our Constitution as a model of free government. But the imperialists, those who are apolo-

gizing for the Declaration, those who think we have outgrown the Constitution, of course can no longer hope that people anywhere in the world shall adopt our form of government as a model. We who disagree with this infernal imperial policy can vote for a resolution of sympathy with the struggling Republics of Africa, but the imperialists in this body can not. Such a change in their heart, such a change in their methods of thought, was never before heard of, outside of a miracle, in the history of the world.

Last Fourth of July Administrationists began to drift from their moorings, and could no longer celebrate that glorious day without apologizing for the document which it commemorates; but three years ago, after the campaign of 1896, when the great money power took control of this country and of its affairs, they could have read the Declaration and loved and praised it and wished that others would follow it as well as we can to-day. What they will do next Fourth of July I know not, but I am sure they can not read that Declaration with any heart or pleasure; and after they have done it, they must apologize to the listening crowds for their interpretation of it.

Who is it that is apologizing for Lincoln and asserting upon this floor that he fought the war of the rebellion to overthrow the fundamental position around which was woven his entire political life? Who is it that undertakes to say that the war of the rebellion was waged on his part to destroy the doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? I say not those of us who are opposed to imperialism and aggression and robbery and wrong; but it is the Senator from Wisconsin, it is the imperialists of this body, who find it necessary to blacken the character of Abraham Lincoln. Let us see what Abraham Lincoln said about this. Lincoln said:

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the term for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to

transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor. By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

Here, then, Lincoln refutes the slander placed upon him. He says that this Government and the relation of the States and how they might be separated was only for the people to determine—the whole people—for the States to determine by an understanding or an agreement; that his duty was to carry out the doctrine around which his whole life centered—the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence.

MR. HAWLEY: Will the Senator permit me to read a little from the Declaration of Independence, three or four lines?

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The good People of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do.

MR. PETTIGREW: Very good, Mr. President. I indorse every line of it, according to the spirit of the document itself, according to the ideas that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. That document—the portion of it read—absolutely refutes the idea that any power is given to conquer other people and hold them in subjection. Let us see what Lincoln said:

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position, discarding our standard that we have left us; let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal. * * * I leave you, hoping that the lamp

of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created equal.

This was in Philadelphia, on his way to Washington to take the oath of office as President of the United States. He further said:

Your worthy mayor [of Philadelphia] has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain in your city long enough for me to consult your merchants and manufacturers, or, as it were, to listen to those breathings arising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States and, I will add, the Declaration of Independence were originally framed and adopted. I assure you and your mayor that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls.

I have never asked anything that does not breathe from those walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that come forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I ever prove false to those teachings. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. * * * Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can, I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it can not be saved upon those principles it will be truly awful. But if this country can not be saved without giving up that principle I would rather die than abandon it.

Yet Senators stand here upon this floor and say that Lincoln spent four years of his life and went to a martyr's grave to overturn that very principle. Then he goes on:

Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—

He must have prophesied or seen in advance the speech that the Senator from Wisconsin [MR. SPOONER] was going to make, and the speech of the Senator from Indiana [MR. BEVERIDGE] also, Mr. President—

what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden.

To-day we revive the argument that those people are inferior, and that we have got to bless them with our presence and we have got to shoot civilization into them; that we have got to butcher them by tens of thousands in order to make them more happy, and then that we are going to send our missionaries to christianize them, when already the percentage of their people who are members of the Christian church is much greater than ours.

But this argument that the Constitution is worn out or outgrown and this argument that the Declaration of Independence is simply one of the nursery rhymes sung around the cradle of the Republic is not new. I read again from Lincoln. Lincoln, July 17, 1858, in a speech, made this statement:

Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, in one of his speeches, when they were presenting him canes, silver plate, gold pitchers, and the like, for assaulting Senator Sumner, distinctly affirmed his opinion that when the Constitution was formed it was the belief of no man that slavery would last to the present day. He said that "I think the framers of our Constitution placed the institution of slavery where the public mind rested, in the hope that it was in the course of ultimate extinction." But he went on to say that the men of the present age by their experience have become wiser than the framers of the Constitution, and the invention of the cotton gin had made the perpetuity of slavery a necessity in this country.

Why, Mr. President, I do not suppose that the advocates of imperialism or the doctrine of conquest, the burlesquers of the Constitution, the repudiators of the Declaration of Independence, had read that speech of Lincoln or had studied Brooks very much; yet they are not new, it appears, in their position. Brooks then thought that he had outlived the Constitution; the cotton gin made it necessary that slavery should continue; and here to-day the new interpreters of the Constitution and of the Declaration of Independence tell us

that it is necessary to abandon those documents in order that we may conquer people in the interests of trade.

The gist of the argument of the supporters of the Administration is that we wish to extend our trade and commerce throughout the world. It is of interest in this connection to see what success we have had in the Philippines.

I hold in my hand the monthly summary of the commerce of the Philippine Islands for July, August, and September, 1899, prepared by the division of customs and insular affairs, War Department, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

This pamphlet shows the total trade of the Philippine Islands for the three months stated herein: Imports, \$7,077,000 from all over the world. From the United States they imported \$331,000, or one dollar to every twenty of their imports came from the United States. I find by examining the different pages of this document that of the \$331,000 of trade with the United States \$110,300 was liquor. So, after all, if trade follows the flag it must be the liquor trade.

This certainly is not an encouraging prospect for the vast expenditure of life and money in order to conquer the Philippines and extend the trade relations of the United States. Three hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars out of an import trade of \$7,077,000, and \$110,300 of that was American liquor!

This cry that we are going to bless the Filipinos, this talk that we are there for their good and their happiness and their prosperity, is also old. It has been heard before. It is the plea of the hypocrite. It is well personified in one of Dickens's works as follows:

Stretching forth his flabby paw, Mr. Chadband lays the same on Jo's arm and considers where to station him. Jo, very doubtful of his reverend friend's intentions and not at all clear but that something practical and painful is going to be done to him, mutters, "You let me alone. I never said nothink to you. You let me alone."

"No, my young friend," says Chadband, smoothly, "I will not let you alone. And why? Because I am a harvest laborer, because I am a toiler and a moiler, because you are delivered over unto me and are become as a precious instrument in my hands. My friends, may I

so employ this instrument as to use it to your advantage, to your profit, to your gain, to your welfare, to your enrichment! My young friend, sit upon this stool."

Jo, apparently possessed by an impression that the reverend gentleman wants to cut his hair, shields his head with both arms, and is got into the required position with great difficulty and every possible manifestation of reluctance.

So it appears human nature is about the same whether in England or in Asia. But let us see. This doctrine that we are going to do them good, is older even than Dickens.

I have read McKinley's proclamation to the Filipinos, and I have put together the proclamation to the people of the Philippines and the proclamation of the King of Assyria, written eighteen hundred years before Christ. A man would think McKinley had plagiarized his proclamation from that.

Ragozin, in his history of Assyria, gives a literal translation of a proclamation issued by Asshurbanipal to the people of Elam. The Elamites had gone to war. No, their country had been invaded by Asshurbanipal's forces, he had overrun the land, cutting down the trees, filling up the wells, killing the inhabitants. He captured their capital city, killed their king, took 208,000 of their people into captivity as slaves, drove off most of the cattle of the rest of them, and then sent them this affectionate proclamation:

The will of the king to the men of the coast, the sea, the sons of my servants.

My peace to your hearts; may you be well.

I am watching over you, and from the sin of your king, Nabubel-zikri, I have separated you. Now I send to you my servant Belibni to be my deputy over you; I have joined with you, keeping your good and your benefit in my sight.

Mr. McKinley says to the Filipinos:

Finally, it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the Administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by insuring to them in every possible way the full measure of individual rights and liberty which is the heritage of a free people, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, which will substitute the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule. In the fulfillment of this high

mission, while upholding the temporary administration of affairs for the greatest good of the governed, there will be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority to repress disturbance and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands.

* * * * *

How much like King George this reads. King George said:

I am desirous of restoring to them the blessings of law and liberty equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

This is what King George said to us when we rebelled. Here is another sample of how God is in all these things. We have done it to the glory of God and for the good of those people. How common it is for men, especially when they want to do mean things, to undertake to silence their conscience by appealing to the Deity:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *June 10.*

I am not given to talking about prize fights, and I fear the public will not understand me when I say that the Lord of Hosts was in the battle of last night. Like all other battles, this is a victory for our Lord and Saviour—

This is Jeffries's father after he had licked Fitzsimmons—

My boy won it because the Lord so willed it, and if he had been defeated it would have been through a power greater than we know of.

I supposed he won it because he outweighed Fitzsimmons and outfought him.

Thus reflected the preacher father of Jim Jeffries, the world heavyweight champion prize fighter, when asked his opinion upon the results of the now celebrated contest. The fact can not be disguised that Mamma and Papa Jeffries, the big brother, and three sisters are supremely happy that the big boy won the battle, and that the possibilities of defeat have caused serious reflection. All day the curious, idle, and jubilant friends of the family have crowded around and about the Jeffries home in East Los Angeles.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to read simply an extract from Professor Creasy in his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*:

There has never been a republic yet in history that acquired dominion over another nation that did not rule it selfishly and oppressively. There is no single exception to this rule, either in ancient or modern times. Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Holland, and Republican France all tyrannized over every province and subject state where they gained authority.

Mr. President, I believe that if this policy is continued there is no limit to its bounds; that if we can justify taking the people of the Philippines and governing them against their will, if we can justify conquering countries where our Constitution can not go, our armies will soon be seen marching across Mexico, down the Isthmus of South America, laying death and desolation in their track, rearing upon the ruins of those free governments a tyrannical, despotic policy, and when it is done our liberties will be gone.

Oh, you can not control this question in the United States without an immense navy and a standing army. You must have one man given supreme control of all, so that he can move with rapidity, so that decisions can be made in a day and armies marched and ships moved where danger is seen, and therefore despotism must be the result.

Mr. President, a republic and an empire can not exist under the same flag. No country should be brought within our bounds where our Constitution can not go, and no people should ever undertake to send their constitution to a country whose inhabitants have not the capacity and ability to maintain and support it.

CHAPTER XVI

FREE LAND AND A FREE PEOPLE

THE Senate having under consideration the bill for free homesteads on the public lands.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President,¹ the bill now under consideration, as amended by the Committee on Indian Affairs, provides that the lands embraced in Indian reservations where the Indian title has been extinguished since 1889 shall be subject to entry under the homestead law, and where the homesteader resides upon the land for five years, making it his continuous home and exclusive residence, he shall receive title to the same upon paying the land-office fee, no other payment being required. Under existing law these homesteaders are required to pay to the Treasury of the United States not only the fees but also the price per acre which the Indians received for the land when their title was extinguished. This price ranges from 50 cents to \$3.75 an acre. These lands are, however, subject to entry under the mineral laws of the United States where there is mineral.

This bill does not affect that provision, but requires that the land shall be purchased as other mineral land. It also provides that these lands may be entered under the town-site law, and that payment shall be made if so entered. It also provides that wherever any settler, having taken a homestead upon these lands, chooses to prove up and pay for the same after fourteen months' residence, he shall pay the Indian price, but where he resides upon the land the full five years, such residence and occupation and cultivation shall be equivalent to payment. The bill is therefore intended to restore these lands to entry under the homestead law and make its

1. Speech in the Senate January 6, 1897.

provisions apply to them the same as they had been applied to all the vast area which has been occupied by American citizens during the last thirty or forty years under the provisions of that act.

In fact, Mr. President, it has been the custom of the Government not to hold its public domain for the purpose of revenue, to strive to see how much money can be acquired on it, but, on the contrary, it has been the custom of the Government to extinguish the foreign or Indian title, to dispose of the land and to encourage its occupation and settlement by the people of this country.

I think the first homestead law passed by this Government was in the closing days of the last century, in 1795. In the early days of the Republic the public lands were disposed of by direct act of Congress. A settlement of people existed on the Ohio River near the Big Sandy River. Congress passed an act setting out 24,000 acres of land and providing that it should be divided amongst those settlers and patents issued to them on condition that within five years after the survey and allotment of the land they should take up their residences upon the allotments and reside continuously thereon for five years, and that if they failed to do so the title should revert to the Government.

Before the passage of the original homestead law in 1862 the Government had disposed by grants to individuals of more than 15,000,000 acres of public domain. Beginning with the very earliest days of our history that course has been followed up by the grant of 63,000,000 acres for military services in the different wars in which we have been engaged. We have donated 30,000,000 acres for educational purposes to the different States, and also made other large grants to aid in the construction of canals and public works of different kinds, the building of roads, etc.

So it has been the policy of the Government to use its lands to develop and build up a new country. The theory of the homestead law was that if a man would go forward into the wilderness beyond civilization, beyond schools, where there were no roads, take his family, cultivate the soil and make it

his permanent home, the act would be regarded as equivalent to payment, and he would be entitled to the land.

This policy has been pursued since 1862 up to 1889, and the great States of the West have been built up under it. Millions of acres of public land have been disposed of. During the dark days of the war, in 1862, this Government was not too poor to encourage the occupation of the public domain by the hardy pioneers, and Uncle Sam was willing to give to each man a home if he would go forward and subdue the wilderness. It seems to me at this late day to change this policy is turning backward. Perhaps, Mr. President, it is in accord with the economic interest of the age that we should turn back, for already our census shows that 52 per cent of our people are without homes; already our census shows that the property of this country is accumulated in the hands of less than 250,000 people. The objection to this measure seems to come from that locality in this country where the people live who own the wealth; but I doubt, Mr. President, if it is wise to check the effort of our people to become independent land-owners, and I believe that that policy, inaugurated and approved in the past, is one that we should pursue in the future.

In the early days of this country President Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in 1832, said:

The wealth and strength of a country are in its population, and the best part of the population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are everywhere the basis of society and the true friends of liberty. * * * To put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation on the subject, and to afford every American citizen of enterprise the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea of raising a future revenue out of the public lands.

Now, Mr. President, we do not propose to change the policy which has heretofore existed as to the disposal of the public lands, but we do propose by this legislation to make that policy apply to those areas recently purchased.

I want to say in this connection that hope of revenue from this source, if this bill does not pass, will be a disappointment. These lands are in the semiarid area of this country, where the rainfall is inadequate to produce crops in more than half of the seasons. The people went out upon these lands believing that they were like the lands of Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois, fit to be cut up into small farms; but they have found that it is impossible to raise the money to pay for them.

I will review very briefly, Mr. President, the reservations in my own State. Take the great Sioux Reservation. Eight and one-half million acres were opened up to settlement under the provisions of the homestead law in 1889, but only 700,000 acres have been entered. The remainder of that land is high prairie, the ridges between the streams only fit for grazing, and will not be entered under any provisions of the homestead law. By the passage of this proposed legislation we can relieve and retain in that country the people who have already entered 700,000 acres; but if you fail to pass it, you simply drive them from their homes to crowd the ranks of the idle and unoccupied people all over this country. They cannot produce upon those lands money enough to pay for them. But the people who are there have begun to raise stock. While agriculture does not normally flourish, they have begun to store water from the streams and to raise gardens, and if they are relieved from the payment required from them under existing law they will remain there to develop and build up that country; but if the Government forecloses its claim upon these people, it will simply drive them from their homes. You can drive them from their homes on the land they now occupy, and the rest of these reservations will be simply occupied by the great cattle kings, whose cattle already roam over that region. No one will buy the land, as the Senator from Minnesota suggests. If the Government wishes to dispose of that land to obtain revenue, then you must make some other provision than the provisions of the homestead law; you must make provision for its appraisal and for its sale. If the Gov-

ernment is ready to adopt that policy in order to acquire revenue, you must lease the land for the only purpose for which it is fit to be used.

The report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office figures the revenue from these reservations at between four and five million dollars; while, on the contrary, the revenue will be practically nothing. The people who live there will leave and others will not go there under the provisions of the homestead law. It is for these people that I plead.

Mr. President, the counties adjoining these reservations in my State lost 18,000 in population between the years 1890 and 1895. While the State itself gained slightly in population, the people left the lands in the vicinity of these reservations because they were mortgaged and unable to pay the interest.

I recollect an incident which occurred there. A citizen of the State of New Hampshire held a mortgage of \$600 on a quarter section of land near the Great Sioux Reservation. He concluded he would go out to the Dakotas, as the debtor had failed to pay the interest for two years, to see what was the trouble. This citizen of New Hampshire visited my State, drove 12 miles from the railroad station to see the farm upon which he held a mortgage and of which he was very liable to become the proprietor. He found a small house, one story in height, with two rooms, and a sod barn near by, three cows picketed out and grazing not far away, a young woman, and two young children. He drove up and asked the name of the resident, and found it was the place he was looking for. He asked the lady where her husband was. She said he was away working for one of the neighbors, but she would send one of the children for him, which she did. When the man came, the visitor told him that he was the person who held the mortgage on his land, and said, "I should like to know when you can pay me the interest." The settler said, "I think if we have two or three good crop years I can pay up the back interest." The gentleman from New Hampshire then asked if this was all the property the man had, and he replied, "Yes; this is all I have. I have just this quarter section of land, these three cows, a few chickens, a pair of horses, and

some farm machinery which I have not paid for yet." The New Hampshire man then asked the settler if he could stay there and work it out. "Yes," was the reply, "I think I will stay and try to do it." The gentleman from New Hampshire then took the papers out of his pocket, turned them over to the settler, and said, "If you can stay here and support your family, you will have no occasion to pay the mortgage."

Mr. President, you can go into the State of South Dakota and into the western portion of Nebraska and into Kansas and buy these lands for less than the Indian price. Take the best lands in my State which are open to settlement—the Sisseton and Wahpeton Indian reservations. On these reservations we opened for settlement about 550,000 acres. About one-half has been taken by actual settlers, who have been trying to make homes and make a living. They began in 1891. Five years have expired. We have extended the time for them to make payment for the lands, but they are unable to pay. The price is \$2.50 an acre. Each settler must produce \$400. He can not borrow the money at any bank in the State and he can not borrow \$100 a quarter section from anybody in New England. This bill must pass or the settlers will leave that reservation and give up the struggle, and I think they would be wise to do it, for they can go 50 or 100 miles away and purchase lands for a dollar or a dollar and a quarter an acre from the people of the East who have been obliged to take up the lands by mortgage foreclosure from homesteaders who had previously made the effort to pay for them and had failed.

I have received a telegram to-day from people on that reservation, which reads:

People on reservation all deeply in debt. Crop failure three years out of four. Banks will not loan enough to prove up. Not one in ten can save land. Statement mailed delayed by storm.

So I have not received it. The simple question now is, whether we shall drive those people from their land or whether we shall give them an opportunity to remain there?

There is no chance for revenue to be derived from it.

Before I allude to the map, to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate, I wish to make some reference to the minority report.

MR. ALLEN: I should like to ask the Senator to explain more fully who it is that says that four millions and a half of revenue can be derived from this land, and whether it can be derived annually, and in what manner?

MR. PETTIGREW: I suppose the Senator refers to the Sioux Reservation, which is opened to settlement, and lies partly in North and South Dakota and Nebraska.

The diagram furnished in the minority report of the committee comes from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and with it he says:

Loss to the United States, if settlers are relieved from payment, \$4,624,000.

MR. ALLEN: How?

MR. PETTIGREW: Of course that is based upon the idea that that land will all be taken up by homesteaders, that they will live there five years, and then pay the money for it, which is absolutely impossible and can never occur. After seven years but 700,000 acres of these lands have been taken, and those are lands along the streams where there is water, the best of all of them. The rest of the land can not be occupied by homestead settlers, for they will not produce crops which will support a family.

MR. PLATT: May I ask the Senator a question?

MR. PETTIGREW: Certainly.

MR. PLATT: There were a little over 9,000,000 acres of the Great Sioux Reservation, said to be eight million and a half, opened to settlement or entry. I suppose it will be admitted that the Government will have to pay 50 cents an acre for those lands, somehow.

MR. PETTIGREW: Anyhow; and it has to do it right away.

MR. PLATT: That is \$4,000,000, is it not?

MR. PETTIGREW: There are 8,550,000 acres.

MR. PLATT: Four million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

MR. PETTIGREW: That is true. The Government made an agreement with these Indians by which it promised ten years after the treaty was ratified to pay 50 cents an acre for the land not taken by settlers, and as it is nearly all vacant and untaken, the Government will have to pay the Indians for it, as the ten years have nearly expired.

I wish to call attention to another fact. This land was bought from Indians who received it in compensation for the lands which they yielded in Minnesota, Iowa and Nebraska, and it is part of the purchase price of the lands in those States which have been given to homesteaders.

MR. PLATT: I merely referred to that point to answer the question of the Senator from Nebraska [MR. ALLEN] as to how the Government could lose that amount of revenue. It will have to pay for it.

MR. PETTIGREW: The Government has to pay for it any way. It makes no difference whether or not the settlers pay for it. I will read to the Senator, if he desires, the provision of the law in regard to that subject.

MR. ALLEN: Will the Senator from South Dakota permit me?

MR. PETTIGREW: Certainly.

MR. ALLEN: I wish to ask the Senator from Connecticut a question. If the Government takes back the lands—and it will be compelled to take them back; that is all there is to it—from what source is it likely to derive any revenue after they are taken back? What are you going to do then?

MR. PLATT: The Senator from South Dakota says the Government can not get any revenue; that it can not sell or dispose of the lands.

MR. ALLEN: I, too, say you can not get any revenue. I say those lands are not only semiarid, but arid. Ordinarily they are not worth 15 cents a quarter section outside of their use for grazing purposes.

MR. PLATT: Then it will not help anybody to pass the bill except a few settlers already on the land?

MR. ALLEN: Except a few people who are on this land, trying to make a living, and who are making a precarious sort of living. If they are not relieved, you will throw them on the balance of the nation to be supported in some form.

MR. PETTIGREW: That is it exactly.

MR. ALLEN: And they would be self-supporting in their way if they were permitted to go on and make a pioneer struggle.

MR. STEWART: Are these lands similar to those in western Kansas?

MR. PETTIGREW: Yes.

MR. STEWART: I had occasion in connection with a committee to make an investigation there some years ago with a view to irrigation. I ascertained that there had been three sets of settlers. When there was a good year, when there was rain, a large number of settlers would go out. Then there would be drought for five or six years and the settlers would have to be taken away, and they were taken away by contributions of benevolent people, and large tracts of land were abandoned. Then, again, there would be a rainy season or two, and the railroads would represent that there was a chance for settlement there, and another set of settlers would go upon the land. They would have to leave in the same way. There were three attempts in the course of the preceding years to settle a vast region of land—and I presume people will continue to make such attempts—but they were not able to support their families and stay there. Some of them even starved to death. The distress was very great among those who attempted to make homes there.

Now, if these are similar lands, and anybody is trying to live upon them, it seems to me the United States had better let the settlers stay there, because there is no possibility of their paying anything to the Government. The Government will get nothing in any event if they are similar lands, and I understand they are, to the lands in western Kansas, where I spent several weeks investigating the irrigation question, for I am satisfied those lands will never be worth a cent.

MR. CARTER: Mr. President——

MR. PETTIGREW: I yield to the Senator from Montana.

MR. CARTER: The chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs yields to me. I will ask him to state whether it is not a fact that the Indians from whom these various lands have been from time to time purchased by the Government are under the control of and dependent on the Federal government for support, and if those titles were extinguished by and through the purchase, would not the Government without the intervention of any transaction be compelled to appropriate money directly from the Treasury for the support of those people?

MR. PETTIGREW: There is no question that that is a correct statement. Further than that, the Government has already paid for nearly all these reservations. In the case of the Sioux Reservation a payment is yet to be made. It is not a very large payment. Three million dollars has already been deposited in the Treasury, and at the end of ten years after the ratification of the treaty, which will occur in 1899, the Government will be obliged, whether or not it disposes of any of the lands, to pay the remainder of the money to those people; to put it in the Treasury, where it will bear interest for all time for their benefit.

I wish to state, in reference to the remarks of the Senator from Nevada [MR. STEWART], that I have here a table of the western counties of Kansas—there are twelve or thirteen counties—showing the population in 1887 and the population in 1896. The population of those counties has fallen off 60,000 during that time. That number of the people have moved away. The remainder can stay there and make homes in that country—inasmuch as they can graze cattle on the lands that the other people abandoned, because they were mortgaged, because they could not pay the interest, much less support their families.

MR. FRYE: What percentage is that?

MR. PETTIGREW: It is 60,000 out of 101,000.

MR. PLATT: Sixty thousand people have gone?

MR. PETTIGREW: They have gone. There were 101,000, leaving 41,000 people in that country. They can remain; but when we undertook to settle that country and put a man on

each quarter section it was impossible for them to stay there. Those who are left in western Kansas irrigate small tracts of land, the same as the people do in my State, and graze cattle on the surrounding unoccupied country.

If we wish to get revenue out of the sale of Indian reservations we shall have to change our policy. We shall have to appraise the lands and sell them for what they will bring. The area of the public domain fit for homestead entry has already disappeared. We provide for the entry of lands under the desert-land act in the arid regions of the country where there is no water, and we do not pretend to say that it is possible to occupy the land under the homestead law. So it is with nearly all the lands embraced within the provisions of the proposed law.

I wish to call attention to some portions of the minority report. The burden of the report is that the Government can not afford it; that it can not spare the money; that it must wring it out of these poor people if it can get it. Perhaps, Mr. President, that would be very well if we could get it, but Shylock was unable to collect his claim, and we shall be equally unable to collect this one. In the first place the report goes on to say that there are other treaties with other tribes for ratification, and it rather intimates that if the pending bill passes, then the other bills will not be considered favorably; that these Indian reservations will continue as such, I suppose, forever. I propose to look into that branch of the case for a moment.

The Senator says we are negotiating, and so we are today, with several Indian tribes for the cession of their small reservations. The area of the reservations for which we are negotiating embraces so small a portion of the public domain that I will not enter into that question in particular, but I will state that as far as I am concerned when those treaties come in for ratification I shall be decidedly in favor of changing the policy of the Government in regard to disposing of lands thus acquired. I think the water should be saved; I think the timber lands should be reserved from sale forever. I think the timber should be sold, only the ripe trees being cut; that agents of

the Government should be put in charge to see that when trees are cut down new trees are planted in their places and the forests protected and preserved from sale; that the sources of water should be taken charge of, and the lands that can be reached by water disposed of under some provision by which it will be possible to inhabit that country.

The minority also says there are bills pending before the committee which will be affected by this legislation, and the first one named is an agreement with the Turtle Mountain band of the Chippewa Indians in the State of North Dakota. If that agreement is ratified, and it ought to be ratified by Congress, it will not be affected by this legislation, for that treaty does not provide that the lands shall be sold and the proceeds applied to the support of the Indians. It simply provides for extinguishing the Indian title to those lands in North Dakota, much of which has already been disposed of under the homestead law and other land laws of the United States. Those lands were opened up to settlement without making an agreement with the Indians. Now the agreement which is made proposes to pay them about 10 cents an acre and extinguish their title, and it ought to be done. But there is no provision for selling the lands under the homestead law or otherwise, and a large portion has already passed out of the control of the United States.

The next agreement which the minority say is here for ratification is one for the Shoshone or Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. This, again, involves the purchase of a very large spring, supposed to have medicinal properties. A small tract of land is to remain as a public park if the treaty is ratified, and the land is not to be opened to settlement or disposed of at all.

The next agreement is one with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches of Oklahoma Territory. I understand it relates to a tract of land which has already been purchased from other Indians, and now those Indians come in and claim they have some right to it.

MR. PLATT: Oh, no; it is a very large tract of land now in possession of the Indians and largely rented to cattlemen.

MR. PETTIGREW: The Senator from Connecticut says I am mistaken about it. If that is the case, then, the question as to how we shall dispose of those lands will come up when the treaty is ratified. It has no bearing upon this question whatever.

The Pend d'Oreille or Calispel Reservation in Washington contains about a township of land, and is hardly worth considering; and those are the only ones which are pending before the committee.

Now, Mr. President, we have pursued the policy of disposing of these lands under the homestead law from 1862 to 1889. The minority say that the policy was changed in 1880, when we purchased certain land of the Ute Indians in Colorado. Such is not the fact. That provision did not change the policy, for under that treaty the lands were not to be opened for settlement under the homestead law or to be disposed of under the public-land laws of the United States, but a special provision was inserted for the sale of those lands and the appropriation of the proceeds for the benefit of the Indians. As those lands were largely arid lands, mineral lands, it was a wise provision, and ought to be considered in the future. The minority intimate that since 1880 we have changed the policy, practically repealed the homestead law, and that reservations since purchased have been opened only under a provision requiring the settler to pay for his homestead after he had already paid for it by conquering the wilderness.

Let us see. In 1888 the Government purchased from the Blackfeet Indians in Montana 17,570,000 acres of land, and paid \$4,300,000 for it without any provision whatever for reimbursement; and the Government paid four times what it was worth at that. It is grazed over to-day and undisposed of, and it will continue to be grazed over and will never be disposed of under the homestead law. Although it is open to settlement under the homestead law, nobody will occupy it, and there is no provision requiring payment.

We purchased, March 20, 1889, 2,000,000 acres of land of the Seminole Indians in Oklahoma, and it cost \$2,000,000.

We opened that land to homestead settlement without any provision in regard to repayment when the settler had lived five years upon the land. In 1882 we purchased 1,553,000 acres of the Crow tribe in Montana, at a cost of about \$1,000,000. These purchases between 1882 and 1889 aggregate 21,000,000 acres, costing the Government \$7,300,000. Most of the land was purchased in 1888 and 1889, and we threw it open to settlement under the homestead law, without any provision as to payment.

Mr. President, aside from the lands in Montana, the lands in North Dakota and South Dakota, the lands in Minnesota, the remainder of the lands affected by the provisions of the proposed law are located in the western part of Oklahoma, and almost the same conditions apply to those lands, at least they apply to most of them, that apply to lands on the Great Sioux Reservation in South Dakota.

These lands were purchased from the Indians and opened to settlement, requiring the settler, after residing five years, to pay \$2.50 an acre for lands east of the ninety-seventh meridian, and \$1.50 an acre for lands west of that meridian. Two-thirds of the tract are grazing lands. It is true that there was wild excitement; that thousands of people rushed into that country. They supposed that because it was an Indian reservation it must be more valuable. The very proceedings in both Houses of Congress tended to excite among the homeless people of this country the feeling that perhaps there was a region where they could thrive and prosper. Our own acts, providing that the Army should be used to prevent people from entering that country until a certain day, when a proclamation should be issued; the talk in the Senate; the talk in committees, in order to boom the price and get as much as they could on the part of the exceedingly shrewd Cherokee Indians; the statement often made that they could sell the land for \$5 an acre and that a syndicate was ready to take it, in order to get a good bargain out of Congress, excited people in this country, and they did rush in.

How did they rush in? If you had required that they should pay for the land in advance—and the same remark will

apply to the reservations in my State—these homeless people could not have made the payment, and therefore they would not have gone. But if the land was fertile, they hoped at the end of five years to produce enough to make the payment. So we trapped them, as it were, into the purchase, by giving them five years of time in which to raise the money. They have gone upon the land. They have taken their families. They have taken what they had. They have mortgaged their personal property, everything that is movable, in order to sustain life. They have just begun to learn how to make a living on those semiarid lands; to learn to store such of the water as they can store to irrigate their gardens; to learn to raise and graze stock, and eke out an existence. In the past two years they have come to Congress and asked for an extension of time in which they should make this payment, and we have granted it; and yet conditions do not improve.

It will be absolutely impossible for the people upon those lands for years to come, until they have accumulated capital, to earn more than a living, or to make any payment whatever to the Government. I believe that for those people it is the better and wiser policy on the part of the Government of the United States to give them their homes than it is to drive them from them, and that is all that can be accomplished if the pending bill shall be defeated.

MR. ALLEN: How many acres have been taken?

MR. PETTIGREW: I do not know. The statement of the Land Department does not show just the number of acres that have been taken. In Oklahoma the area is large, covering quite a large portion of the reservations purchased, but in my State the area is not large. On one reservation, it is about 250,000 acres; on another, 700,000 acres, and on another, the Yankton Reservation, which was opened recently, about 80,000 acres. The remainder in my State, which covers an area of between nine and nine and a half million acres, is still unoccupied.

MR. TELLER: One million acres out of about 9,000,000 acres?

MR. PETTIGREW: One million out of 10,000,000 acres,

although those reservations have been open to settlement for the last six or seven years.

I have had prepared a map, which I hope Senators will observe. It shows the original area of the United States, the purchase from Spain, the purchase from France, the annexation of Texas, and the two purchases from Mexico. Any Senator can readily see that in those purchases from foreign governments most of the lands disposed of under the homestead law are included—the great States of the West, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas, and so on west to the Pacific Ocean. In addition to the purchases from foreign nations, we have purchased from Indian tribes in this country very much more than is shown on this map.

I have had drawn upon the map a line showing the average annual rainfall. The east line on the map shows that the average rainfall is 30 inches along that line. The next line shows that the average rainfall is 20 inches. The average rainfall then decreases from the first line to the second line. From the second line to the third line the rainfall decreases from 20 inches to 15 inches per annum.

Now, between those two lines lies nearly every acre of land affected by the proposed legislation, and every one who has investigated the subject at all knows that an average rainfall of less than 25 to 30 inches is insufficient to mature crops.

MR. DAVIS: What is the rainfall in the great space?

MR. PETTIGREW: In the great space between the two lines, marked 15, is the arid region of the United States, and the rainfall there is from none at all to 15 inches. Vast areas of that country have from 5 to 10 inches of rainfall. There are some mountain peaks and groves of timber at high altitudes where the rainfall is greater. That country is almost entirely undisposed of. The only large reservation outside of this area where the rainfall is from 15 to 30 inches, and where it is insufficient to mature crops, is the Crow Reservation in Montana, which is in a region where the rainfall is less than 10 inches.

MR. ALLEN: Will the Senator permit me to direct his

attention to the fact that the rainfall, even where it amounts to 18 or 20 inches, does not come at the season of the year that would mature crops? It comes early in the spring, leaving the crops half grown, and they are withered up by the sun and the atmosphere afterwards.

MR. PETTIGREW: That is undoubtedly true, and from that fact arises another, that it does mature a scanty growth of very excellent grass. Those lands are excellent for grazing, although it takes several acres to maintain one animal. Therefore they are not adapted, except in very small areas, to homestead settlement.

The Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota was opened to settlement in 1890, and the Government has not sold one acre of it yet. The report of the minority of the committee shows that not an acre of that land has been disposed of. The report also shows that although those reservations have been opened to settlement from 1889 up to the present time, the total receipts of the Government from all of them have been \$446,000, and most of that sum has come from the sale of town sites in Oklahoma and from settlers who have commuted lands where there were, perhaps, valuable water rights. Wherever there is a valuable water right the homesteader would go in and prove up and sell it to cattlemen, who use it to water the cattle that graze upon the adjoining lands.

This is not the proper method to pursue if we wish to gain revenue from the disposal of those lands. If the pending bill is not passed, and we undertake to dispose of those lands under the provisions of existing law, the revenue from homesteaders, in my opinion, will not exceed two and a half million dollars, and even that sum will not be realized for several years. The revenue from other sources, from the disposal of the lands for town sites, from the disposal of mineral lands—for these smaller reservations in the western portion are mostly mineral, and therefore not subject to homestead entry—will not exceed five or six million dollars more. In other words, we must change the policy if it is the desire of the Government to obtain revenue. In the meantime, it seems to me the only

wise thing we can do is to relieve the people who are struggling to maintain a foothold in that country. Let us give them the land they now occupy and allow them to go on and try to maintain homes. If it is thought desirable that another method of disposing of the remainder of the land shall be adopted, I shall be glad to assist in its adoption.

* * * * *

Since¹ 1889 we have been gradually providing that lands purchased from the Indians shall be paid for by the settler, even though he has resided five years upon them. Previous to that time all the lands purchased from Indian tribes were thrown open to settlement under the homestead and other land laws of the United States. But in 1889 we began the practice of providing that these lands purchased from Indians should be paid for by the settler who occupied them. Against that practice we of the west did not complain so long as it related to all entries except those which required five years' residence. Where a settler goes upon these lands, goes into a country where there are neither roads nor schools nor churches nor any of the comforts of civilization, plants his home, remains five years, and builds roads, builds schools and builds churches, we insist that he shall have the land without other compensation; that is compensation enough.

Yet we have since 1889 pursued the practice requiring such a man to pay from \$200 to \$400 for his entry. Thousands of those people have gone upon those lands and have found that they are in the arid belt, and if they undertook to produce the crops which they had produced in the regions whence they came, where there was sufficient rainfall, they were unsuccessful; that the method of farming had to be changed. So these five years have rolled around, and these men are barely able to exist. They have learned gradually that in that arid region methods of farming different from those pursued in Iowa and Illinois must be pursued.

They have learned that they must irrigate, that they must plant in the lowest places along the river valleys, where the soil is moist; and that they must graze the uplands. It is a

1. Speech in the Senate June 20, 1898.

slow process. The consequence is that these people are unable to pay for their homes. The government, then, has a mortgage upon these homes for the purchase price. We have refused to foreclose these mortgages. Therefore each year we pass appropriation bills and we extend the time of payment. We have done that for the last four years. The House of Representatives this year extended the time again, and we amended the House provision in the Senate, which was entirely germane and proper and in order, by providing that these people, instead of having the time extended, might make their proof without payment.

A measure providing for these free homes passed the House of Representatives in 1896. It was provided that those homesteaders who had gone to Oklahoma and had taken 160 acres of land purchased from the Indians—for all Oklahoma was purchased from the Indians—might secure a home after five years' residence without paying the government price for the land. The House of Representatives passed that bill to relieve those people. It came to the Senate and was referred to the committee on Indian affairs, and that committee amended it by providing that all settlers, whether in Oklahoma or elsewhere, who had settled upon Indian reservations, lands purchased from Indians, if they resided on the land five years, built their homes, and maintained them, should have the land without payment.

In pursuance of this policy the republican convention in St. Louis in 1896 adopted, and it went into the campaign and made the campaign on, this plank in their platform:

"We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the republican party and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure, such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate."

They went into the campaign with that plank in their platform. They paraded the fact that they were the authors of free homesteads. This measure is word for word the bill pending at that time in the Senate, absolutely the same provision, word for word, with no change, and yet the republicans in the House of Representatives, having won their election and

won many a vote upon that plank in their platform, now repudiate its provisions. It is not strange that the party which repudiated its former plank with regard to trusts and which has become absolutely the tool, the implement, of the gold standard and all its infamies would also betray the people in regard to the homestead law which has been the proudest boast in all its history. Let us see. Here is the bill which was pending when the St. Louis convention met and adopted that plank, and I will put it in the RECORD:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That all settlers under the homestead laws of the United States upon the public lands acquired by treaty or agreement from the various Indian tribes, who have or who shall hereafter reside upon the tract entered in good faith for the period required by existing law, shall be entitled to a patent for the land so entered, upon the payment to the local land officers of the usual and customary fees, and no other or further charge of any kind whatsoever shall be required from such settler to entitle him to a patent for the land covered by his entry: Provided, That the right to commute any such entry and pay for said lands, in the option of any such settler and in the time and at the prices now fixed by existing laws, shall remain in full force and effect: Provided, however, That all sums of money so released, which if not released would belong to any Indian tribe, shall be paid to such Indian tribe by the United States."

That bill was reported from the committee on Indian affairs May 16, 1896, and placed upon the calendar. The republican platform, which was adopted one month later, June 18, 1896, says:

"We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure, such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate."

That was done in the convention on the 18th of June, 1896, and the bill which I have just read was on the calendar, and therefore was pending in the Senate on the 16th day of

May, 1896, more than a month before the convention convened. Therefore the convention indorsed this very measure word for word. Now let us see what is the provision in this bill; and I will put them side by side in the RECORD.

MR. CANNON: From what page does the Senator propose to read?

MR. PETTIGREW: From page 72.

MR. SPOONER: Does the Senator know who drew the free-homestead resolution in the republican platform?

MR. PETTIGREW: I do not know who drew it. I was not a member of the committee on resolutions.

MR. HOAR: What year was that?

MR. PETTIGREW: Eighteen ninety-six.

MR. SPOONER: Had the bill passed the House?

MR. PETTIGREW: It had passed the House and had been reported a month before in the Senate and was pending on the calendar, and in words and terms specific the platform indorsed that very measure. That is the measure which the House now refuses to agree to, and here it is:

"That all settlers under the homestead laws of the United States upon the public lands acquired prior to the passage of this act by treaty or agreement from the various Indian tribes, who have or who shall hereafter reside upon the tract entered in good faith for the period required by existing law, shall be entitled to a patent for the land so entered upon the payment to the local land officers of the usual and customary fees, and no other or further charge of any kind whatsoever shall be required from such settler to entitle him to a patent for the land covered by his entry: Provided, That the right to commute any such entry and pay for said lands, in the option of any such settler, and in the time and at the prices now fixed by existing laws, shall remain in full force and effect: Provided, however, That all sums of money so released, which if not released would belong to any Indian tribe, shall be paid to such Indian tribe by the United States."

That is the measure which the St. Louis convention specifically and in terms indorsed and said they were in favor of. The Senator from Connecticut [MR. PLATT] says to me they

did not do any such thing. Let us see whether or not they did. This bill was reported to the senate on the 16th of May, 1896, and on the 18th of June, 1896, the St. Louis platform was adopted. Now, let us see what the platform says:

"We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure, such as has already passed the house and is now pending in the senate."

MR. PLATT of Connecticut: Did they indorse the bill which passed the House?

MR. PETTIGREW: "And is now pending in the Senate." What bill was pending in the Senate? The bill reported by the committee on Indian affairs, the bill I have read here in terms and words.

MR. PLATT of Connecticut: What did they indorse? Did they indorse the bill which passed the House or the bill that was pending in the Senate?

MR. PETTIGREW: Both; the bill "such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate."

MR. PLATT of Connecticut: Does the Senator think they knew what was pending in the Senate?

MR. PETTIGREW: I think they did.

MR. PLATT of Connecticut: Or that this bill was any different from the bill pending in the Senate?

MR. PETTIGREW: They knew all about it. There is no question about it.

Here is the difference between the two bills. The House bill provided for free homesteaders in Oklahoma, every bit of which had been bought from Indians, and the Senate bill provided that the same provisions should extend to the other States of the west. Now, the republicans went into the campaign in South Dakota, and on every stump they told these people that they should have free homes if the republican party won and that they could not get them if they did not, and you pointed to the record of the republican party as being the party in favor of free homesteads, and you showed them that the democratic party had voted against it way back in 1860. You gained thousands of votes by that pretense and

by that plank in your platform; and now you go back on it.

It is not the only plank you have gone back on. You have gone back on your whole record as a party. You have left the side of the people of this country. You have abandoned the principles that made your party great and respectable and have become the champions of everything that is corrupt and bad in American politics. That is the trouble. You abandoned this.

What is more, we passed this bill as a separate measure at the last session of Congress and it went to the House of Representatives exactly in words and terms as in this bill, being the same measure. Has the House done a thing with it? It is referred to the Calendar—the graveyard of the House. They will not even amend it and pass the provision in regard to Oklahoma; and one of the prominent members of the House stood up the other day and stated that it was made for the purpose of getting votes. One of the most prominent members of the House said that the plank was put in the platform, but the election was over. I wish I had his speech here. I should like to put it in the RECORD along with my statement in regard to it.

MR. GALLINGER: If my friend the Senator from South Dakota will permit me, we ought to be somewhat exact in these historical matters. Do I understand that that plank was in the platform of the republican party in 1896?

MR. PETTIGREW: Yes.

MR. GALLINGER: And the campaign was waged in South Dakota in behalf of that plank by the republican party?

MR. PETTIGREW: Yes.

MR. GALLINGER: And the Senator who is speaking fought the republican party in that campaign.

MR. PETTIGREW: I did.

MR. GALLINGER: The republican party had not gone back on that plank at that time. How does it happen that the Senator was with the opposition in that campaign?

MR. PETTIGREW: Oh, Mr. President, that is a long story, but I am willing to answer it. I left the republican party at the St. Louis convention, and I am proud of it. There has

never been a day from that time to this that I have not been glad of it. I stated in that campaign that if McKinley was elected I never could return to the party, because the forces which would control his administration would make it impossible, but there was a chance to return to the party if he was defeated. Repeatedly on the stump I made that statement.

I left the St. Louis convention, first, because it declared for the gold standard, which will ruin every producer in this country and every other country that adopts and adheres to it. I left the republican party because the trusts had captured your party and had complete control of your convention, and you left out the plank against trusts, which you had heretofore adopted, because the trusts, owning you and your party and in possession of your convention, did not want to abuse each other. Reason enough, reason sufficient to justify my course before the people I represent, and enough, in my opinion, to consign the republican party to eternal oblivion.

What has been your course since? It is known throughout this country that vast sums of money are collected and that you are in alliance with the accumulated and concentrated wealth of this country, and that you rely upon them not only to carry your campaigns and furnish money to corrupt the elections, but to elect your senators; and after you have done it, after you have elected by corrupt means a man to this body, the great convention of the State where it occurs passes resolutions congratulating themselves upon the infamy and declaring that they are glad of it.

MR. GALLINGER: Will the Senator permit me again? He seems to be somewhat specific now, and he says that a man has been corruptly elected to this body and that the party has not only condoned it, but applauded.

* * * * *

I wish to ask the Senator if there is any proof that any man occupying a seat on this floor as a republican was corruptly elected?

MR. PETTIGREW: Oh, yes; and the proof is with the committee on elections. The proof is before the people of the United States, and they all know it, and it is conclusive.

MR. GALLINGER. That might be said of an accusation against somebody whose case was before a grand jury and where the grand jury had not reported. I do not understand that the committee on elections has made a report to this body giving it as their deliberate conviction, after proper inquiry and investigation, that any accusation against a republican occupying a seat here has been proved: and until that is done I think the Senator ought to be a little more careful about his statements on that point, with all due deference to his rights as a senator.

MR. PETTIGREW. I am willing that the statement I have made shall go to the country. The proof was sufficient to satisfy the Senate of Ohio, and they sent the case here weeks ago. An innocent man would demand that our committee act before we adjourn. Why does the case sleep in the Senate committee?

MR. WILSON. May I interrupt the Senator from South Dakota, not on the matter of his last observation, but more particularly in regard to the history of the free-homestead business?

The Senator has been upon the committee on Indian affairs for many years. It so happened that in another branch I was on the committee on Indian affairs also, and it so happened that I in part had charge, so far as that branch was concerned, of the appropriation bill for Indian affairs. During that time, and I think the Senator will corroborate my statement, every treaty which was ratified for the cession of lands to the United States contained a clause that they should be sold for so much per acre and the United States thereby reimbursed. It was so, if my memory is correct, with the reservations in South Dakota, with the reservations in Montana, with the reservations in Idaho.

I recollect distinctly that all along the line, whenever a senator or a representative, contending for the throwing open of those reservations, presented himself to the committee on appropriations for the ratification of such a treaty he stated that the government of the United States would be reimbursed. The claim was the same. I do not now recollect whether it

was in the Fifty-second or the Fifty-third Congress, but I recollect distinctly that they said, "Open these reservations and the government of the United States will be reimbursed by those who settle upon the land."

MR. PETTIGREW: There is some truth in the suggestion made by the Senator from Washington. However, it does not apply to any reservation in the State I represent. I do not care, however, to go into the question for one single moment. We imposed these conditions. We said to the homesteaders, "Go upon the public domain and build your homes, live there five years, and then pay us for the land."

We found the conditions were hard. We found that, although the country was fertile, instead of its being a country where there was sufficient rainfall, it was a dry country, and the conditions of agriculture were very different from what these people had been accustomed to in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Therefore we placed in the political platforms of 1896 a provision for releasing the settlers from this onerous provision. The plea of the Senator from Washington has been heard before.

Because the representatives of the poor people who have gone upon the frontier have stated in this hall or in the other hall or before the committees that the settlers would pay for the land, are we still to insist upon payment, although it drives them from the land and leaves them homeless?

Are we still to insist upon their leaving their homes because they can not pay for the lands? The argument which he presents is the same argument which made another, in times gone by, say:

"I crave the law,

The penalty and forfeit of my bond."

Shylock wanted the pound of flesh nearest the heart, but we would drive the homesteader from the home upon which he has struggled for five years. Which is the worse—the ancient or the modern Shylock?

This relieves the people who live five years upon the land. It does not relieve the speculator. The speculator proves up before that time. He never stays. The man who enters land

fit for a town site, a particularly valuable property, is not relieved under the provisions of this law. We never propose to relieve him. But the man who lives five years and made a home and who has found in that dry country that he cannot make a living and pay for the land, it is a question with him whether he will leave his home and improvements after five years of struggle and let Uncle Sam have the land back or whether we will let him have it and let him go on with his improvement and his home and his developments and keep a settler there.

* * * * *

The¹ government of the United States owns 500,000,000 acres of arid and semiarid land, and it also owns the streams and the lakes in the locality of its irrigable possessions. Those streams run to the seaboard, and their lower courses are navigable and carry an enormous commerce. During floods, they overflow their banks and destroy temporarily or permanently large areas of fertile and cultivated land, together with the crops growing thereon. For the purpose of preventing this destruction, from the earliest day of the Government Congress has appropriated money for the construction of levees along the banks of these streams, under the theory that such work was for the benefit of commerce. We of the arid States now propose that the storm water which causes periodical floods shall be accumulated in reservoirs at or near the sources of the streams, and liberated as needed for irrigating purposes during the summer and fall months. This would prevent the overflow of the streams in their lower courses, and incidentally furnish water to refresh the valleys through which the streams flow.

It is estimated by the Government authorities that 72,000,000 acres of land can be thus reclaimed and made to produce crops sufficient to support 15,000,000 people. In the interest of commerce no more beneficial expenditure could be inaugurated than would be involved in an appropriation of one or two hundred million dollars for building such reservoirs and bringing about this result.

1. Speech in the Senate March 3, 1899.

But we have started upon a career of conquest rather than one of internal improvement. Many of our people and the Administration believe that it is of great benefit to this country that we should annex 10,000,000 people in the Philippines—10,000,000 people who live in the Tropics, where the white man can not live, and where self-government, as understood by us and under our Constitution, can not exist. Instead of spending hundreds of millions in conquering the Philippines, would it not be better economy and better business judgment to spend it in reclaiming the arid lands of the West, covering them with our own race, a people capable of self-government, adding tenfold to the commerce of this country, than can possibly be secured by the acquisition of the tropical countries we are now trying to conquer and occupy?

A general policy of arid-land reclamation applied to the West would bring to the coffers of industry the proceeds of a vast volume of commerce. This would come from the producing people who would inhabit that region under its changed conditions and who would cause its revived soil to produce abundantly of the fruits of the earth.

And what is more, Mr. President, they would be a people capable of helping to maintain our Constitution and our form of government. I think it can be safely said that the ease with which man secures an existence in the Tropics makes it impossible for him to participate in the form of self-government under which we live; that a man adapted to our form of government can not be produced in latitudes where he never feels the tingling of the frost in his veins or where woolen clothing is unnecessary.

Mr. President, this question has been before Congress for the last ten years. It becomes more urgent and more pressing each year. The people who inhabit the far Western States are determined that some proper, economical, and beneficial use shall be made of their arid lands and of the waters which drain their vast area. These lands are not adapted for homesteads; they can only be used after irrigation; and the Congress of the United States must expect that we will continue this controversy until one of two courses is pursued, that either the

Government of the United States shall enter upon a policy which shall reclaim our arid lands and utilize the water flowing over them, or else the Government of the United States shall relinquish its title thereto to the States themselves. To-day these vast areas are roamed over by millions of head of cattle, owned by immense and wealthy companies, who enjoy the profits of free pasturage.

If the arid lands in the State in which I live were conveyed to the State we could rent those lands to the cattlemen. We could receive for those lands 10 cents an acre.

We insist upon it that the Government make some use of this idle property, that the 500,000,000 acres of arid lands and their waters shall be put to some useful purpose. Under existing conditions, as I said before, these are not homestead lands, though homesteaders are acquiring gradually the water fronts along the streams, and as they get title to it they control the lands beyond and engage in cattle raising, securing pasturage for which they pay nothing. The Government is an improvident owner. No country can prosper so long as the title to the lands remains in the Government, and for this reason: From such lands we receive no revenue; we can not tax them. And yet the Government is the greatest landed proprietor of the State in which I live.

There are 20,000,000 acres of Government lands within the State. They would rent for \$2,000,000 a year. This revenue would build reservoirs that would utilize every drop of water in the State, and reclaim every acre susceptible of reclamation. It would afford means for the creation of artesian wells, and these applied to lands unfit for agricultural uses would transform them into rich grazing grounds, and the prosperity of the State would be enormously enhanced.

So it is with all the arid States. Each would receive in revenue from cattlemen millions of dollars, and the States could then build reservoirs and reclaim lands, and thereby add enormously to our national wealth.

It is the condition I have outlined, Mr. President, that causes the protests before this body every year, that brings us to the floor insisting on something being done. Our demands

will continue, gathering volume and force, until Congress is compelled to make appropriations to build reservoirs and reclaim arid western land or else turn the property over to the States in which it is located.

For my part, I would prefer to have Congress turn over its arid and semiarid land to the State of South Dakota, because I believe the problem would be practically and honestly worked out to the great advantage of the State. I believe we could then develop and improve that country and bring vast areas under cultivation, and thus secure a revenue to help support our Government and contribute to the welfare of the whole.

The same is true of Idaho, of Montana, of Wyoming, of Colorado, of Nevada, of Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, western Kansas, western Nebraska, and North Dakota. I do not believe that the nation can afford longer to neglect this great opportunity for material advancement. I consider it of fully as much importance, if not of more importance to the future greatness and prosperity of this country than the clearing out of harbors along the small streams of the coast, or even the development of the great harbors themselves.

The internal commerce of this country is the important factor. Our foreign commerce amounts to 5 per cent of all our commerce; and the internal condition and prosperity of this country is therefore of vastly more concern than the commerce that goes across the seas. Business with our own people, business with a kindred race, the exchange of products among ourselves, is of greater commercial value than any exchange we can secure with the other nations of the world.

The proposition that ownership of arid and semiarid land should be transferred from the General Government to the several States within which such land is located is one that may not, at first glance, strongly impress the public. It is a new proposition. Yet I have faith to believe that study, investigation, and reflection along utilitarian lines will induce a large proportion of those who legislate for the people to coincide with my present views.

Primarily, the State should own the land, because the State

can regulate its use and secure revenue therefrom, whereas it is now a burden upon the States, for the reason that necessary governmental functions in connection with such nonproductive areas must be maintained at the expense of those taxpayers who operate within the arable sections of the State. These arid and semiarid tracts are peopled by an alien class who move hither and thither with their herds as the seasons advance and decline, so timing their migrations as to generally avoid contact with an assessor. Theirs is a vocation which demands the strongest protection of law. Thus, while they receive much, they contribute little to the cost of such protection, and the difference must be made up by those who have no share in the lucrative business of the ranges.

Under governmental ownership the land not occupied for agricultural purposes now affords free pasturage to all who choose to place their herds upon it. Under State ownership a price per acre per year would be exacted from those who raise and fatten cattle for their own pecuniary profit. The revenue thus secured could be invested by the State in irrigation methods and through this process a large proportion of the arid land would be fitted for agricultural uses.

I would favor, Mr. President, an arrangement whereby the General Government would convey to the several States a limited title to their arid and semiarid land—a title which would not convey the power of alienation, but would fix ownership in perpetuity upon the State, with authority to lease, improve, and reclaim. This would give the State continuous and increasing revenue. As the land was improved by irrigation its annual value would enhance and in time it might become sufficient to lift the burden of taxation from the citizen.

There are in the West two sources of successful irrigation. There are surface streams and subterranean waters. The streams could be so trained as to discharge their annual flood volume into storage reservoirs, and the underground accumulation, wherever it exists, can be released through artesian wells and conveyed to the soil. During the period of melting snow in the mountains the great rivers of the West flow down their slopes in resistless torrents, gathering magnitude and

force as they traverse the continent, and finally, along their lower stretches, inundating the adjacent country, carrying destruction to life and property.

These experiences are repeated year after year, the Government, with large purpose and small results, attempting to meet the rush of waters with feeble walls of soluble alluvium, when it might go to the source of the trouble and there restrain and retain the dangerous element and harness it for the use of the agricultural producers of the West. With the arid land transferred to the custody of the States of the West, they would in time be able to perform this great task from their own resources. It would be but fair to assist them in the beginning, as the project contemplates in its maturity the saving of enormous annual expenditures by the General Government upon the lower rivers.

The problem of irrigation would more rapidly approach its solution in the hands of the States than under the auspices of the General Government. The law-makers of the nation have no personal interest in matters local in their character and are lacking in the requisite knowledge that practical contact inspires. The people of a State depending to a considerable extent upon irrigation as a means of development would give to the subject the intelligent and earnest attention that would rapidly reclaim all nonproductive tracts relegated to their custody.

These conclusions receive support in the experiences of Colorado, which leads all the irrigable States in effective legislation upon this branch of Western industry. Colorado has pioneered the way and contiguous States are profiting by its developments in legislation, acquired and crystallized in the school of experimental effort. It is vain to expect that a national legislature will descend to the details of such comprehensive enactments as have rescued the deserts of Colorado from the domain of the wilderness and caused their fields, gardens, and orchards to contribute to the wealth of the world's commerce.

In my own State the opportunities for irrigation by means of artesian wells are unusual. Almost anywhere in the middle

half of the State the artesian basin can be tapped at depths varying from 300 to 2,000 feet, each well releasing a flow almost marvelous in quantity. Many of these wells exhibit a pressure strong enough to drive heavy machinery, and from most of them water can be elevated 30 or 40 feet into reservoirs by the force of the head behind the artesian supply. Nature has thus made provision for irrigation on an extended scale in South Dakota, and all that is needed is the money with which to provide for the distribution of the water.

There are also large rivers in South Dakota. The Missouri cuts the State in twain, flowing southward through its central valley. Tributaries go down to it from the east, the west, and the north, and they are generally streams of large proportions. In the flood season these rivers are filled beyond the confines of their banks. If even a comparatively small proportion of this surplus water could be stored for the later growing months of the year and then distributed over the productive area of the State, South Dakota would respond with food for millions of mouths. All that is required is sufficient money with which to build storage reservoirs and connecting channels for the movement of the water.

The possibilities of irrigation applied to the rich and exhaustless soil of the far West are beyond computation. H. H. Wilson, in his reports to the United States Geological Survey, gives an idea of attainable results when he cites a few facts in connection with irrigation in India. In one district, named Punjab, where no crops had ever grown, an investment of \$31,000,000 was made in irrigation works. Two-thirds of this vast sum was returned from the first year's crops. Examples like this abound in Mr. Wilson's report. He says:

Irrigation by wells is common in all parts of India. In Sind 220,000 acres are covered with water obtained from wells; in the central provinces, 120,000; in Madras, 2,000,000 acres; in Coimbatore, 200,000; in the northwest provinces, 400,000. It is estimated, indeed, that in the various provinces of this great empire water is drawn for irrigation purposes from not less than a million wells.

There exists in South Dakota, and, in fact, in most of the States of the far West, a soil equal to that of the richest lands

of India: a soil capable of the largest returns. All that is there lacking is moisture sufficient to grow and mature the crops. This provided, and it will maintain a population of 250 to the square mile as readily as that proportion is maintained in India. I have shown the possibilities of artesian irrigation and the possibilities of water-storage irrigation. All that is needed is to apply the forces at hand.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RAILROADS

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 73) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to foreclose the Government lien on the Union Pacific Railroad and the Kansas Pacific Railway—

MR. PETTIGREW said:

MR. PRESIDENT:¹ I now ask that Senate joint resolution No. 73 may be laid before the Senate and read at length.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. R. 73) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to foreclose the Government lien on the Union Pacific Railroad and the Kansas Pacific Railway, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to foreclose the Government lien upon the Union Pacific Railroad and the Kansas Pacific Railway, and pay the prior lien upon said roads, and take possession of the same for the Government of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury shall also pay the floating debt of said railroad companies, and take up the bonds and stock pledged as security therefor, and take possession of all branch lines that have been constructed in whole or in part out of the earnings of the Union Pacific Railroad. Said Secretary is also directed to take possession in the name of the Government of all the lands granted to said railroad and not conveyed to innocent third parties for a valuable consideration.

For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this resolution the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par in coin, coupon or registered bonds of the United States, to an amount sufficient for the object stated in this resolution, bearing not to exceed 3 per cent interest per annum, payable semiannually, and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States, in coin, after five years from their date, and payable in ten years after their

1. Speech in the Senate February 13, 1896.

date. And the Secretary of the Treasury shall use the proceeds thereof to carry out the the provisions of this resolution.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, I wish to call the especial attention of the Committee on Pacific Railroads to this resolution, for I think it outlines a method by which to solve this much discussed question in a businesslike manner, and in the only way it can be solved with credit to the Government. We have only the interests of the whole people to consider. There are no equities in this case in favor of the present stockholders of these roads, and I will show that the reorganization committee of the stockholders of the roads are entitled to no consideration whatever, as they represent the heartless and unscrupulous scamps that have been robbing the Government and the public for a generation, casting reproach upon our Government and our people that must make every honest citizen blush with shame.

The stockholders and owners of the first-mortgage bonds on the Union and Kansas Pacific Railroad have appointed a committee to reorganize the road and to settle with the Government for its second mortgage upon the property. This reorganization committee proposes to issue one hundred million of fifty-year 4 per cent bonds on about 1,900 miles of road; that is, the road from Omaha to Ogden, which is the main line of the Union Pacific, and about 400 miles of road from Kansas City west, which is the Kansas Pacific Railroad. They also propose to issue seventy-five millions of preferred stock upon this 1,900 miles of road, and assess the present common stock of these companies, which amounts to \$60,000,000, at 15 per cent, and thus raise \$9,000,000. The preferred stock represents nothing. All of it but \$20,000,000 goes to the manipulators of this proposed swindle. If this plan is carried out, then we will still as a Government be in partnership for fifty years with the same men who have been our partners for the past thirty years. As our partners in the past they have swindled us, stolen our property, bribed, debauched, and disgraced our servants, plundered the people along the line of road by extortionate rates, while at the same time by a system of rebates and discrimination they have enriched a favored

few, and where these favored few were private persons they were men who it was supposed had influence in the community where they resided and could influence public opinion; but usually their favors were bestowed upon corporations engaged in trade whose stockholders were the officers and directors of these railroads.

We are now asked to continue this partnership, to continue to have relations with these same men, and upon what basis? Upon a basis of fraud; upon a plan by which this Government is to be a party to the issue of stock for which no consideration is paid, and upon which the public will be called upon to pay interest. There are 1,900 miles of road, one hundred millions of bonds, seventy-five millions of preferred stock, and sixty millions of common stock; in all, two hundred and thirty-five millions of bonds and stock, or \$123,600 per mile.

This 1,900 miles of railroad can be reproduced for \$23,600 per mile, and yet the Government of the United States is asked to go into partnership with a party of dishonest men and bond and stock the road for \$123,600 per mile, and the public whom this road serves is to be called upon to pay interest on this vast sum. That any set of men could come to Congress with any such proposition as this and expect it to be ratified by the representatives of a free people is an impeachment of the integrity of the people of the United States. But these men have so learned the habit of making corrupt propositions to each other by which the public shall be plundered and robbed in the reorganization of overstocked companies of every sort that they do not hesitate to make the proposition now in open daylight to the American people, and it seems to me it is a matter for severe comment and censure that a committee of either body of the Congress of the United States can be found who will entertain it for one moment.

But they go further than this, and tell us how they will distribute this vast amount of stocks and bonds. They propose that the Government shall take \$34,000,000 of the bonds, which is just equal to the principal of the Government's claim against the roads, and shall take \$20,000,000 of the preferred stock in full payment for all the defaulting interest; that the

first-mortgage bonds, which amount to \$34,000,000, shall be taken up and a like number of these new bonds issued in their place; and for every \$1,000 of bonds issued to the present holders of the first-mortgage bonds of these roads \$500 of preferred stock shall be issued as a bonus, the remainder of the stock and the remainder of the bonds to be the property undoubtedly of the conspirators in this stupendous transaction.

Let us see who are the men who compose this reorganization committee of the Union and the Kansas Pacific railroads. This reorganization committee is composed of five members, Louis Fitzgerald, T. J. Coolidge, and Oliver Ames being three out of the five members of the reorganization committee (who represent the old management of the road, the Goulds of New York and the Ames of Boston), the other two being Marvin Hughitt and Chauncey M. Depew. While every one of the receivers who are now managing and operating the road is in the interest of this gang of highwaymen who have plundered the public with this instrumentality in the past, three of the receivers, namely, S. H. Clark, who was formerly manager and for years president of the road, has been and is the representative of the Gould interest; Mr. Mink, of Boston, was comptroller of the company, and has been for years its vice-president, and is also an executor of the will of the late Fred L. Ames, and is, of course, the direct and immediate representative of the Boston crowd of highwaymen who, through the use of this highway, the Union and the Kansas Pacific railroads, have robbed the public and the Government for the past thirty years. The third receiver, who has always acted with this interest, is E. Ellery Anderson, who has also been for several years a Government director, and was placed there for the purpose of protecting the Government's interests, but has never undertaken to protect the Government's interests, but has always acted in the interest of the old and dishonest management. The other two receivers of the road, Coudert and Doane, seem to have a leaning in the same direction, for they have been Government directors, and have never remonstrated against the frauds which have disgraced the management of these roads and of which they must have had knowledge.

Mr. Anderson, one of these receivers and one of the Government directors of the road, stated to the Senate committee that the net earnings of this system of roads were, in 1894, \$4,000,000, and in 1895 \$5,000,000, yet they refused to pay the interest on the first-mortgage bonds and caused the default, evidently for the purpose of allowing the representatives of the first-mortgage bonds to foreclose their mortgage and take possession of the whole property. If receivers would manage private property in this manner almost any court in the land would insist upon their immediate removal; yet these men, with impudence and impunity, seem to have set out deliberately to assist the reorganization committee or the people they represent to carry out a conspiracy to swindle the Government out of its whole claim.

If this reorganization plan is carried through with the assistance of the Government the road will have to earn 4 per cent on \$100,000,000 of bonds and 5 per cent, at least, on \$75,000,000 of preferred stock, and the people along the line of the road will be charged a rate sufficient to accomplish this result, even if no dividend whatever is paid upon the \$60,000,000 of common stock. This interest charged, then, will amount to \$7,750,000 a year, which would be an unjustifiable burden upon the people who are served by the road. The only reasonable and proper thing for the Government of the United States to do is to take possession of the road, issue its own bonds bearing 3 per cent interest as provided by the resolution which I have offered, pay the first-mortgage bonds of \$34,000,000, refund to the Government of the United States the \$53,000,000 now due the Government from these companies, take up and pay the floating debt of these roads of \$12,000,000, and thus get possession of the bonds and the stocks which are held as collateral security for this floating debt, and thus acquire title of \$98,000,000 par value of the branch lines' bonds and stock, the market value of which is at least \$42,000,000 at the present time, thus taking possession of all the branch lines of these roads, amounting to 4,000 miles of track, and operate the whole as one great system.

In this way the Government would realize every dollar these roads owe it. The interest charged would only be 3 per cent on \$100,000,000 of bonds, or \$3,000,000 per annum, instead of \$7,750,000 under the plan proposed by the reorganization committee. The rates for carrying freight and passengers could therefore be much less. There would be no incentive for discrimination in favor of persons or places; every man and every town would have an equal opportunity, and the scandals of our Government connected with the Union Pacific management would disappear from the pages of our history.

I think it is well in this connection to call attention to the methods of the management of these roads in the past if we are going to determine whether we wish to continue that system of management in the future. In the past we have been simply creditors, but under the plan now proposed by these men we become parties not only to the issue of stock for which there is no consideration, but partners in a transaction the future of which will be described as the past has been described. I read from the report of the Union Pacific Railroad commissioners of 1888, by Robert E. Pattison, one of the commissioners, in which he says:

The aided companies combined with others to tax the communities which they served, and they forced the consuming classes in all sections of the country to contribute to the payment of interest and dividend upon the fictitious capital which they had created. They increased the cost of living. They laid proprietary claim to the traffic of large sections of the country. They squandered millions of their money to "protect" their territorial claims, while expending other millions in encroachments upon the territory claimed by other companies. They constituted themselves the arbiters of trade. They attempted to dictate the channels that trade should follow and fixed rates of transportation that were extortionate. They charged all that the traffic would bear, and appropriated a share of the profits of every industry by charging the greater part of the difference between the actual cost of production and the price of the article in the market. They discriminated between individuals, between localities, and between articles. They favored particular individuals and companies. They destroyed possible competitors, and they built up particular localities to the injury of other localities, until matters had reached such a pass that no man dared engage in any business in which transportation largely entered without first soliciting and obtaining the permission of a railroad manager. They

departed from their legitimate sphere as common carriers and engaged in mining articles for transportation over their own lines. They exerted a terrorism over merchants and over communities, thus interfering with the lawful pursuits of the people. They participated in election contests. By secret cuts and violent and rapid fluctuations in rates they menaced business, paralyzed capital, and retarded investment and development.

And yet they come and say that we should continue this partnership and become owners with them in the preferred stock, they having a majority of it, so that they can control its operations and continue this method of doing business.

MR. GALLINGER. From what document has the Senator been reading?

MR. PETTIGREW. From the minority report of Robert E. Pattison, of the United States Pacific Railway Commission.

* * * * *

MR. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota if the Republican party is not directly responsible for this condition, it having been in control of the Government from the time of this report until 1893?

MR. PETTIGREW. I do not care to furnish campaign material for the Populist party in Nebraska. The people of Nebraska may settle that question among themselves.

MR. ALLEN. Does the Senator decline to answer?

MR. PETTIGREW. I have made all the answer I care to make to the Senator on that subject.

MR. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator another question. I infer from his remarks that he is in favor of the Government taking possession of this road. Is that correct?

MR. PETTIGREW. Most certainly.

MR. ALLEN. And owning it?

MR. PETTIGREW. I can see no possible objection to the Government owning the road and operating it.

MR. ALLEN. I then beg to call the Senator's attention to the fact that that is paternalism and Populism, according to the Republican definition of those two words.

MR. PETTIGREW. I do not know whether or not that is

the Republican definition of the two words. Perhaps it is the Populist definition.

I can see no objection to the Government owning the road and operating it. It seems to me that the railroad management of this country has been a total and complete failure. Our system of government is that every man shall have an equal, fair, untrammelled chance to do business, that the law of competition shall prevail. Yet in this respect not only these railroads but the railroads throughout this country have pursued a course that has hindered and prevented the exercise of the law of competition between individuals and between cities and towns. If the Government should own this road and operate it, how different would be the picture when peace and quiet prevailed, when fair and equal opportunity was bestowed upon all the people and all the towns along the line.

But if it is not thought best that the Government shall own the road and operate it, if it is not thought wise that we shall try the experiment and compare Government ownership, now when the opportunity is so easily offered, with private ownership, we should foreclose the mortgage and take possession of this property. There is no reason why we should not do it, even though the Government should afterwards conclude not to operate the road.

I appeal to the Committee on Pacific Railroads, who are considering the question to dissolve forever this partnership with these corrupt manipulators, to refuse to deal or to have any further business relations with them whatever. If there is a strong prejudice against the Government ownership and operation of the roads, let us at least reorganize them upon an honest basis, upon a plan that will not disgrace us as a people; let us purge them of all association with the corrupt management of the past; and when this is once done there is no doubt but the roads can be sold and the Government realize every dollar it has invested in them. By so doing we would recover also several million acres of land which have not been patented to these companies and are still held by them. The plan which I propose would require the issue of \$46,000,000 of 3 per cent Government bonds in addition to the present Gov-

ernment claim against these railroads, and with this \$46,000,000 we would cancel the prior lien or mortgage upon the property; we would pay off the floating debt; we would secure title to \$98,000,000 of bonds and stocks of branch lines, the market value of which is \$42,000,000; we would secure, free from incumbrance, 1,900 miles of road, and also recover 7,000,000 acres of land, and, above all, we would have dissolved a partnership which has been a disgrace to the nation.

What individual would entertain for a moment a proposition to renew a partnership for fifty years with a man or a set of men who had for thirty years previous thereto been engaged in systematically plundering him, not only of the profits of the business but of all the interest upon his original investment, by the practice of almost every crime known to the law? And yet this is just what these men propose to the Government of the United States, and a committee of this body is seriously entertaining it, holding conferences day after day with these men, instead of pursuing the honorable, upright, and manly course so apparent to all. Not only ought we to take possession of these roads and reorganize them in the interest of the public and in the interest of public morality, but suits should be commenced against the estates of the original conspirators who are deceased, and against all the individuals who are living, to recover the money diverted to their own use fraudulently, and also recover the \$24,000,000 converted by them when the Kansas Pacific and Union Pacific were consolidated. These questions I will make the subject of another resolution.

Mr. President, I have not aimed to discuss this great question on this occasion, but to briefly outline a plan, which I hope the committee will at least consider, by which the people of the United States could at least escape disgrace in this connection.

* * * * *

Yesterday¹ I introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 182) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to take up and pay the Union Pacific Railway Company's 6 per cent trust notes, and making an appropriation for that purpose, which I asked to have lie on the table. I now desire to have the joint resolu-

1. Speech in the Senate December 22, 1896.

tion read at length, and I wish to make a brief statement in regard to the same before its reference.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to pay to the holders of the Union Pacific Railway Company's 6 per cent trust notes the amount due thereon, and take possession of the bonds and stocks now held as security for said notes, said bonds and stocks being the property of the Union Pacific Railway Company.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act the sum of \$10,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

MR. PETTIGREW: Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Committee on Pacific Railroads, to whom I desire to have the joint resolution referred, to certain facts in connection with this matter.

I am of the opinion that the Union Pacific Railroad was not and is not insolvent, inasmuch as previous to its going into the hands of receivers its income was sufficient not only to pay the operating expenses but all the interest upon its indebtedness except that which it owed the Government. Nevertheless a floating debt was created for the express purpose, in my opinion, of securing the securities of the company which now are collateral to the trust notes issued for the floating debt.

In 1891 the company issued its 6 per cent gold notes for \$8,500,000, or at least the principal and interest amounts to that sum at the present time, and deposited bonds and securities of the Union Pacific Railroad, the bonds and securities of the branch lines of the Union Pacific Railroad, with Morgan & Co. to secure these trust notes.

The notes have been past due for two years. The interest, I understand, remains unpaid. It is now proposed on the part of the owners of these notes to foreclose upon the securities, organize a corporation that is to hold those securities, issue bonds to the amount of \$10,000,000, and issue \$5,000,000 of stock, and deliver the stock to the people who take the bonds

and furnish the money to pay the trust notes, the stock to be given as a bonus with the bonds, without any consideration whatever being paid for the stock.

Their apparent purpose is to get possession of the bonds and stocks of the branch lines of the Union Pacific Railroad. These stocks and bonds amount to \$93,000,000 and are worth on the market today from \$35,000,000 to \$40,000,000. Yet it is proposed to sell them to pay these trust notes, to obtain possession of the branch lines, and then in case the Government assumes possession of the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad to divert the branch lines so acquired to the Northwestern or other roads which nearly parallel the Union Pacific, and greatly decrease the value of the property and the security of the Government.

It seems to me that any business man under these circumstances would step in and protect his interests, and it is the duty of the Government of the United States to step in and protect its interests and redeem these securities, to pay the trust notes, to take these stocks and bonds, for in case we take the property (and it seems to me likely that we shall take the property of the Union and Central Pacific railroads) these branch lines will be absolutely essential. The money of the Union Pacific Railroad has gone into their construction—\$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000 of it. Twenty-eight million dollars of these securities are bonds, most of which are worth par, and over \$50,000,000—yes, \$65,000,000—represents stock of the branch line, the Oregon Short Line, and other lines built as feeders to the Union Pacific Railroad.

Now, unless this matter is attended to at once, there is no question but that these people will carry out their scheme for securing control of the branch lines, so as to divert business from the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad to other lines, greatly decreasing the value of the property against which the Government has issued its own bonds.

There is no mention, that I know of, in the report of the committee with regard to this asset and no notice taken of it, and yet it is one of the most important assets the Government has. An advertisement has been placed in the Wall Street

Daily News, signed by Mr. G. Moore, Mr. James W. Alexander, and Mr. John F. Adkin as a committee for the purpose of carrying out this project.

MR. PLATT. Who are they?

MR. PETTIGREW. I understand this committee represents the estates which control the Union Pacific Railroad, which have made great fortunes out of the management of the road, and have so managed the property as to swindle the sinking fund and prevent the Government from securing its pay; and have discriminated in such manner against the people they have served as to cause great scandal in relation to these roads. But the same people who propose to carry out this plan of diverting the property are the people in reality who control the Union Pacific Road today; and a part of this plan was a failure to pay interest on the first mortgage bonds of the road, although the revenue was sufficient to pay the interest, so that the appointment of receivers would be necessary. The receivers appointed are men in the interest of men who controlled these roads at the time of their appointment, and the receivers refused to use the revenue for the payment of interest on those prior bonds for the purpose of complicating this question and better facilitating the means used to defeat the claim of the Government against this property.

MR. GEAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

MR. PETTIGREW. Certainly.

MR. GEAR. Can a receiver pay any money without the order of the court?

MR. PETTIGREW. I am not certain that he can or can not.

MR. GEAR. It is the general rule that where a receiver is appointed by a court, he is governed by the instruction and order of the court, and that he must pay in accordance with the order of the court.

MR. PETTIGREW. The same people who controlled these roads previous to the appointment of receivers have succeeded in securing the receivers they wanted. The people who controlled the road before the receivers were appointed and failed to pay this interest, although the roads earned the interest, followed up that same policy. They have not applied to the

court to bring about the payment of the interest. They do not desire to pay it. They propose to control this question. It seems to me it is the duty of the Government of the United States to pay off its first indebtedness, to pay off the trust notes, to take possession of these roads, and take possession of the branch lines of the roads and operate them, if necessary, in the interest of the people who dwell along the line. Certainly the Government of the United States can operate the roads to the greater profit and satisfaction of the people they serve than the men who have operated them in the past or the men who are engaged in this reorganization scheme.

MR. GEAR. May I ask the Senator a question? The Senator from South Dakota, I understand, advocates the policy that the Government shall take possession and operate these roads, if necessary. * * * * In that event, does not the gentleman recognize the fact that upon roads operated by the Government the charges for transportation and passengers are from 30 to 40 per cent higher than upon roads operated by corporations?

MR. PETTIGREW. I am glad the Senator has asked that question, and I shall be glad to answer it. In the first place, I do believe it would be well for the Government to take possession of these roads and operate them. Our experience in the past in the operation of roads by private corporations has been such that it can not possibly be worse if the Government takes control. On the contrary, I believe that it would be far better.

I will now answer the second part of the gentleman's question. In some of the countries of Europe I am well aware that the apparent rates are higher than they are on the trunk lines of the United States. But, Mr. President, it is not the rates that the people of this country complain against; it is the discrimination which makes the corporations the arbiters of the destinies of men and of places; it is discrimination and rebates and fraudulent practices in violation of law, combinations and pools, which give to individuals advantages over their neighbors and which give to towns advantages over competing towns. That is the difficulty more than anything else.

If the people of this country could know that the rate was the same to everyone, and if the people could know that every man had an equal and a fair chance in the struggle for existence and in competition for business, the complaints and protests against the railroads of this country would be far less than they are.

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MR. PEFFER. I wish to inquire whether the Senator from South Dakota desires to be understood as stating that in countries where the government as a government exclusively manages the roads the rates are higher than they are in this country?

MR. PETTIGREW. In some of them they are higher than in this country, upon a mileage basis. In some of them they are not. In Australia they are higher, but that is a very sparsely settled country. In Austria, I understand, they are not so high, although the passenger rate for first-class passengers is higher than those in the United States. Some of the European countries are deeply in debt and the roads are operated for the purpose of paying off the debt. However, I think that in Austria this is not as much sought after, and that therefore the rates in that country are less than they are in the United States. I understand that in Belgium the rates are not much different from what they are here. So it is in Italy, and so it is in France.

MR. GEAR. May I be allowed to state to the Senator that the ordinary rates in the United States are less than they are in any other country in the world?

MR. PETTIGREW. I think not.

MR. GEAR. It is the case, I will say to the Senator.

MR. PETTIGREW. I think not. I think it will be found on a thorough examination of the question that the rates in the United States are not lower than in any other country. Take, for instance, the roads in Austria, where the passenger rates have three grades. If you would arrive at an average of the highest rates and the lowest rates, you would find Austria passenger charges to be fully as high as they are in this country. The rates for third-class passengers are much less than they

are in this country, and the rates for second-class passengers are lower than they are in this country, while the rate for first-class passengers is very much higher than it is in the United States.

MR. GEAR. I will call the attention of the Senator to the accommodations. They are far inferior in those countries to the accommodations in the United States, and they are such as the American people would not submit to. That is a matter of history.

Then there is one other statement I wish to make. It will be borne in mind that the Populist party at St. Louis declared in favor of the Government ownership of railways. It is a matter of well-known information that that party during the recent campaign just closed investigated this question with the intention of preparing a statement to give to the public to show how much cheaper the Government could operate railroads than a private corporation, and it is a matter of fact that when they found the facts in the case they desisted, that they did not and never have put out such a statement.

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MR. PETTIGREW. I said in the first place that it was not so much an objection to the rates in this country as against discriminations which led to the dissatisfaction with regard to American railroad management. I say again that if this difficulty was removed, if absolute control on the part of the Government was secured, if the interstate-commerce law was amended so that the rates could be absolutely fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and if such steps were taken as absolutely to prevent discrimination, it would answer the purpose as well as Government ownership.

But here is an opportunity, Mr. President, to acquire ownership of a transcontinental line. Here is an opportunity to try the experiment and at the same time protect the interests of the Government through the operation of a railroad by the Government itself. If the experiment prove a failure, and if it does not give peace and prosperity to the people it serves, we can very easily afterwards dispose of the property and reconsider our action. It is at least worth the trial.

What has been our experience with railroads? The railroads in the United States perhaps clamor more loudly than anyone else against legislation which shall in any way interfere with business, and yet they, of all others, undertake to overturn the very fundamental principle of Anglo-Saxon civilization in claiming that competition is killing, and therefore they ask to be allowed to combine, so as to destroy competition. The great trunk lines west of Chicago are in combination. When their representatives were placed on the stand, they testified that they were not, but the evidence disclosed that they were. This was testimony taken last fall before the Interstate Commerce Commission to show that these lines were in combination to control business and control rates, and distribute among themselves the profits of their unlawful act. The great railroad pool east of Chicago, embracing every road running to the seaboard, is in combination—a combination to control rates, a combination to divide and to distribute the business. This combination will say to one man in a city or town that he may do business and that his neighbor shall not, and says it by giving to favored ones a better freight rate, a freight rate so much better than that offered to the public that the difference is a good profit upon the business in which they are engaged, thus destroying competition, and thus gradually accumulating the property of this country in the hands of a few. They discriminate between towns. They say that one town shall be a wholesale point and that another, struggling also for a wholesale trade, shall not, by giving a special rate to the favored localities. Against these transactions the American people protest, and one of the loud outcries against existing conditions results from the monopolistic acts of the railroads of this country.

Therefore, Mr. President, I do believe it would be well if we would take possession of the Union Pacific Railroad, operate it, and take possession of the branch lines and operate them in the interests of the people they serve. I believe that it is the fear that this will be done that has led these people, beginning away back five years ago, to handle this property so as to enable them to sever branch lines from the main line,

upon which the Government has its security, and at the same time enrich themselves.

Mr. President, the proposition which they propose to carry out is similar to their usual operations. There are \$8,500,000 of these trust notes. They propose to issue \$10,000,000 of bonds. They propose to divide to the holders of these bonds, without any consideration whatever, \$5,000,000 of stock, thus increasing the indebtedness from \$8,400,000 to \$13,400,000, and thus compelling the Government, if it ever redeems this property, not only to pay to these people the amount due them upon their trust notes, but also to redeem the stock which has been issued without consideration.

Mr. President, no wealth can be acquired in that way unless it is acquired at the expense of men who produce it. Stock issued without consideration upon which some one hereafter is to pay interest is a means of taking from the producers of wealth the result of their toil, for no wealth can be produced except by toil. No wealth can exist except some one has toiled to produce it and manifested self-denial and other traits of character which make good citizenship. If we allow the issuance of stock without the payment of money for it and compel the payment of interest upon it, those who toiled have had taken from them the product of their toil. It seems to me it is time to call a halt; it is time to stop such transactions; and in this case in particular, where the Government is directly interested, it is our duty to act at once.

* * * * *

The¹ question of pay to the railroads for transporting the mails has received some attention, and the committee have placed in the bill an amendment which provides for a committee composed of members of this body and the House of Representatives to investigate and report upon this whole question; and there certainly seems great necessity for it.

After all, the railroad mail service is but an express service, for the average speed of the railway mail trains of this country is but 26 miles an hour, and the average distance the mail is carried is but 448 miles.

Yet we are paying, according to the report of the Post-Office Department, 8 cents a pound for the transportation of mail matter, a much larger sum than the express companies charge for a like service, and they not only pay the railroads for the service, but pay their own officers and gain a profit besides, and in many instances a very large profit. In dealing with this matter the Government of the United States has paid no attention, it seems to me, to the ordinary methods of business, and in no instance for years has it pursued that course which any prudent business man would have pursued.

We pay as much per pound today for carrying the mails upon the railroads in this country as we paid in 1878. What business man in the United States doing an express business for which he paid from twenty to thirty million dollars a year would have continued to have paid without murmur or complaint the same price today that he paid in 1878? The cost of carrying the mail since 1878 has been reduced nearly one-half, and yet no effort has been made on the part of the United States to secure any reduction whatever. Nineteen years have rolled by, the volume of mail has increased enormously, and yet nothing has been done. To-day the New York Central Railroad between New York and Buffalo, receives from the Government of the United States compensation sufficient to pay the interest on the cost of a double-track railroad every year. The railroad company obtains interest at 5 per cent on a cost of \$60,000 a mile of road for the mail service alone, and yet no effort is made to secure a reduction. The mails of the country would be carried at a profit to the Government if we paid only what the service is worth for railroad transportation. This one reform would wipe out the deficiency in postal revenue.

Further than that, instead of decreasing the amount of mail that can be carried at a 1-cent rate, it ought to be increased. It can be carried for that rate at a profit. Second-class mail matter in this country can be carried by the railroads of this country at a profit at 1 cent a pound, and yet we are paying 8 cents. I believe I can demonstrate that proposition to the satisfaction of every person within the sound of

my voice; yet Senators rise and talk about economy, and cut off an appropriation of \$10,000 for necessary surveys in the West, while year after year they have voted to pay millions upon millions more than it is worth for the railway-mail service. I believe we can save eight or ten million dollars a year from this one item alone and then pay all the mail service is worth.

In the report of the Postmaster-General for 1890 he makes this statement, calling the attention of Congress and the people of the United States to this question, and yet nothing has been done about it:

In the past twelve years no reduction of rates has taken place, though the freight rates upon all railroads have been steadily lowered. During this period the weight of the mails has largely increased. It is quite reasonable to say that the reduction in freight rates generally between 1878 and 1890 is not less than 20 per cent, and in many instances it is much more. The largest expenditure of the Department is for transportation. The estimates just sent to the Treasury for the next fiscal year cover \$22,610,128.31 for railroad transportation alone.

This bill carries \$29,000,000, and there is no reduction yet, although years have rolled away since that report was made.

Finally we have this bill, in which provision is made for investigating this subject, and I am making these remarks for the purpose of calling the attention of the Senate and the House of Representatives to the question, so that this provision shall remain in the bill if the bill becomes a law.

Now, let us see what it is worth to perform this service. The report of Postmaster-General Bissell in 1894, page 53, shows that the average price paid for carrying mail was 8 cents a pound. Mr. Wilson, in his report of 1895, on page 31, makes the same statement. The report of the Postmaster-General for 1889, page 90, shows that the average haul of postal matter was 448 miles. You can make money carrying it in wagons at the price paid. The freight rate into the Black Hills before the days of the railroads, a distance of 205 miles, was \$20 per ton. Yet we are paying \$160 per ton for carrying the mails a little more than twice that distance.

True, we get a greater speed, but because we get the speed is no answer to the objection to this high rate unless the service is worth the price.

Mr. President, the Texas Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads carry caps, boots, cassimeres, and hardware from New Orleans to San Francisco for eight-tenths of a cent a pound, a distance of 1,500 miles, three times as far as the average distance the mail is carried, yet we pay 8 cents a pound for carrying the mails, or more than ten times as much. That, however, is not express service. But before I get through I will show that freight rates are but a little larger than those charged for express service.

The distance from New York to Boston, in round numbers, is about 250 miles. The Adams Express Company carries 100 pounds for a cent a pound, and they carry the same amount from New York to Cleveland, a distance of five or six hundred miles, for a cent and three-quarters a pound.

The weight of the mail between New York and Boston or New York and Cleveland is greater than the weight carried by the express company on any of its trains, and yet we pay 8 cents a pound.

But here is a more interesting illustration. Milk is shipped by the railroads on the express trains, on the passenger trains, to New York, a distance of 396 miles, and the cans returned for nothing, for one-sixth of a cent a pound, and cream for one-fourth of a cent a pound, a uniform rate for the whole distance.

In an investigation had before the Interstate Commerce Commission last year, Mr. George R. Blanchard, representing the roads, testified that the distance could be extended to 1,000 miles with a uniform rate from every station, and that milk could be carried at a profit for one-sixth of a cent a pound over the whole distance, and one-fourth of a cent a pound over the whole distance for cream; yet we pay 8 cents for 448 miles.

Mr. Joseph H. Choate, who appeared for the railroads in one of those investigations, stated that a rate of one-half cent a pound on 40-quart cans of cream, and at one-third of a cent a pound on 40-quart cans of milk, and half those rates on

bottled cream, brought a profit of from two to three hundred per cent, and he insisted on continuing the transportation. The dairymen near New York objected, and made complaint because the railroads brought the cream 400 miles and the milk for 400 miles at the same price that they charged for bringing it 50 or 60 miles. The railroad companies resisted a reduction of the rates for the long haul, which shows conclusively that they could do the business at a profit.

* * * * *

Mr. President, the express companies carry 100 pounds from New York to New Haven for a half cent a pound, to Boston for 1 cent a pound, to Cleveland for $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound, to New Orleans for 5 cents a pound, and we pay 8 cents a pound from New York to New Orleans, when our average haul is but 448 miles. The express companies will haul express matter a thousand miles for 5 cents a pound; they will carry express packages from New York to Elizabeth, 25 miles, for four-tenths of a cent per pound; to Jersey City for one-quarter of a cent; and this includes the delivery from domicile to domicile.

What more, Mr. President? As I said, this bill carries an item of \$3,600,000 for the use of postal cars. Let us see how the railroads have responded to this generosity on the part of the Government; let us see how they have met these gifts; let us see how they have felt toward this Government for its enormous contributions, which in the last fifteen years have amounted to millions upon millions of dollars.

In the first place, they cheat every time they weigh the mails.

MR. WILSON. How often is the mail weighed?

MR. PETTIGREW. It is weighed once in four years, or oftener if they desire it.

MR. WILSON. Does the Senator know whether there is or is not a reweighing?

MR. PETTIGREW. Last spring—I will read first from the report of the Postmaster-General under the head of "Weighing the Mails," from the report of 1896:

The Department takes every precaution at its command to insure honest weighing of the railroad mails. But this has not prevented one or two attempts on the part of railroad officials to pad the mails during the weighing season.

In the case of one of the more important lines the effort to do this was so clear—

It must have been very clear to awaken that Department—

and the Department secured through its inspectors such detailed and damaging evidence that I transmitted the papers to the Attorney-General, with request for criminal prosecution.

It must have been a very bad case.

Existing statutes, however, are so defective that some changes in the criminal law are imperatively necessary to insure the conviction and adequate punishment of those who attempt or who perpetrate such frauds on the Government.

What are the facts? The Seaboard Air Line procured 16 tons of public documents, franked by some member of the House of Representatives or of the Senate. They can secure them without the connivance at all of the persons who frank them. They ship them back and forth to their station agents. They ship this franked matter during the weighing season to a station, and have their agents take out the packages from the bags, redirect them, and mail them again. So they kept these 16 tons of frankable matter going for thirty days. The Department determined to have a reweighing. They had a reweighing for thirty days more, and then the railroad company secured an extra edition of a newspaper that weighed 5 tons; they shipped that back and forth along the line and distributed it over the line during the thirty days, and when the Postmaster-General complained, they asked him what he was going to do about it. And Mr. McBee, the manager of the road, asked the Postmaster-General why the Seaboard Air Line had been singled out as a subject for criticism for stuffing the mails during the reweighing period, when it was well known that all railroads practiced the same fraud upon the Government. So it is the general practice. There is no doubt

about it. Everybody knows it. We do not need to investigate the matter much to learn that fact.

What is more, Mr. President, in addition to that they have set up a mail service of their own. Not only have they carried their own letters, which is the paying part of the mail service, but they carry each other's mail and distribute it from one road to another, and they set up a regular system of post-offices to carry the railway mail. There is great profit in carrying the mail which should pay 2 cents postage, and so the railroads have organized on their own hook a postal system which defrauds the Government out of hundreds of thousands, and I believe millions, of dollars a year because that branch of the service, the carrying of letters, is profitable.

In the Postmaster-General's report made in 1896, page 215, attention is called to this point by the Second Assistant Postmaster-General. It seems at first glance very astonishing that the Second Assistant Postmaster-General should call attention to this matter, but the employees began to use this railroad post-office. The employees handling the railway mail put their own letters into it, and the Second Assistant Postmaster-General then began to call attention to the matter. It got to be an enormous abuse. The railroads received nothing for performing the service. So long as they could do it for each other, it was a saving of their revenues—these foreign-owned corporations of ours; our masters rather than our servants—and they found no fault, but the very moment the employees began extensively to send their letters through the railway post-office service, the only way to get around it was to abolish the system. So the Second Assistant Postmaster-General calls attention to it and asks that legislation may be had to stop this practice.

The following from the report of the Postmaster-General for 1896 is of interest in this connection:

It was found upon close investigation, which was brought out more particularly by the detection of private correspondence being carried on under the cover of what is known as a "railroad business" envelope, that in some cases the families of employees were using this method of communicating with outsiders as well as those connected with the railroads. A careful investigation also disclosed the fact that the railroad companies

themselves were misusing the privileges granted them by the Department in the character of their own correspondence and acting as intermediate carriers of mail between other companies and individuals. In connection with this misuse of the postal privileges granted the railroad companies, schemes had been worked out and interchange offices had been established which formed a complete system of postal facilities.

July 2, 1896, the Postmaster-General issued Order No. 422, calling the attention of the railroad companies to the impropriety of their actions in such matter and requesting them to conform to sections 3985 and 3993 of the Revised Statutes, and notifying them that the statutes would be rigidly enforced.

So this is the response we have received to this enormous payment, to this generous treatment. They cheat us in regard to weighing the mails; they set up post-offices of their own, and a post-office mail service of their own to carry first-class mail matter, upon which class of matter there is a large profit to the Government. If there is a necessity for the reduction of expenses, here is a field where economists can profitably exercise their talents.

Mr. President, when the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration the Senator from New Hampshire [MR. GALLINGER] was clamorous for economy. He talked about the deficiency of revenue and the depleted Treasury. He wanted to strike off an item of four or five thousand dollars for an Indian school in the West. Here is a chance for him to develop his genius. Here is a chance for him to exercise his talents in the interest of real economy, and yet he is silent upon this subject.

* * * * *

Mr. President, I did not intend when I rose to discuss this question to occupy the time I have devoted to it. I intended simply to call attention to these figures, to these facts, to compare the prices we are paying with the prices individuals pay for similar service, for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of retaining this provision in the bill, which creates a commission to investigate the frauds connected with this service. I think, however, that we ought to amend it by providing that not more than 80 per cent of the amount paid last year shall be paid in the next fiscal year for this service. That

would strike off one-fifth of the amount we are now paying at once, and thus save nearly \$6,000,000.

I will not make that motion, however; and I will not make it for the reason that under existing law if the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina is adopted, the Postmaster-General can apply the remedy if he pleases, and I hope he will do so.

* * * * *

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9008) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. PETTIGREW.

MR. QUAY. I ask that the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [MR. PETTIGREW], introduced yesterday evening, be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the pending amendment.

The SECRETARY. On page 8, line 6, after the word "dollars," it is proposed to insert:

Provided, That the Postmaster General be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to readjust the compensation to be paid from and after the 1st day of July, 1898, for transportation of mails on railroad routes by reducing the compensation to all railroad companies for the transportation of mails 20 per cent per annum from the rates for the transportation of mails on the basis of the average weight heretofore fixed and allowed by law.

* * * * *

MR. PETTIGREW. Mr. President,¹ under this (the Post-Office appropriation) bill, we appropriate \$30,500,000 for carrying the mails by railroad. In addition, we appropriate \$4,000,000 for postal cars. I propose addressing myself largely to the appropriation for carrying the mail by weight, and very slightly to the appropriation for paying for the extra service of railway postal cars.

In the beginning, after a careful investigation of this evidence and of such other evidence as I could secure, I believe that if the Government of the United States should pay only

1. Speech in the Senate June 6, 1898.

what it is worth to transport the mails, there would occur no deficiency in the Post-Office Department. On the contrary, I believe we could then reduce letter postage to 1 cent per letter, and give to the people of the country, in cheapened postage, the fifteen or sixteen million dollars which today we give as a gratuity to the railroads.

I am not alone in this position; neither is it a new subject. On the contrary, the question has been called to the attention of the people and of the Senate of the United States for years, and yet we have been unable for twenty years to secure any reduction in the price paid for carrying the mails.

I read from the report of the Postmaster-General in 1890, in which he makes this statement:

In the past twelve years—

That was eight years ago.

* * * * *

In the past twelve years no reduction of rates has taken place, though the freight rates upon all railroads have been steadily lowered. During this period the weight of the mails has largely increased. It is quite reasonable to say that the reduction in freight rates generally between 1878 and 1890 is not less than 20 per cent, and in many instances it is much more. The largest expenditure of the Department is for transportation. The estimates just sent to the Treasury for the next fiscal year cover \$22,610,128.31 for railroad transportation alone.

Secretary Vilas had previously called attention to this question, and last winter when it was discussed in the Senate the senior Senator from Maryland [MR. GORMAN] made this statement:

The fact is, Mr. President, that the great power of these corporations, who control everything, who are powerful enough to make and unmake public men, is so omnipotent that no executive officer has been found in the last twelve years, except in the single case of Postmaster-General Vilas, who has attempted to reduce the compensation for mail transportation, and within six months after he had left the Department every economy which he introduced had been wiped away, and they received not only what they had received before, but their compensation was increased, and never, during his long service in this body—the United States Senate—except in this one instance, did he know of a Postmaster-General who had made a bona fide effort to control this railroad extortion which everybody knows to exist.

Everybody does know it except the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. President, the statements taken before the Committee on Appropriations were not evidence. We did not examine a single witness. The representatives, attorneys, and officers of the railroads came before the committee and made statements, citing their own facts, and then from their own facts drew their own conclusions; and we occasionally asked them questions. Yet this is the sum of the evidence presented.

. If they had not made a case showing that the railroad companies were getting too little for carrying the mails, the companies that employed them would have discharged them from their service. What more did we do? We took the statement of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General and his clerks, and every word they said is now embraced in the statements of the railroad attorneys who appeared before us. I can not but entertain the belief, after hearing the statements of the railroad attorneys, that they also wrote the report of the Post-Office Department. There exists an absolute parallel. Their arguments are identical. They follow the same line. There is no variation, and I have reason for making this assertion independent of the parallel between the statement of the Department and the statement of the railroad attorneys.

Eight years previous to the incumbency of the present Administration, and through Harrison's Administration, J. Lowrie Bell was the Second Assistant Postmaster-General. He had been in the employ of a railroad company as freight or traffic manager and resigned a position with twice or three times the salary of that of Second Assistant Postmaster-General to assume the duties of the latter office; and when his four years expired and Cleveland came to appoint his successor, J. Lowrie Bell went again to the railroad company and is today in the employ of the company. His successor was Mr. Neilson.

MR. SEWELL. Will the Senator from South Dakota allow me to interrupt him? It is well to state facts. J. Lowrie Bell was out of employment by the failure of his road at that time. He was not in the service of any railroad when appointed, and

he was the man above all others in this country who knew his business in relation to transportation.

MR. PETTIGREW. It is barely possible that at the time he was appointed he was temporarily out of railroad employment.

Mr. Neilson succeeded him. He was a railroad man. He was then employed as a railroad superintendent, receiving a large salary, when Cleveland selected him. He resigned to become Second Assistant Postmaster-General. I understand that since he has departed he has again gone into the railroad service.

Last year we had an investigation before the Committee on Appropriations, and here is a part of the testimony. I read from the testimony taken before the Committee on Appropriations last year. Mr. Neilson was before the committee.

MR. SEWELL. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him again? We had better confine these things to facts. Mr. Neilson is not in railroad service, and has not been. He is a patent lawyer in Washington, I think, at the present time.

MR. PETTIGREW. I have understood that he had gone again into railroad service. However, I will read Mr. Neilson's testimony:

You told us something of your business before you went into the Post-Office.

MR. NEILSON. Yes.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. What was that?

MR. NEILSON. I was in the railroad service.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. What railroads?

MR. NEILSON. I was on the Northern Pacific and on the Erie. I was on the Erie for twelve years and on the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton for eight years.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. Which road did you leave at the time you went into the Department?

MR. NEILSON. The Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. What is the full name of that road?

MR. NEILSON. The Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. What was your position on that road?

MR. NEILSON. General superintendent of the road.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. Who was your predecessor in the Post-Office service?

MR. NEILSON. Mr. J. Lowrie Bell.

SENATOR CULLOM. He was a railroad man, too, was he not, or had been?

MR. NEILSON. He is now the general traffic manager of the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

It is hardly necessary to comment further upon that subject, Mr. President. We will try to confine ourselves to the facts. I said I understood Mr. Neilson had gone into the service of a railroad company. If that is not correct, then my information was incorrect; but Mr. J. Lowrie Bell, his predecessor, did enter the service of a railroad company, and Mr. Neilson resigned as superintendent of a railroad company to go into the Department.

Now, what is there further? When Mr. McKinley's Administration came in it was not deemed a good plan to continue the employment of a railroad official in this position. The attention of the country had been called to the fact. Neither was it necessary, as the facts show, for the railroads controlled all the Department clerks, all the subordinates. They went up into Pennsylvania and got, no doubt, a very estimable gentleman, a cashier in a bank, perhaps clever, and a reasonably capable man. He has been captured, as any number of the heads of our Departments are captured by the clerks beneath them, as every Senator knows, and the information he has given us is the information of his subordinates, and it contradicts itself. It is information furnished him by those employees who were put into the Department when the railroad officers were at the head of it. That is all there is to it.

Now, let us see how it will bear investigation. The web spun by the railroad attorneys and representatives who appeared before the investigation committee was ingenious, intended to cloud the situation, intended to befog the people. It was so constructed that a layman could not understand it; that the terms used by railroad officers would be such that it would be difficult to comprehend their real meaning. The same terms, the same effort to befog the situation, the same comparisons absolutely are used all the way through by the officers of the Department.

It seems to me that this is one of the clearest, plainest,

easiest problems in the world to solve. The Second Assistant Postmaster-General says that rates have declined 49 per cent in fifteen years, and then he proceeds to juggle with figures in order to sustain and substantiate that proposition. It requires no juggling with figures to ascertain whether or not the price for carrying the mails, charged by the railroads, and paid by the Government, has declined. All we have to do is to ascertain the amount we appropriated fifteen years ago and the amount we propose to appropriate this year, and then find the weight of the mail. It is a pure, simple question of division, and yet if anyone will read the statement of Mr. White, to Mr. Shallenberger, the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, he will wade through page after page of per cent, per ton, per mile, and space and motive power, and all sorts of stuff of that kind, finally to conclude, after pages of figures misleading, intended to mislead, that the rate has declined 49 per cent in fifteen years.

I sent to the Post-Office Department and asked them to furnish me figures showing the weight of the mails. I can myself get from the appropriation act what we pay for carrying the mails. That made it not a difficult question to solve. For instance, in the first place, in 1890 Mr. Wanamaker had the mails weighed, and he reports in his official report that they weighed 369,000,000 pounds. The total weight for 1897 was five hundred and twenty-eight million and some hundreds of thousands of pounds. In 1897 we paid to the railroads for transporting the mails \$30,788,000.

Now, assuming that the railroads carried every pound of mail, calculating that the railroads carried all the mail, and that the star-route and steamship companies did not carry any, and that no mail was distributed through the cities without being transported by railroads—and there is, no doubt, a vast bulk of that mail—the cost per pound in 1897 would be 5 4-5 cents. It is a simple matter of division. In 1890 the cost for railroad transportation was \$21,106,000. The weight was 365,000,000 pounds. Therefore it cost to transport the mails 5 7-9 cents per pound. So in eight years there has been no decline whatever in the cost of transporting railroad mails, yet

the Second Assistant Postmaster-General tells us in a statement which is published in the RECORD that the decline has been 49 per cent in fifteen years.

Let us go back fifteen years and see. In 1884, fourteen years ago, the weight of the mail was 196,000,000 pounds. Dividing the compensation received, \$12,750,000, it gives 6 2-5 cents a pound. There has been, then, according to his own figures, a decline from 6 2-5 cents to 5 4-5 cents a pound, or a decline of a slight fraction over half a cent a pound. This decline was brought about in the way he states, no doubt. It was brought about by the fact that the ratio of compensation decreases as the weight increases. In other words, where trains carry over 5,000 pounds a day, they get a slightly less rate per pound than where they carry less than 5,000 pounds a day. So this very slight decrease has occurred in the manner mentioned.

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It seems to me that the best comparison which can be made with this service is a comparison between what the railroads charge for carrying express and what they charge for carrying mail. Express is carried on passenger trains entirely and exclusively. It is collected by the company and delivered to the train, the same as in the case of the mail. Mail is carried on passenger trains. So is express matter. Where the express business is small it is done in a baggage car, and there is where the mail is handled. I will corroborate this by the testimony of Mr. Weir.

There is nothing stipulated in our contract as to facilities that we shall have, but it is generally understood, for illustration, that on local trains we shall have so much of the baggage car, but always with the reservation that if the amount of baggage presented should prove to be greater than the space allotted to baggage they would have the right to occupy the express space.

* * * * *

If the average business warrants the use of a baggage car only, or the unoccupied space in a baggage car, that is allowed to us. If our business is greater than that they will put on a car. If, now, the business decreases so that there is no necessity for a car, we will be relegated back to the baggage car again. We have no right to call for a car and have that car every day unless we can fill it.

The mail is carried in the baggage car, but if the quantity becomes too great to carry in a baggage car, a mail car is put on. Mr. Weir says:

The actual working of it is that, first, if our business has grown so as to require more space, a larger baggage car is put on, taken from some other branch of service, which car is at that time ample for our business, and when that has become insufficient for our business, they give us a small express car, which we can come pretty near filling.

The mail is carried in the same kind of cars that express matter is assigned to.

A great deal has been said about the difference between mail and express cars; about the fact that a mail car contains an outfit of furniture. The question was asked Mr. Weir, and he said, "Yes, express is carried in cars built for the purpose, with passenger trucks." If it were not, they could not run in passenger trains.

Then SENATOR ALLISON asked:

Is there any special sort of construction for an express car?

MR. WEIR. No.

MR. FAULKNER. A stove and a lamp, he says, is all that it contains.

That was in regard to furniture. That is the furniture in an express car. Then SENATOR ALLISON asked:

They are freight cars, are they?

Mr. Weir answered:

Well, they are on passenger trucks. The running gear is the same as that of a passenger car.

Now, what more? I find in the railway report for the State of New York for 1896 a statement which I will read. It gives the average cost of cars—first, passenger cars; second, second-class passenger cars; third, baggage, mail, and express cars. Baggage, mail, and express cars are placed under one head as costing practically the same. These are reports from the railroad companies in the State of New York. There are eleven companies who report. The average cost of the baggage, mail, and express cars, according to this statement, is

\$2,323, and the express car and mail car are put under the same head.

MR. SEWELL. Will the Senator allow me to make a suggestion to him? The baggage, mail, and express car is all one car. It has a compartment for mail, a compartment for baggage, and a compartment for express matter in the same car.

MR. PETTIGREW. I understand that perfectly. They explain that that is the case where their business is not great enough to warrant an exclusive car for the express matter and an exclusive mail car.

MR. SEWELL. There is a separate space, perhaps 10 feet by 12, allotted to the mail department for the messenger and the boxes, and it makes no difference whether the car carries 5 or 500 pounds of mail.

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MR. PETTIGREW. Under the head, I say, of the average cost of cars the New York railroads, eleven of them, according to the railway report of New York for 1896, put baggage cars, mail cars, and express cars under the same head, and the average cost per car was \$2,323 each.

Some of them cost as low as \$1,500, and the highest \$3,600. The Postmaster-General for the purpose of exploiting the importance of the mail cars testifies in his statement that they cost \$6,000 each. All the way through his testimony contains statements of that sort for the purpose of misleading, and (I will leave it to any Senator who will read his statement) for the plain and apparent purpose of making out a case for the railroads.

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According to the statement of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, and of Mr. White, Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, we paid last year for the use of these cars \$6,250 apiece, while they cost but \$2,323. Yet they talk about the wonderful service they are furnishing. I do not intend to go into that branch of the subject, however, but I do intend to hold this discussion down to the question of the compensation for the mail that is carried by weight. Why?

Because, eliminating postal cars from the discussion, the business becomes an express business, and the question whether they have too much or too little pay for hauling the cars is a question that is not allied to the compensation for transporting the mails for this reason:

The compensation for transporting mail by the pound was fixed before there were any postal cars in the service. Afterwards we added that facility. When we added it we fixed the compensation, and you can depend upon it, Mr. President, if it was not ample, and more than ample, the railroads would never have accepted it. They did accept it, and that is another branch of this case. For the purpose of eliminating that question, in order to make a comparison between the mail service and the express service, I discuss simply the compensation for transporting the mail, and not for the extra facilities.

Let us see what further parallel there is. Express messengers are carried free. So are the postal clerks in the Railway Mail Service. In many cases the baggage men handle the mail. So do they handle the express. Mr. Weir testifies what I shall read. I asked him this question:

You employ the employees of the railroads sometimes as express agents?

MR. WEIR. Yes.

SENATOR PETTIGREW. Do you pay them extra besides what the roads pay them?

MR. WEIR. In some cases; in most of the cases. In some of the cases it is stipulated by the railroad company that they will furnish the service.

I suppose that the Government pays nothing extra when a railroad official handles the mail, and this creates a slight variation from the parallel, but in some instances they handle the express matter without any extra compensation.

Mr. Weir says the railroads furnish storehouses or store express matter in their stations—that they furnish the space. So do the railroad companies store the mail. There is an exact parallel in that case except that at great terminal points the railroad puts in sidetracks for the express company and builds a warehouse while at the great terminal points the Gov-

ernment of the United States takes the mail direct from the cars to the post-offices without any expense whatever to the railroad company.

Well, they allege that there is a wonderful difference in furniture; that an express car has a lamp and a stove. Is this a wonderful difference? It is so slight that the New York railroads did not think it worth while to mention it in estimating or stating the average cost of cars. What is the difference between the furniture of mail and of express cars? It consists of pigeonholes and a rack upon which to hang mail bags. This is the great difference so much talked about in the statements before the committee between an express car and a mail car.

The express matter is always taken, as I understand it, from the railroad by the express company and delivered to the railroad by the express company, but the mail is not always handled in that way. Where the post-office is within 80 rods of the depot the mail is delivered by the railroad company. Where the distance is greater than 80 rods it is handled by the Government. At all great stations where it is expensive to handle the mail it is more than 80 rods from the depot. In every great city—in every one, without exception—the Government handles the mail to and from the railroad trains.

Here is an item, then, the cost of transporting mail from train to depot or to the post-office at the small station, where the parallel is broken. But what does it amount to? On the Louisville & Nashville road it costs the Government, on an average, \$46 to carry mail from the train to the post-office and back for every single station, except the eight great cities, where the compensation of course is very much larger. In other words, for 221 stations the Government pays an average of \$46 a year for transporting mail from the station to the post-office where the distance is over 80 rods.

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MR. TELLER. The Senator stated that the express companies carry their express matter from the cars. They not only do that, but they send around the town and gather it up and then send it to the cars. So they do more.

MR. PETTIGREW. That is a subject I will get to.

MR. FAULKNER. I suppose the Senator from South Dakota means the \$46 at each of those stations he mentions on the Louisville & Nashville is paid by the Government not to the railroads, but to the messenger service.

MR. PETTIGREW. The Government hires its own messengers to carry the mail to and from the depot for 229 post-offices on the Louisville & Nashville road, and for supplying those post-offices it pays about \$58,000.

MR. FAULKNER. That is to the messenger service, not to the railroads.

MR. PETTIGREW. Not to the railroads. I am going to show what the compensation is that the railroads have to pay for this service. There are 229 post-offices where the Government supplies the service from the train to the post-office. Eight of these are great cities like Louisville, Cincinnati, Mobile, New Orleans, Lexington, Nashville, Memphis, Evansville, all of them large cities, and in those great cities the compensation is between \$46,000 and \$48,000 per year for messenger service, but for the 221 post-offices it is \$10,300 a year, or \$46 for each office. Now, why is it so small? Because a great many of these post-offices carry the mail for nothing; the postmaster performs the service.

In the United States there are 20,000 post-offices which are supplied by the railroads and 7,000 which are supplied by the Government. Taking the Louisville & Nashville road as the data from which to make our calculation, and it is the only data we have, for it is the only road that gave us this evidence, it appears that if the Government should pay the same for all the post-offices, for all of the 7,000, that it pays in this case for the rate per office for the 229 offices on the Louisville & Nashville road, it is \$252 per year.

That embraces the \$16,000 paid in Cincinnati and the \$48,000 paid in the nine offices. It would, therefore, make the compensation the Government pays for transporting the mail from the railroad to the post-offices in the 7,000 stations \$1,778,000, while the Second Assistant Postmaster-General testifies that we pay over \$1,000,000 for the service. Therefore

the average in the case of the Louisville & Nashville road is very much higher than the average for the 7,000 offices.

MR. FAULKNER. Mr. President, I think the Senator from South Dakota ought to be fair to the Second Assistant Postmaster General. That officer said it was over a million. He did not say how much. He had no figures, but he said they paid over a million for the 7,000 post-offices.

MR. PETTIGREW. Yes; that is correct.

MR. FAULKNER. He had no figures.

MR. PETTIGREW. No. It was not hard to get figures, I suppose. But if it is over a million dollars it naturally would be supposed that an officer would state somewhere near the figure. Nearly two million is not very close to one million.

However, I am using this simply as a matter of comparison. I say that according to these figures the rate is too high. If it is only over a million, these figures work out \$1,778,000, and that places the country offices outside of the great cities at \$46 per annum. Therefore, figuring the 20,000 offices which the railroads supply at \$46 per annum—and many of those are simple catch stations, where the train does not stop at all, but catches a bag as it passes—the compensation the railroads pay for getting the mail from their trains to the post-offices is only \$920,000; and yet all through this testimony they make great ado over the transportation of the mail from the railroad to the post-office. Out of a total compensation carried by this bill of \$34,500,000, \$30,500,000 for the weight of the mail and \$4,000,000 for the cars, they make a great fuss about this \$920,000, which they pay for carrying the mail from the cars to the post-offices.

MR. FAULKNER. I should like to understand the Senator there. I do not exactly catch the way in which he reached his conclusion. The evidence before us was that the cost of this service, in the opinion of the Department, was \$3,000,000 to the railroads; but they claim, and in the testimony of one of the witnesses for the railroads it was claimed, that it cost four million five hundred and some odd thousand dollars. Figuring on the two hundred and odd routes on the Louisville & Nash-

ville, I do not see how it is possible that 20,000 should cost the Government so much less than 7,000 for the Government.

MR. PETTIGREW. Mr. Shallenberger stated the cost—

MR. FAULKNER. His opinion was that it cost about \$3,000,000.

MR. PETTIGREW. Here is just what he did say:

MR. SHALLENBERGER. No; but I know it costs us over \$1,000,000 for the 7,000 post-offices. On that basis it would be \$3,000,000 per year or over for the railroads. They estimate it at over \$4,000,000 a year.

This is the kind of testimony they furnish us—no data, no figures—simply a conclusion; and whose conclusion is it? Simply the railroads' and nobody else's conclusion; for, taking the Louisville & Nashville road as data, leaving out the great stations, 221 post-offices cost \$46 apiece. Now, as the railroad company does not carry the mail in the great cities from the post-office to the cars, you must leave out the great cities. They are left out. Not one of them is included in the 20,000 offices which they supply. Figuring those 20,000 offices at \$46 apiece, you have \$920,000 which it costs them to transport the mail from station to post-office. If this is not correct, it is all the data they have furnished us. We have nothing but the material they furnish us from which to draw our conclusion.

MR. SPOONER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question? This is a subject about which I know absolutely nothing, but it has occurred to me that it is entirely competent for the Senate to make an exhaustive investigation of the subject, to authorize a committee or a commission to explore it thoroughly, to send for persons and papers and put witnesses under oath, and be able to lay before the Senate the exact facts. Has that been done at any time?

MR. FAULKNER. We have provided in this bill for that very investigation.

MR. SPOONER. I did not know it had been provided for.

MR. FAULKNER. It has been adopted.

MR. PETTIGREW. Last year the Committee on Appropriations brought in a provision of that nature, and the Senate struck it out at the instigation of the Committee on Post-

Offices and Post-Roads. The Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, I think, have never made such an investigation. They are too busy, as our committees generally are, to enter into an elaborate and extensive investigation of these questions; and although the clamor has been here constantly for years and years, we are unable to secure an investigation. The provision we have inserted here will go to a conference and perhaps be stricken out. In the meantime are there facts enough to warrant us in reducing this compensation?

Now, that is the question. Are there facts enough? To my mind they are ample. There has been no reduction by law for twenty years. It is fair to compare the compensation these railroads receive from the Government with the compensation they charge the express companies, because there is almost a complete parallel between the two services. When I asked these railroad lawyers who came before us to furnish their express contracts, they all promised to do it, and not one of them did it. One of them said: "Give us a week and we will furnish them." We gave them a week. In fact, this was on the 22d day of last month.

MR. CULLOM. I think the Senator is not quite stating the fact as to the promise on the part of the companies to furnish the contracts. I think the gentlemen who were before us stated that they were not authorized to promise any such thing, but they would be glad to do it if those in authority were willing.

MR. PETTIGREW. Some of them said they would do it, and some of them made the statement the Senator makes. However, I care nothing about that question. They did not do it. We could not get it. What I wanted was the weight of the express carried and the compensation to the railroads for carrying it, and I could not get it from anybody, as Senators know. They would not testify. They talked about disclosing their business. Mr. Weir talked about letting other companies know what they were doing; and the railroads would not furnish it and did not furnish it. I could not get the information.

MR. FAULKNER. If the Senator from South Dakota will permit me, I will state that the testimony is conclusive from

all sources that the minimum price paid to the railroads by the express company is 40 per cent of the gross receipts, and that it varies from that up to 60 per cent. Now, that is conclusive; and the Senator ought to do justice to the president of the Adams Express Company, who said that he did not think it was fair to ask him, in a collateral investigation he had no interest in, to show his contract. He stated to the committee that there were not two contracts of the same character; that the compensation was not the same with any two roads; and that it would disclose entirely the private business of that company in a matter in which they had no interest before Congress.

MR. PETTIGREW. Well, Mr. President, it matters not what explanations are made, we did not secure the information. We tried to get it. Now, how are we going to determine it? The express matter is carried on the same train with the mail. It is carried for 40 per cent of the gross receipts of the express company. For that 40 per cent they carry express agents free. Where an express agent does not go, sometimes they hire and employ the baggageman of the railroad company. Sometimes they pay him, and sometimes their contract provides that the railroad company shall pay him and his services shall be given to the express company for nothing. Therefore we have a fair basis of comparison.

But fortunately in 1890 the express companies furnished this information for the census. I asked Mr. Weir if he furnished the figures in the census report for the Adams Express Company in 1890, and he said he believed he did. So we have this authenticated in the figures of the express business of this company for 1890. Now, let us see what they say:

The number of express freight waybills was 44,475,000.

Packages carried, not valuable, like second-class mail matter, 98,118,000.

Weight of the same in pounds, 3,292,000,000.

Number of valuable waybills, 11,614,000.

Number of valuable packages, 17,258,000.

Number of money orders, 4,598,000.

Now, let us see. The express companies carried 3,292,000,000 pounds of express matter, not counting the 17,000,-

ooo packages of valuable matter. Giving them the benefit as far as weight is concerned, and throwing in the 17,000,000 packages of valuable matter, we find that they paid the railroads for transporting everything \$19,327,000, which is 5 28-33 mills per pound. In other words, the railroad companies received for transporting express matter in 1890 one-tenth what we paid per pound for carrying mail matter last year, giving them the benefit, throwing in the weight of all the 17,000,000 valuable packages. The express companies paid a little less than 6 mills per pound, while the United States paid for carrying the mails a little less than 6 cents per pound, or \$30,000,000 for a service which the railroads would have done for the express companies for \$3,000,000.

The railroad attorneys say the reason there is no comparison between the express business and the mail business is because the express is in bulk, large packages, carloads.

In the statement made by the Louisville & Nashville road, which was read and placed in the RECORD, there is this statement:

There are probably more apparent points of comparison between the express service and the mail service than between any other, but even here there are only a few common factors.

Then what does Mr. Knott say?

To relieve our minds of the erroneous impression that there is some common standard by which the express service and the mail service may be measured we have only to consider the fact that much of the express service is in fact simply the expeditious movement of perishable freights, being solid carloads of fruits or vegetables, sometimes solid through carloads of fine stock, and not infrequently solid carloads of merchandise.

Now, let us see. According to the census report of 1890, the express companies of this country sent 115,000,000 packages, and the total weight of all the packages not counting 17,000,000 of them as weighing anything because their weight is not given, was 3,292,000,000 pounds. Dividing the 3,292,000,000 pounds of weight by the 115,000,000 packages, we find that the average weight of express packages was 28 pounds. Yet we are regaled with this statement, which is

deemed worthy to be put into the RECORD upon which to rest their case, that most of the express matter is in carload lots—great quantities of vegetables and fruit. Why, Mr. President, fruit does not go as express matter, and this railroad manager knows it. It goes as fast freight. Fruit and perishable stuff comes to the North as fast freight; not as express. Occasionally a little is sent by express, but the average weight of express packages sent in this country in 1890 was 28 pounds.

Again we have a parallel between the mail and the express, and what is more, the compensation received for these express packages was 16 2-3 cents apiece. Yet you will find all through the statement of these lawyers that they never carry a package for less than 25 cents by express. Then proceed to figure what the result would be if they got 25 cents apiece for all the packages they carried. Here, then, is a service performed on the same trains, and in an identical manner, for which the Government of the United States pays 5 4-5 cents per pound and the express companies pay 5 28-33 mills.

In other words, the Government pays ten times as much per pound for carrying the mails, to say nothing about the railway postal car service, as the express companies pay; and yet the recipients of this bounty insist that we are not paying enough. The fact is we are paying ten times too much. If we paid the \$4,000,000 for the use of the cars and \$3,000,000 for the weight of the mail, we would pay for the mail in proportion to its weight what the express companies are paying today. But granting them five times that and paying them \$15,000,000, there would be a saving of \$15,000,000 to the Government and the Treasury, and we would then pay five times what the express companies pay for their transportation.

The Second Assistant Postmaster-General takes up the question of paying for hauling passengers, and says that is the proper basis of comparison. Then he proceeds to say that on the Pennsylvania Railroad they carry thirty passengers to a car at 2 cents a mile per passenger. The railroad company would receive 60 cents a car per mile for carrying that car with those passengers, while we only pay them, he says, 26 cents for carrying the mail car, and therefore the compensa-

tion is too little. The whole statement is full of just such misleading parallels as that.

The Interstate Commerce report shows that the average trainload of passengers in this country is only 45, with 5 cars in a train, which would be 9 persons to a car, and therefore, at 2 cents a mile, the railroads would get 18 cents a mile, while the Government pays, according to the official figures quoted, 26 cents. I say that is the sort of stuff the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, coached by the railroad employees in the Department, has retailed to us as evidence in this case.

You will find on certain railroads in this country that they carry 40 people to a car. Is that any basis for calculation? Another thing. The compensation for carrying passengers is not only for carrying the passenger over a mile of track, but for securing the business, soliciting, station agents, passenger stations, advertising, railroad offices, and all the attendant expenses; more than half of all the revenue received goes for procuring the business, and yet the Second Assistant Postmaster-General stands up before our committee and tells us that is the only sort of service with which you can draw a correct parallel. Aside from that, incident to the passenger service is the baggage car, which he did not take into consideration. They have to haul, incident to the passenger service, a dining car, and incident to it all is the sleeping car.

He goes on then to isolate a car on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and says they can carry 30 passengers, making a rate a little less than 2 cents a mile for a passenger, which would be 58 and some fractions of a cent per mile, while the Government pays only 26 cents. That sort of evidence, given intentionally and purposely to deceive the committee, is the basis upon which the majority of the committee make this report.

Now, let us see. The Government charges 1 cent a pound for second-class mail, and we pay the railroad companies about 5 4-5 cents for carrying the same mail. The express companies compete with the Government for a distance of 500 miles all over the United States at 1 cent per pound. In other words, they will carry express packages for less than a cent a pound, seeking to drive the Government out of the business;

and that includes their compensation from domicile to domicile, from house to house, over a distance of 500 miles.

The express companies will take freight, take packages, take express business, for 1 cent a pound. What is their rate? From New York to New Haven it is three-fourths of a cent per pound; to Boston it is 1 cent; to Philadelphia, three-fourths of a cent; to Cleveland, 1 ½ cents; to Cincinnati, 2 cents, while on the long distances they can not compete.

Here is the cause of the effort to increase the pay for second-class mail matter. If they could increase that compensation and make the Government charge more for second-class matter, the three hundred and some odd million pounds of mail matter which goes as second-class would be driven to the express companies and would thus enlarge their receipts. So they made the effort to secure the increase of compensation for second-class mail matter.

The Government can carry second-class mail matter, at a profit, at 1 cent a pound all over the United States, without reference to distance, if it only pays the railroad companies what the express companies pay them for doing their service.

This concession ought to be made. We ought to reduce the rate to the railroads on second-class matter, so that from station to station throughout the United States, without reference to distance, we would pay less than 1 cent a pound, or six-tenths of a cent, which the express companies pay. I say this for the reason that the express companies now compete with the Government within a radius of 500 miles. The average distance the mail is carried is 328 miles. Therefore, without reference to distance, there is a profit in carrying the mail at 1 cent a pound if we pay the railroad companies only what the express companies pay.

But let us see what the Second Assistant Postmaster-General gave us on this subject. It is rather interesting, and I call especial attention to this branch of his testimony. He first goes on to say:

Each road gets a certain rate per mile per annum of its mileage. Perhaps I had better read a paragraph from the very carefully pre-

pared statistics of Captain White, the General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service. He says:

"By taking into consideration all the routes above mentioned and making them overland routes between New York, N. Y., and San Francisco, Cal., we get these figures: The Government pays for the transportation of the mail \$4,265,267.23; for the use of cars, \$833,812.30; making a total cost per annum for transportation and cars, \$5,099,079.53. The average weight carried daily the whole distance is 100,295 pounds. The distance as figured from New York to San Francisco is 3,554.84 miles. By dividing the total cost for transportation and cars by 365 we get \$13,970 as the daily cost, whole weight, whole distance.

"This divided by the weight carried (100,295) gives 1-256 of a cent, being the daily cost per pound per mile. This multiplied by the distance (3,554.84 miles) gives \$0.1389, being the daily cost per pound for the whole distance; that is, between New York and San Francisco. The figures for transportation alone would be for the daily cost, whole weight, whole distance, \$11,685.66; for the daily cost per mile, whole weight, \$3.28; for the daily cost per pound per mile about 1-305 of a cent, and the daily cost per pound for the whole distance would be \$0.1165."

I call attention to the conclusion. He says:

In other words, if we include in that computation the post office cars, the daily cost per pound is nearly 14 cents for the whole distance. Exclusive of the post-office cars it is nearly 12 cents a pound.

Then he proceeds to compare that with the express charges, in order to show that the railroads are carrying the mail for less than what the express companies will carry it. Here is the fallacy and folly and falsehood of his whole argument plainly and clearly exposed:

I have here the latest tariff rate of the Adams Express Company from Washington, D. C. I open it at Alabama. I find the rates from Washington to Abbeville \$3.25 per 100 pounds, and to Abbeville Junction, \$3.75; to Arlington, \$4; to Bear Creek, \$4.50; to Deer Park, \$4; to Delmar, \$4.50; to Guntersville, \$4—all per 100 pounds.

Turning to Arizona, I find the rate to Alhambra from Washington, D. C., to be \$15.75 per 100 pounds for merchandise by express. Here is another point—Canyon Diablo, \$12.50 per 100 pounds; Yuma, \$14.25 per 100 pounds, and so on.

Turning to Arkansas, I find various rates to various points—\$4.75 per 100 pounds to one point, \$5.50 per 100 pounds to another point, \$3

per 100 pounds to another point, making, say, about an average of \$4 per 100 pounds for Arkansas.

I will now read what he says as to the rate between San Francisco and New York, for there is where he has figured out what we pay for carrying the mails. He says:

Our rate from New York to San Francisco—and I think it is about the same from Washington to San Francisco—is \$11.65 per 100 pounds.

SENATOR ALLISON. As against their \$14 or \$15?

MR. SHALLENBERGER. As again their \$15; or to other points on that coast, still higher sums.

In other words, he shows that we pay for carrying the mail, exclusive of the mail car, nearly 12 cents a pound, while the express company charges 15 cents to San Francisco. Is that an honest basis of comparison? Let us see. We are comparing what the express company pays for service and what the United States pays for service. It has been agreed on all hands that the express company—and Mr. Weir states it in his testimony—pays 40 per cent of its receipts. If the express companies charge \$15 a hundred for carrying express matter from New York to San Francisco, the railroad companies would get 40 per cent of \$15, or just \$6, out of it; and yet Mr. Shallenberger, without making any explanation whatever, and knowing these facts, stated to the committee that we pay 12 cents and the express company charges 15 cents.

MR. QUAY: If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him, I desire to say that the Senator from South Dakota was present in the committee when the statement was made.

MR. PETTIGREW: But I did not myself notice the discrepancy until I began to examine the testimony, when I read it, and I believe every other member of the committee was deceived the same as I was. I know the Senator from West Virginia [MR. FAULKNER] was so deceived, for I have since talked with him about it. It seemed to me that that was a just basis of comparison at the time.

It is rather difficult for a person not experienced in matters of this character to go through a lot of such testimony and get at the facts, where the absolute purpose is to deceive and

mislead. If the testimony was not so full of misleading statements, I would not make these comments in regard to it. I know my strictures are rather severe upon the Department, but they are borne out by the testimony of the officers of the Department themselves. Now let us see. He goes on with further comparisons. He says:

Now, take the rate from New York to Ogden. The express quotations to Ogden are \$10.25 per 100 pounds; to Frisco, Utah, they would be \$12.75.

The mail compensation from New York to Ogden is \$8.61 per 100 pounds, the distance being 2,198 miles.

And the railroad company receives from the express company, from New York to Ogden, at 40 per cent of its receipts, \$4.08 a hundred pounds, and the Government pays \$8.61 per 100 pounds, according to the figures of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General himself; yet he would have us believe that the railroad company gets \$10.25 for carrying express matter and \$8.61 for carrying the mail. But here is more interesting stuff:

MR. SHALLENBERGER. From New York to Omaha, Neb., the mail compensation is \$4.37 per 100 pounds. The express charge is \$4.25 per 100 pounds.

Therefore the express company pays the railroad company for an exactly parallel service 40 per cent of \$4.25, which is \$1.70; and the Government pays for carrying the mail \$4.31 per hundred pounds.

But, Mr. President, a more interesting case is the following:

From New York to Chicago I find the mail compensation rate \$3.51 per 100 pounds. The actual compensation paid, as shown in the table that I have previously presented, is \$3.51 per 100 pounds for 965 miles.

SENATOR CULLOM. Is that mail matter or express matter?

MR. SHALLENBERGER. Mail matter. Taking the Adams Express Company rates to Chicago, I find them to be \$2.25 to Chicago proper; to Ashland avenue and the Heights, \$2.65 per 100 pounds ordinary merchandise.

According to his figures, we pay \$3.51 per 100 pounds, and the express company pays 40 per cent of \$2.25 per 100 pounds, which is 90 cents. We pay \$3.51, and the express company pay 90 cents for the same service. You will find something still worse in this statement by turning to page 137. I will show how useless this whole testimony is. On that page is a statement from Mr. White, the Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, in which he says that we pay for carrying the mail over the New York Central road from New York to Chicago \$2,873,518 per year, and the weight is 66,500,000 pounds, or \$4.33 per 100 pounds, while the Second Assistant Postmaster-General says, comparing it with the express rates, we pay \$3.51 per 100 pounds.

Of course, \$3.51 to a man who is working for a railroad company, and wants to make out a case for it, makes a better comparison with \$2.25 than \$4.33 makes. I do not know that this is done purposely, but presume it was figured out by subordinates. I believe Mr. Shallenberger, so far as he is concerned, is an honest man; but I do believe that he has been deceived into making this statement; I know it, for the railroad companies have furnished the material to the subordinates, who were trained under the two previous Second Assistant Postmaster-Generals, who were railroad employees, and consequently we cannot get the truth from that Department until it is wiped out, the service changed, and every one of those fellows discharged and a new crop put in.

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Mr. President, I sent to the Interstate Commerce Commission and asked them to furnish me the data with regard to the decline in passenger and freight rates since 1878. It was in 1878 that we made the last reduction in the compensation for carrying the mails. There has been no reduction since that time. Twenty years have rolled away and everything else has declined but the pay of the Government to railroad companies for carrying the mails.

I find that the charge for carrying freight has been reduced by the railroad companies 33 per cent since 1882; and from 1878 to 1882 there was no doubt a considerable decline. The

Interstate Commerce Commission did not have the figures for the former period. I have here the figures showing that the railroads have voluntarily decreased the price for carrying freight 33 per cent and my amendment provides for decreasing the price of carrying the mail but 20 per cent, although the rate for carrying the mails has always been over 100 per cent too high.

I find from 1882 to 1894 the cost was reduced for carrying passengers by the railroads voluntarily over 20 per cent, and that from 1894 to 1896, according to this statement, the charge for carrying passengers has increased a little.

* * * * *

It seems to me, taking all the facts into consideration, that we would be abundantly justified in reducing the compensation for carrying the mails 20 per cent. Go to the farmer of this country, and you will find that his products have decreased nearly one-half, more than one-half, much more than one-half, since 1878. The cotton raiser's price of cotton has gone down from 16 to 18 cents a pound to 5 cents per pound. So it is with the wheat raiser; so it is with the producer of almost everything that is produced by human toil; and inasmuch as these producers are the people who pay the taxes, it seems to me we are justified in reducing the pay for mail transportation 20 per cent, and then go on with our investigation, which, in my opinion, will show that next year we should reduce it 30 per cent more.

As I said before, the express companies in this country—and I am going over that again, because I want to thoroughly fix that in the minds of Senators—the express companies in this country in 1890 sent 98,000,000 packages, weighing 3,299,000,000 pounds, and they sent 17,000,000 packages which were not weighed. They paid the railroads for carrying all those packages \$19,327,000, or 5 28-33 mills per pound, while last year the Government paid for the carrying of 528,000,000 pounds of mail nearly \$30,000,900, or 5 4-5 cents a pound, or ten times as much as the express companies paid for carrying their property. It seems to me that all these facts would justify the proposed reduction.

I am going to review very briefly the testimony submitted by the railroad companies in this connection, because it seems to me a case made up by the railroad companies upon which those who favor the present high rate of compensation rely.

MR. QUAY: I desire to say, Mr. President, to the Senator from South Dakota, that it is not upon the case made out by the railroad companies alone, but upon the case made out by the Post-Office Department, and upon the case made out by the express companies, on which the Committee on Appropriations rely.

MR. PETTIGREW: They are all in partnership.

MR. QUAY: That is only a supposition upon which the Senator bases his statement.

MR. PETTIGREW: All I ask of any person is that he read the majority report of the committee in corroboration of my statement.

Mr. Baldwin, representing the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad, makes this statement, on page 10 of the printed evidence:

Upon these heavy routes also the question of weight is controlling, and in them only will be found a fair basis for determining the rate per pound that is being paid, and for comparing the rates with those paid by other customers of the railroad company, and for deciding whether the Government is getting the benefit of fair reductions in price, having in view the constantly increasing service it demands, and which requires a constantly greater expense. The routes carrying in excess of 5,000 pounds per day receive \$22,641,000 out of a total expenditure of \$33,876,000, or over two-thirds of the whole mail compensation, and they carry nine-tenths of the total weight.

I am going to accept that as true for the purpose of this argument. I do not know whether it is true or not, but for the purpose of this argument I will accept it as true. Then he goes on to say:

A small portion of this tonnage, namely, up to 5,000 pounds, on these heavy routes, goes at 4 cents a pound for the haul of 448 miles; but the great weight (over 4,000,000 pounds per day) is carried at the legal minimum of 1.3 cents per pound.

Let us see how this works out. He says that these roads receive \$22,641,000 out of a total compensation of \$33,876,000, and that they carry nine-tenths of the total weight of the mail, which that year was 528,000,000 pounds. Take nine-tenths of 528,000,000, which is 475,300,000, and divide the \$22,641,000, which he says they receive, and you will find that they receive 4 19-24 cents per pound for every pound they carry; and yet he tells us in the next paragraph (and this is the sort of rubbish they present to the Committee on Appropriations) that—

A small portion of this tonnage, namely, up to 5,000 pounds, on these heavy routes goes at 4 cents a pound for the haul of 448 miles; but the great weight (over 4,000,000 pounds per day) is carried at the legal minimum of 1.3 cents per pound.

But the Department says the average distance mail is carried is 328 miles.

Then he says—

It is a matter of mathematical demonstration.

I should think it was; and so on, all through the statements of these railroad attorneys we have this same misleading, confusing and deceptive testimony. I do not say that these men committed perjury, for we did not swear any of them. They made statements.

You recollect, Mr. President, that in the examination of the trans-Mississippi freight rates, the railroad managers all came in and swore that there was not a pool, and finally Mr. Stickney, who was manager and president of the Great Western Railroad, came in and swore that there was a pool, and that he was in it. In other words, they protect the service they are engaged to protect, and to protect the railway service of this country requires a peculiar conscience.

On page 65 is the statement made by the Louisville and Nashville road. I noticed this statement when it was being read by the Secretary and I made a memorandum of it:

I think it is proper to suggest that the railroads have the right to expect the Government to pay them at least as much for the use of their passenger trains, in proportion to the labor performed and the

services rendered, as the public using the same trains pay. But the company's statistics show that the Louisville and Nashville Company secured for the year ended June 30, 1897, net earnings per car mile for the transportation of passengers, after the payment of operating expenses—not including interest and taxes—6.23 cents, while from the mail they only secured 4.96 cents, a difference of over 25 per cent in favor of the passenger account.

You will find on page 124 Mr. White's statement that the average pay per mile for every single one of the postal cars used by this country is 6.84 cents per mile, as against 4.96 cents according to this statement.

Then on page 66 we have the price they charge for carrying freight 10 miles. That includes not only the transportation, but the cost of getting the freight, the depot charges, terminal charges, which make up the bulk of the cost of doing the freight business; and in this connection I will put into the RECORD the statements of various roads as to the cost of handling freight cars and freight trains after the trains are loaded.

The Government loads the mail on a train. Then it is carried by the railroad company, and yet the railroad attorney who makes this statement compares the total freight rate with the amount that the Government pays simply for hauling the freight over the road, and then he takes the smallest possible distance they have—10 miles—and therefore the highest rate. He says for 10 miles or less the charge is 12 cents per 100 pounds, while the Government pays only 5.6 cents per 100 pounds, leaving out entirely the cost of securing the business, which is the chief item in a short haul of 10 miles for freight.

COST OF HAULING FREIGHT CARS ON THE UNION PACIFIC ROAD.

In 1890 the cost of hauling a loaded car (on the Union Pacific Railroad) 1 mile, that is, including all the expense of the locomotive and car departments, was 3.17 cents a mile; in 1891 it cost us 3.05 cents; in 1894, 2.65 cents, and in the month of October, 1895, it cost us 2.01 cents to haul a loaded car 1 mile.—*Statement of J. H. McConnell, superintendent locomotive power, the Union Pacific Railroad.* See Railroad Review, February 29, 1896.

COST OF HAULING FREIGHT CARS ON THE SOO LINE.

On May 1, 1895, the Soo Line commenced rating its locomotives on a tonnage basis. The cost per mile of hauling freight cars in 1894

was 1.18 cents, and in 1895 it was 1 cent.—*Railroad Review*, March 28, 1896.

In his paper on "Locomotive Service," published in the *Railroad Review* of January 18, 1896, Mr. McConnell stated that on the Union Pacific 26 loaded cars are now hauled by the same engine that used to haul 22 cars, and in one case the increase had been from 28 to 35 cars. He also said that the additional cost to a train by attaching thereto an additional loaded car would only be the value of 5 pounds of coal per car mile, and in a yearly course of 36,000 miles the increased cost would only be the value of 90 tons of coal.

As to the wastefulness of our private railway managers in the use of their freight equipment, the following is of importance.

In a paper read at the December, 1896, meeting of the St. Louis Railway Club, J. R. Cavanagh, superintendent car service of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis road, said:

"There are about 1,750,000 freight cars owned by railroads in North America, representing an investment of about \$500,000,000. From the best information obtainable these cars average a little over 6 tons per mile, or about 10 tons per loaded car mile. Freight equipment is idle an average of 75 per cent, or in service about 25 per cent of the time. What causes this large percentage of idleness? Delays incidental to loading and unloading, switching, terminals, etc., consume a portion of it; but as much time is lost waiting for loads, giving loads preference over empties, holding for home routes, for transfers, etc."

Car Accountant Wheatly of the West Shore road, says that of the freight car equipment of the United States in 1892, 248,000 cars were absolutely idle, and these cars representing a capital of \$124,000,000, occasioned not only a loss of the interest on their cost, but an additional loss of \$10,000,000 annually for their maintenance, to say nothing of the cost of track room to hold them, locomotives to move them, and the other minor yet necessary expenses which their existence involves; and still, he says, the private managers of the railroads pay over \$30,000,000 a year for the use of private cars, and Mr. Wheatly's figures as to the cost of private cars are supported by the testimony of Mr. Aldace F. Walker.—*Railroad Review*, September 3, 1892.

I may also add that S. P. Bush, superintendent of locomotive power of the Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburg, makes the cost of hauling loaded and empty cars the same. In the *Engineering News* of June 3, Mr. Bush states that on a run of 115 miles from Chicago to Logansport, Ind., an increase in the load of a freight train of 32 cars from 750 to 1,050 tons occasioned the use (the additional cost) of but 400 pounds of coal. There was no other increase of expenses. In other words, the cost to the road for the haul of the additional 300 tons of freight for a distance of 115 miles was but the cost of 400 pounds of coal, certainly less than 50 cents.

For further information on these points note pages 145 and 146 of my book, *A General Freight and Passenger Post*.

As to passenger trains, the railroad reports of the year 1897 show that the trains run with only about one-sixth of the seats occupied.

JAMES L. COWLES.

I find that Mr. Dudley, in making his statement for the railroads for which he is attorney, says:

The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1897 gives the cost of the railroads of the United States at \$12,179,865,771.

That is the amount they are bonded and stocked for, but nobody pretends that that is what they cost, and Mr. Dudley knows they did not cost that sum. But he lays that down as a premise from which to make an argument and draw conclusions to convince us that the railroads receive too little compensation for carrying the mails.

So with these half falsehoods, these misleading statements all through this evidence, on almost every page of it, they undertake to make up a case to justify them in charging ten times as much per pound for carrying the mail as they charge for carrying express matter.

I beg pardon of the Senate for presenting this subject in so disconnected a way; but the investigation was a hurried one, and we have had little opportunity since the investigation to look into the matter and digest this mass of testimony. I wish I had more time and could have presented it in a better manner.

CHAPTER XVIII

MORGAN AND CO.

The Senate having under consideration resolution submitted by Mr. Peffer, providing for a committee of five Senators to investigate and report generally all the material facts and circumstances connected with the sale of United States bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury in the years 1894, 1895, and 1896——

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ I simply wish to give a history, so that it may appear in the RECORD, of the numerous bond sales made by the present administration.

It has been the policy of the present administration to destroy the use of silver as a money metal, and to manipulate the credit of the United States in such a manner as to enrich its favorites, while piling up a load of debt to oppress the whole people. The first step was the extra session of Congress called for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The call for the extra session was a direct attack upon the credit of the United States, and it was preceded by a concerted movement of the banks of New York, inspired from Washington, to curtail mercantile credits and bring about the panic of 1893, as an object lesson to Congress. The panic started by the banks soon passed beyond their control, and involved the country in disasters from which it has not yet recovered.

Then came the enactment of the Wilson tariff for a deficit, a measure framed upon sectional lines, and intended to protect all Southern industries and those of districts represented by Democrats, while the industries of Republican States and Congressional districts were intended to be left defenseless against foreign competition. Fortunately for the country, the rules of

1. Speech in the Senate May 5, 1896.

the Senate of the United States afforded an opportunity for debate and for careful consideration of the provisions of the tariff as it came to us, and it was amended so as to be a little less obnoxious, in fact quite satisfactory, to the iron, cotton, and most Eastern industries before it became a law without the President's signature.

As soon as the Democratic Administration came into power the revenues began to decrease, because the expectation that the tariff would be reduced checked the importation of all foreign goods, and thereby diminished the receipts from customs.

The act repealing the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, known as the Sherman law, was signed by the President November 1, 1893, it having passed the House August 28 and the Senate October 31; but though it had been promised that this would restore confidence, it failed to do so, but rather increased the distress and misery by further contracting the volume of money, driving prices to a still lower level, closing mills and factories, and causing a steady increase in the number of bankruptcies in all producing industries to the present time.

On December 27, 1894, the cash balance of the treasury was reduced to \$88,914,096, the lowest on record. The Secretary of the Treasury then applied to Congress for relief, suggesting an issue of 3 per cent five-year bonds for the purpose of augmenting the gold reserve and meeting deficiencies. January 15, 1894, Mr. Carlisle, in a communication to the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, stated that unless new legislation could be obtained he would feel compelled to resort to the resumption act of 1875, and issue bonds for the purpose of replenishing the gold reserve.

The chairman, the senior Senator from Indiana [MR. VOORHEES], replied to Mr. Carlisle that he could not give an assurance of prompt action upon any new financial measure, and therefore Secretary Carlisle decided to issue \$50,000,000 5 per cent ten year bonds, and arrangements were accordingly made.

The price fixed for the issue was 117.223, which would net about 3 per cent interest. The large premium would reduce the interest which the government would have to pay to 3 per cent.

The question was raised that no portion of the proceeds of those bonds could be used for any other purpose than for the redemption of United States notes, and this brought out a statement by Mr. Carlisle that the gold reserve was and always had been held as a part of the Treasury cash, and not as a separate fund.

The raising of this question had somewhat of a deterring effect upon intending subscribers, and Mr. Carlisle went on to New York and had a conversation with some of the bankers.

One result was the formation of a syndicate arranged by Mr. John A. Stewart, of the United States Trust Company, through whose influence subscriptions amounting to \$58,002,250 were obtained at from 117.223 to 120.829, and the award was made January 30, on which day the net gold in the treasury was reported at \$65,598,871, and the general cash, including this sum, \$82,975,908. Payment for the bonds resulted in an increase in the net gold in the treasury to \$106,539,703 at the end of February, 1894.

But the expenditures of the government were running ahead of the receipts. Gold was wanted in Europe to carry out the Rothschilds' contract with Austria by which that country was placed upon a gold basis.

Consequently exchange advanced, and on March 2, 1894, \$1,250,000 gold was taken for shipment to Europe, followed by a similar amount during the next week, making \$2,500,000 for the month. In April \$8,874,000 was shipped, and in May \$18,150,000; and the net gold in the Treasury at the end of that month was \$80,692,962.

In June the continued drain of gold from the Treasury caused some apprehension, and a few of the New York banks agreed to supply the demand for export, but only a little was so furnished; and on the 22d of June the net gold was down

to \$61,903,746, and the total movement to Europe that month was \$21,150,000.

In July shipments were \$10,700,000, and the net gold was reduced to \$45,516,212.

The Wilson tariff bill was passed on August 14, and it became a law August 27; but the mischief had been done; trade and manufacturing had been so far depressed by the contraction of our currency by the repeal of the Sherman law and the export of gold that prices continued to decline; trade and manufactures had been so far depressed that recovery was impossible without a reform of our financial system. The deficiency in the revenue continued to increase, and in September there was some talk about a new issue of bonds.

November 14 the Secretary of the Treasury issued a call for \$50,000,000 5 per cent ten-year bonds under the resumption act. The conditions prevailing at the time this issue was made were peculiar.

The bonds sold in January had been absorbed at home and none had been taken abroad. The Stewart syndicate had been treated fairly by the government, and there was a disposition on the part of these bankers freely to subscribe for the new issue.

Mr. Stewart and Mr. J. P. Morgan visited Washington in the interest of the syndicate, and it is represented and generally believed that Mr. Stewart, at least, had a distinct understanding with the President and with Mr. Carlisle that nothing would be done by the administration in any way whatever to interfere with the marketing of the bonds.

These bankers went back to New York and forwarded a bid for the round amount of the bonds at 117.077.

The total subscriptions were \$178,341,550. The award was made to the Stewart syndicate on the understanding that the gold to be paid for the bonds would not be taken from the treasury, and payment was prompt, \$29,021,518 having been turned into the sub-treasury by the end of November.

The syndicate immediately arranged to sell the bonds they had bought, and offered a lot of \$5,000,000 at 119. It is believed that this amount was sold at the price named, but

before they had an opportunity to dispose of many more the President's message and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury recommending changes in the currency effectually stopped the marketing of any more of the bonds.

The particular section of Mr. Carlisle's bill which did the business for the Stewart syndicate was section 1 :

"Be it enacted, That all acts which require or authorize the deposit of United States bonds to secure circulating notes issued by national banking associations be and the same are hereby repealed, and such notes hereafter prepared shall not contain the statement that they are so secured."

Now, Mr. President, let it be borne in mind that Messrs. Stewart and Morgan visited Washington in relation to the bond issue on or about November 24; that in all probability had it not been for the assurance given by Mr. Carlisle and the President that nothing would be done by the administration to interfere with the marketing of the bonds, these bankers, and particularly Mr. Stewart, would not have bid for them at all, much less have bid a high price for the whole or none; that the formation of a bill so important as that prepared by Mr. Carlisle must have been under consideration for some time prior to its presentation to Congress at the beginning of the session, and the President must have known the views of his Secretary long before their publication in the annual reports, or had inspired them; and there is the explanation of the statement made by Mr. Stewart early in December that his syndicate would dissolve December 27, 1894. It was also then stated that not more than \$10,500,000 of the bonds bought by the Stewart syndicate of the government had been sold, and only \$5,000,000 at 119.

It is my opinion that this bad faith on the part of the administration was planned in advance and for the purpose of depressing the price of the bonds and to ruin the credit of the government, so as to compel Congress to enact such financial legislation as the President might demand, and afterwards turned to account in enriching the favorites of the President, if not the President himself.

The net gold proceeds of the fifty-million-dollar bond sale

in January, amounting to \$58,000,000, went to Europe during the summer of 1894, and there was no reason to expect that the proceeds of the \$50,000,000 sold in November, 1894, amounting to \$53,472,319, would long remain in the treasury.

Europeans were laughing at us, and sneeringly alluded to the financial methods pursued for rehabilitating our gold reserve. American bankers were coolly calculating upon the time when a new issue of bonds would have to be made and wondering who would buy them.

On the 8th of December, 1894, gold again began to flow out of the treasury to Europe, and even then redemptions of legal tenders for the purpose of hoarding gold were well under way, having really begun toward the close of November, for concurrently with the settlement by the syndicate for the bonds bought by them there was a withdrawal of large sums of gold with which to pay for the bonds.

By the end of December the net gold in the treasury had been reduced to \$86,244,445, against \$111,142,020 December 6, and \$9,680,000 gold was shipped to Europe during the month. Withdrawals thus exceeding shipments by over \$15,000,000.

In January, 1895, the withdrawals of gold for shipment were large, and considerable amounts were taken for hoarding by individuals and by banks. Confidence was unsettled, and the situation was regarded by treasury officials at Washington as grave, but none recalled the blundering of the administration which had precipitated it by discrediting the bonds bought by the Stewart syndicate.

January 30, Subtreasurer Jordan, at New York, reported that he thought he could hold out until February 2 with the gold coin in the New York subtreasury, but the next day might decide the situation.

The single day of January 25 had seen \$6,902,081 in gold withdrawn from the New York subtreasury, and the evening of February 2 arrived with only \$9,700,000 in gold coin available for the redemption of United States notes in New York. A day and a half like the 25th of January might have seen the United States compelled to refuse the redemption of its notes

in gold at the subtreasury in New York, the only place at which they are by law redeemable.

Gold was hurried from Philadelphia and every available point, even at the risk of reducing below the point of safety the gold fund at other subtreasuries for the redemption of coin notes, with the result that on Monday, February 3, 1895, the available gold fund had been increased about \$1,000,000. Assistant Secretary Curtis, who was then in New York, telegraphed to Secretary Carlisle for authority to sell bullion to exporters at a reduced rate in order to prevent the absolute exhaustion of gold coin. The treasury had already violated the law requiring gold coin to be held against gold certificates, and had practically borrowed from the trust fund of the certificate holders several millions of dollars.

There was gold bullion still left in the Treasury to cover the certificates, which would have been adequate if it had not been feared that the certificates would be presented in large quantities for redemption.

The gold coin available for all purposes at New York on February 2 was \$20,465,334, but it was absolutely known that \$10,765,000 in gold certificates were in New York in the hands of a few holders, which were liable to be presented at any moment.

The further sum of \$37,069,869 was outstanding in gold certificates, without exact information at the subtreasury as to where it was held, but with the probability that the bulk of it was also held in New York and was liable to be presented at any moment for redemption. This was a secret contract, from which the public was excluded, participated in by the President's former law partner. I will not comment on this transaction. I leave it to the American people to pass upon and for the judgment of history. This much may be said, however: If a similar negotiation had been conducted by the governor of any American State or the mayor of any city instead of the President of the United States, impeachment or criminal prosecution would have followed at once.

The contract of February 8, 1895, is as follows:

"This agreement, entered into this 8th day of February, 1895, between the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, of the first part, and Messrs. August Belmont & Co., of New York, on behalf of Messrs. N. M. Rothschild & Sons, of London, Eng., and themselves, and Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York, on behalf of Messrs. J. S. Morgan & Co., of London, and themselves, parties of the second part—

"Witnesseth: Whereas it is provided by the revised statutes of the United States (section 3700) that the Secretary of the Treasury may purchase coin with any of the bonds or notes of the United States authorized by law at such rates and upon such terms as he may deem most advantageous to the public interests; and the Secretary of the Treasury now deems that an emergency exists in which the public interests require that, as hereinafter provided, coin shall be purchased with the bonds of the United States of the description hereinafter mentioned, authorized to be issued under the act entitled 'an act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' approved January 14, 1875, being bonds of the United States described in an act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled 'an act to authorize the refunding of the national debt'; now, therefore, do the said parties of the second part hereby agree to sell and deliver to the United States 3,500,000 ounces of standard gold coin of the United States at the rate of \$17.80441 per ounce, payable in United States 4 per cent thirty year coupon or registered bonds, said bonds to be dated February 1, 1895, and payable at the pleasure of the United States after thirty years from date, issued under the acts of Congress of July 14, 1870, January 20, 1871, and January 14, 1875, bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, payable quarterly.

"First. Such purchase and sale of gold coin being made on the following conditions:

"1. At least one-half of all coin delivered hereinunder shall be obtained in and shipped from Europe, but the shipments shall not be required to exceed 300,000 ounces per month, unless the parties to the second part shall consent thereto.

"2. All deliveries shall be made at any of the subtreasuries, or at any other legal depository of the United States.

"3. All gold coins delivered shall be received on the basis of 25.8 grains of standard gold per dollar, if within the limit of tolerance.

"4. Bonds delivered under this contract are to be delivered free of accrued interest, which is to be assumed and paid by the parties of the second part at the time of their delivery to them.

"Second. Should the Secretary of the Treasury desire to offer or sell any bonds of the United States on or before October 1, 1895, he shall first offer the same to the parties of the second part; but thereafter he shall be free from every such obligation to the parties of the second part.

"Third. The Secretary of the Treasury hereby reserves the right within ten days from the date hereof, in case he shall receive authority from Congress therefor, to substitute any bonds of the United States bearing 3 per cent interest, of which the principal and interest shall be specifically payable in the United States gold coin of the present weight and fineness for the bonds herein alluded to, such 3 per cent bonds to be accepted by the parties of the second part at par, *i. e.*, at \$18.60465 per ounce of standard gold.

"Fourth. No bonds shall be delivered to the parties of the second part, or either of them, except in payment for coin from time to time received hereunder; whereupon the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States shall and will deliver the bonds as herein provided, at such places as shall be designated by the parties of the second part.

"Any expense of delivery out of the United States shall be assumed and paid by the parties of the second part.

"Fifth. In consideration of the purchase of such coin the parties of the second part and their associates hereunder assume and will bear all the expense and inevitable loss of bringing gold from Europe hereunder; and, as far as lies in their power, will exert all financial influence and will make all legitimate efforts to protect the Treasury of the United States against the withdrawals of gold pending the complete performance of this contract.

"In witness whereof the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands in five parts this 8th day of February, 1895.

"J. G. CARLISLE,

"Secretary of the Treasury.

"AUGUST BELMONT & Co.,

"On behalf of Messrs. N. M. Rothschild & Sons, London, and themselves.

"J. P. MORGAN & Co.,

"On behalf of J. S. Morgan & Co., London, and themselves.

"Attest:

"W. E. CURTIS—

Representing the treasury in the negotiation at New York.

FRANCIS LYNDE STETSON—

The law partner of Grover Cleveland at the time he was last elected President.

After the contract was signed the right was reserved to the Treasury Department, under the third section of the compact, to substitute any bonds of the United States bearing 3 per cent interest, payable in gold.

The President, at once communicated to Congress the terms of the contract, at the same time asking for the passage of a law authorizing the issue of 3 per cent gold bonds, but

the authority was not given and the contract went into full effect February 18th. Two days thereafter it was announced, with great circumstantiality, that the syndicate had then paid into the treasury \$32,558,137.50 gold for the American half of the bonds.

Immediately upon the signing of the contract there was an earnest desire on the part of American bankers and capitalists to get in. Application was made to the syndicate, and the applicants were let in; but under this stipulation: All who were admitted were required to unite in a practical underwriting of the entire issue of bonds. That is to say, as one-half of the bonds were reserved for Americans, these subscribers were required to deposit with the syndicate gold coin, not obtained from the treasury, to double the amount of their subscriptions, which gold was to be placed under the absolute control of Messrs. Morgan and Belmont, to be used by them as they saw proper. The subscriptions came from every quarter, and it was stated by the syndicate that they were so large that not more than 50 per cent could be awarded.

The bonds were offered in New York at 112¼ and in London at £227 per \$1,000 bond, equal, with exchange at \$4.90, to 111.23.

The subscribers agreed to the stipulation of the syndicate, and therefore these bankers were enabled promptly to make full payment for the bonds immediately after the closing of the books.

But, Mr. President, the gold so paid did not go into the treasury, though it was credited in the treasury accounts, for as late as June 21, 1895, \$6,856,752 gold was transferred to the treasury from one or more of the banks selected by the syndicate as depositories of their money.

Immediately upon the signing of the contract it was announced that £1,685,000 gold had been bought in London for the syndicate, and on the 21st of February they paid over to the treasury 143,102 ounces of gold on foreign account.

Not all the American bankers who subscribed for the bonds paid in full their quota of gold until some time in May, and then the full amount due from them was collected, and there

was turned over to the treasury on June 8 \$10,449,462 and credited on the foreign bond account.

As at that time \$14,545,972 had been imported, there remained to be paid \$7,562,702. The Campania arrived on Saturday, June 22, 1895, with about \$880,000 gold for the syndicate, leaving \$6,680,621.79 due, and this amount was announced at the treasury as having been paid on Tuesday, June 25, 1895, thus closing the contract.

But the terms of the agreement were not literally complied with by this payment, and it is evident that either the President or the Secretary of the Treasury waived that provision of the contract which required that one-half of the gold should be imported from Europe.

The amount of gold to be imported under the original contract was \$32,558,137. The amount actually imported was a little over \$15,000,000, the balance having been made up from contributions of the banks which were interested in the syndicate operations in the manner just stated; that is, every banker was required to deposit twice as much gold as he received in bonds.

Now, Mr. President, why was this syndicate permitted to close its contract without having imported from Europe nearly \$17,000,000 of the gold which they had agreed to bring hither?

I propose to read an extract from a New York paper of that date, as it so clearly details not only what had happened, but what would happen. It is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 8.*

"The administration contract with the bond syndicate was more infamous than at first appeared.

"There was a secret verbal contract with the syndicate of bankers to whom the administration intrusted the negotiation of the last batch of bonds.

"This contract was not reduced to writing for a very simple reason. The Treasury Department has no authority of law to enter into such an agreement with any person or combination of bankers.

"The written contract submitted to Congress was quite objectionable on account of the enormous profit which it permitted the bankers to make, but the verbal contract constituted the syndicate the financial

agents of the United States, in return for which the bankers who took the bonds were to protect the treasury against any further raid upon the gold therein.

"This they are to do by keeping the price of sterling exchange in New York below the point at which gold can profitably be exported.

"In this way the gains of the firms who used to export gold whenever there was a clear profit, however small, from the operation, have been destroyed. But the syndicate is making much more, because the administration permits the bankers to hold in London the gold received from foreign sales of bonds, so that they can sell exchange in New York on London cheaper than any one else can afford to. They can do this because the gold upon which exchange is drawn is already in London.

"In this way there is at present no demand upon the treasury for gold for export, for no one could export gold except at a loss. The fact that the syndicate is now operating under this verbal contract explains the slowness with which gold is coming into the treasury. It also explains the cheerfulness with which the administration contemplates the situation. In fact, the administration flatters itself that the endless chain is broken.

"But is the endless chain really broken? If there is a demand for gold from this country, can the syndicate stop the endless chain from working any longer than their gold receipts from the sale of bonds in Europe hold out? Have not the bankers, who have been constituted the fiscal agents of this country by a verbal contract not authorized by law, always earned the reputation of taking the best possible care of themselves in every transaction in which they have been engaged?

"Was not the clause in the written contract giving to them the option upon all other issues of bonds until October drawn to meet this very case? Did not the members of the syndicate know that they could not continue to sell exchange low enough to prevent gold exportations during all of the next six months without sacrificing some of their profits unless more bonds were given to them to sell in Europe?

"These questions need only to be stated, the replies suggest themselves. From them can be seen what the administration has really done.

"It has not broken the endless chain, it has simply substituted for gold, temporarily, an export of thirty year 4 per cent bonds. As soon as the proceeds of these bonds have been exhausted by exchange drafts and the gold received in New York for the sale of exchange has been deposited in the treasury, the endless chain will begin to work again. As soon as greenbacks and treasury notes begin again to be presented for redemption more bonds will be issued to the syndicate and more profits will accrue to these patriotic bankers.

"While the endless chain was in operation the people knew what the sale of bonds to buy gold to replenish the treasury was going to

cost them in the way of interest. They had public notice of the time when bids for bonds would be received and opened, and that awards would be made to the best bidders. They knew also that the bonds were to be paid for at once and the gold deposited in the treasury in plain sight of people of the United States, to whom it belonged.

Now, they knew that the men who undertook to negotiate the last bonds were not only presented by the administration with an enormous gratuity of from \$90,000 to \$100,000 at least upon every million under the written contract, but by the secret verbal contract were and are permitted to retain in their own hands in London the gold received from the sale of bonds in Europe until they can make an additional profit by selling this gold to merchants and bankers in New York in the form of exchange upon London.

"And all this without the expenditure of one cent by the members of the syndicate, except traveling expenses to Washington, for these patriotic bankers did not buy the bonds themselves; they merely contracted to sell them at a certain price, when they knew they could get a great deal more for them.

"And yet the administration actually takes great credit to itself for this transaction. But the syndicate takes the cash and lets the credit go."

In the face of these facts it seems to me there is something to investigate; that it is exceedingly proper to go to the bottom of this transaction and ascertain all there is in connection with the secret bond contract. I presume it is not to prevent the disclosures which must come from laying bare this secret transaction that the Senator from New York is making such frantic efforts to prevent the proposed investigation. I think the American people demand it, and the Senate should probe this transaction to the bottom.

So this transaction was closed and the American people paid a premium of over eight millions of money for sixty-three millions of gold which did not maintain the gold reserve seven months, or from February 8 until September, 1895; for long before Congress assembled in 1895 it was apparent to everyone that another bond sale must be resorted to, and in November the gold reserve had been reduced to less than eighty millions. Early in December members of the Morgan syndicate visited Washington to negotiate for the delivery to them of one hundred millions of bonds at 104¾ and the transaction was about completed by the 20th, but the President

hesitated, and on the 21st of December the members of the Morgan-Belmont syndicate and others joining, sent the Secretary or the President a telegram that they would furnish one hundred millions of American gold if their offer of 104¾ was accepted at once; that the credit of the United States was so bad that not a dollar of gold could be secured from Europe, and that if the government delayed accepting their offer this chance would be lost and the government would find it impossible to obtain gold at all. This telegram was supposed to produce the desired effect, and I am of the opinion that this contract was closed.

It was generally understood that the contract was closed and reported that enough bankers had been taken into the syndicate at an advance price over what Morgan-Belmont were to pay to afford them several millions of profit, and that these bankers controlled all the available gold in the United States, except what was in the Treasury.

Resolutions were introduced in this body condemning the private sale of bonds, and the New York *World* began an exposure of this transaction that startled the country. I quote from the New York *World* of January 1, 1895:

"Morgan Et Al.'s Profits for 1895.

"If this new loan is negotiated the account of J. P. Morgan and his associated gold brokers with the government of the United States will show the following handsome book profits for the year 1895:

How the Accounts Stand—First Transaction—Loan of February 18 Last

Face of loan.....	\$62,315,000
Morgan-Belmont paid 104.49 as premium.....	2,797,943
<hr/>	
United States got.....	\$65,112,943
Morgan-Belmont got from bankers' syndicate at 112½.	69,948,587
Morgan-Belmont syndicate's first profit.....	4,835,644
Bankers' syndicate got from public, at 118.....	73,531,700
Bankers' syndicate's second profit.....	3,583,113
United States lost by transaction and the bond syndicate made an apparent clear profit of.....	8,418,757

The United States, therefore, lost by this transaction the difference between the price they took and the market price, the sum of \$8,418,757.

Second Transaction (Proposed)—December 31

Face of loan (with \$100,000,000 more in prospect).....	\$100,000,000
Morgan, as syndicate manager, pays about 104¾ pre- mium.....	4,750,000
United States will get.....	104,750,000
Morgan's syndicate will get from public a premium of 117½ (yesterday's market price).....	117,500,000
	<hr/>
Morgan and other bankers' profit.....	12,750,000
Morgan and other bankers' profit in February.....	8,418,757
	<hr/>
Total for 1895 if new contract is accepted.....	\$21,168,757

This is an appalling sum, \$21,000,000; a sum greater than the average savings of 400,000 laborers for a year, donated to men who never produced one element of wealth, but who have spent their lives in gathering together that which others have produced.

In the face of these facts and the attitude of the Senate on this subject the administration did not dare to carry out its contract, and so in January advertised for bids. No price was stated, and the officers of the treasury did not expect the popular loan to be successful. They looked and hoped for failure. It was well known that the syndicate had most of the gold in this country cornered. The people did not bid, as they were afraid they could not get the gold to pay for the bonds.

At this juncture some of the banks that had been members of the syndicate put in independent bids, and Morgan & Co., fearing that they would be shut out of participation in any profit in the transaction, bid 110.6877, or a fraction less than 110.7 for the whole one hundred million or any part thereof. Sixty-seven millions of the bonds went for a higher price. Thirty-three million dollars was awarded to the Morgan syndicate at their bid of 110.7 or 6 per cent more upon the dollar than their private contract with the Secretary called for, thus saving to the people between six and seven millions on this transaction. These bonds would have sold at 117½ on the day the bids were opened, if this had been an honest effort on the part of the Treasury Department to offer them to the

public and a price or range of prices been published, showing the term of bonds and the rate of interest they would draw at the various prices and payment accepted in lawful money, and thus over six millions more would have been saved to the people. It is no excuse to say that this sale was for the purpose of obtaining gold, for, if the bonds had been sold for lawful money, for a fraction of a cent on the dollar lawful money could have been exchanged for gold.

But other favors were to be showered upon Morgan & Co. W. R. Graves, of New York, had bid 115.31 for \$4,500,000 of the bonds and was unable to secure the gold to pay for them. Reliable parties thereupon bid 114.5 for these bonds, but the Secretary sold them to the syndicate for 110.7. The Secretary should, in law and equity, have sold all bonds not taken by bidders at the best obtainable price and looked to the defaulting bidders for the difference. This would have been done by any private individual, but the Secretary chose to turn the bonds over to this syndicate for their bid price, or at \$190,000 less than the bid made by responsible parties. I will now read the bid which the Secretary received on the 15th of February and refused to accept:

“WASHINGTON, D. C.,

“February 15, 1896.

“SIR: The Investment Corporation of New York hereby bids 114.50 for any or all bonds allotted to parties who did not comply with the terms of their bids by the payment of 20 per cent or more of the amount awarded them by noon Saturday, the 15th instant, in accordance with the terms of the circular issued by you. We offer 114.50, with the understanding and condition that none of the gold to be paid for the bonds shall be drawn from the United States Treasury. We are prepared to deposit the gold on the receipt of advice from you that this bid will be entertained. The Investment Corporation insists that the bid of J. P. Morgan & Co. is not entitled to any further allotment of bonds, and we beg to hand you herewith our memorandum brief upon that proposition. Very respectfully,

“INVESTMENT CORPORATION OF NEW YORK,

“By H. L. McDONALD, *President*.

“To the HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,

Washington, D. C.”

This company had already bid for \$5,000,000 of bonds and had been awarded \$2,000,000 of bonds at a higher price than the bid of Morgan & Co., and had paid for the bonds and received them. They were entirely responsible and able to carry out the bid which they had made, and yet the Secretary of the Treasury chose to refuse a bid of 114½ cents on the dollar for this four and a half million of bonds and turned them over to the Morgan syndicate for 110.7, thus apparently, openly, intentionally, taking out of the pockets of the people \$190,000 to turn over to this syndicate of bankers already enormously enriched at the expense of the people.

MR. HILL: Will the Senator allow me? What would the Senator have had the Secretary of the Treasury do after the forfeiture of Graves's bid?

* * * * *

MR. PETTIGREW: I would have had him do what any individual would have done.

MR. HILL: What is that?

MR. PETTIGREW: I would have sold them at the highest attainable price.

MR. HILL: Would you have advertised them, or would you have accepted a private bid?

MR. PETTIGREW: He should properly advertise them, and if he did not advertise them he should have accepted the best bid which he could get.

MR. HILL: And not accept any of the bids already in?

MR. PETTIGREW: No, sir; he should have done exactly what an individual would have done, and he would have protected the Treasury thereby.

MR. HILL: The Senator, then, would not have accepted the next highest bid?

MR. PETTIGREW: No, sir.

MR. HILL: The Senator knows the fact, does he not, that the bid of Morgan & Co. was the next highest bid?

MR. PETTIGREW: I think likely the bid of Morgan & Co. was the next highest bid.

MR. HILL: Is there any doubt about it in the Senator's mind?

MR. PETTIGREW: I have this to say in regard to that point:

If their bid was the next highest bid, the Secretary of the Treasury was not bound to give the bonds to them, nor would they have accepted the bonds if the price in the market that day had been below 110.7. They would have laughed at the Secretary of the Treasury if he had offered the bonds to them if the market price on that day had been lower than their bid. But with a profit of \$190,000 in the transaction, of course Morgan & Co. took the bonds.

MR. HILL: What would the Senator have said as to this state of facts, which might or might not have occurred, depending on the market: If, after the forfeiture of Graves's bid, the bonds had gone down and the government had refused to accept the bid of Morgan & Co. and had placed the bonds on the market again and the bonds had not realized the amount of the Morgan bid? Where, then, would the Secretary of the Treasury have been placed?

* * * * *

If the bonds had gone below 110.7 in the market the Morgan syndicate would have refused to accept them, and would have said that their contract was closed when they received the \$33,000,000 of bonds. The Senator knows that very well.

If the market price of the bonds had gone below Morgan's bid on the date when Graves defaulted, and Morgan was still anxious to take them at his price, of course it would have been the duty of the Secretary to have accepted it, for that would be carrying out what I believe proper—that the Secretary should have obtained the best possible price for the bonds in order to protect the interests of the people of the United States, whose servant he was.

* * * * *

MR. STEWART: In the proposal the Secretary reserved the right to reject any and all bids, and he had a perfect right to sell the bonds as he pleased under that reservation. He was not bound when he was offered 114 to take 110 or 111. Certainly not, because he had the absolute power reserved to himself.

MR. PETTIGREW: This seems to have been a transaction where there was a partnership as to profit between the Secretary and a syndicate of bankers and the interest of the people of the United States was entirely left out of the reckoning. That seems to have been the sum and substance and gist of the whole transaction, rotten and dishonest and corrupt to the core. It seems to me it is entirely proper and timely for the Senate of the United States thoroughly to investigate the transaction.

Here is a telegram from the Morgan syndicate sent on the 21st day of December to the President and Secretary of the Treasury, telling the government officials that the gold cannot be procured in Europe because the credit of the United States is so bad and that if their bid of 104¾ is not accepted at once they will withdraw the bid and refuse to furnish the gold in the United States; knowing as they did, and as the Secretary knew, that all the gold not already in the Treasury had been thoroughly cornered by Morgan and the banks associated with him.

The Secretary of the Treasury could not have been ignorant of what Morgan was doing, because Morgan came to Washington—he says on the invitation of the President, which the President denies, but admits the interview when the negotiation with the syndicate took place. Morgan immediately after that interview formed his syndicate, described the bonds as running twenty-nine years, and assumed that the price would be 104¾. The arrangements that Morgan was making with the syndicate were public, and it was understood at the time that the gold in the country had been pooled or cornered for the purpose of purchasing the \$100,000,000 of bonds by the syndicate. Under these circumstances the threat that they would deprive the government of the means of obtaining gold was most significant.

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MR. HILL: I understood the Senator to speak of what Morgan & Co. would have done if the bonds had diminished in market value. I understood the Senator to say that they would

not then have insisted upon them taking the bonds under their bid. Is that correct?

* * * * *

Of course I am not authorized to speak for Morgan & Co., and I assume the Senator from South Dakota is not authorized to speak for them. Therefore I ask him whether his argument comes down to this, that whether the Secretary of the Treasury should have given the Graves bonds to the next highest bidder depends upon the fact as to what the market value of the bonds was. In other words, if the market value the next day was way below the bid, then he should have insisted upon Morgan & Co. taking the bonds, but if it was higher, then he should not have let them have the bonds. That is what I complain of.

MR. PETTIGREW: The Senator from New York seems determined—I do not know that he is trying to misrepresent me—not to understand what I say. I simply say the Secretary of the Treasury was bound to get the best price he could get for the bonds after they were not taken by the original bidders, and that Morgan & Co. were not bound in law to take them. Their transaction was closed. They had taken the bonds that were not awarded to other people.

MR. HILL: Then let me see if I understand the Senator, for I am endeavoring to do so in good faith.

* * * * *

In case the bonds decreased in value, the Senator says that the Secretary of the Treasury was not bound in law, and of course, then, he was not bound in fact, to compel Morgan & Co. to take the bonds. Now, what would he have done in case the bonds went up in value?

MR. PETTIGREW: I said I would have sold the bonds at the highest obtainable price. It is possible——

MR. HILL: Then, in either event, no matter whether the bonds went below the Morgan bid or beyond and higher than the Morgan bid, the Senator would have sold them to the highest bidder. He would have made a new advertisement.

MR. PETTIGREW: I will say further, in reply to the Sena-

tor from New York, that the Secretary reserved the right to reject any and all bids.

MR. STEWART: That is it.

MR. HILL: That is a different question.

MR. PETTIGREW: And inasmuch as at the time Graves failed to take the bonds the market price was very much higher, the government could have made \$190,000 or more than that if the Secretary of the Treasury had put the bonds upon the market, and it was his duty to protect the people and the treasury by doing so.

MR. HILL: Does not the Senator know that on the very day before the gold was to be paid by the bidder on the Graves bid the market value of the bonds was below the price bid?

MR. PETTIGREW: No; I do not know that fact.

MR. HILL: It is the fact.

MR. PETTIGREW: But I do know that the Secretary on the day Graves defaulted on his payment was offered 114.50 for those identical bonds and for all bonds not taken.

It is impossible for the Senator from New York to so obscure the question as to deceive the public. The Secretary reserved the right to reject any and all bids. He was under no legal obligation to accept the Morgan bid for any part of the loan. When he accepted the Morgan bid at 110.7 for \$33,000,000 the transaction with Morgan was closed. He had no other bid and had no other claim upon the Secretary. When the Graves bid failed it was as if no bid had been made. The Secretary then was at liberty to advertise for new bids or to sell to whomsoever he pleased, for if he had any power at all to sell, the mode of sale was entirely discretionary with him, provided he acted honestly. He did dispose of the Graves bid at private sale. He was offered by another responsible bidder nearly \$200,000 more. It is true the bid was not made in pursuance of an advertisement, nor was the bid of Morgan made in pursuance of advertisement. They were both private bids. The simple fact is that the Secretary of the Treasury sold \$5,000,000 of bonds to his friend on a private bid for

nearly \$200,000 less than another responsible bidder offered. Is that honest?

MR. HILL: What right had the Secretary of the Treasury to take an outside and a private bid which had not competed with any of the others?

MR. PETTIGREW: It would have been better to have taken an outside bid, a private bid, which would have saved the Treasury of the United States \$190,000, than to have sold the bonds to an outside or an inside private bid which lost to the Treasury \$190,000.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TRUSTS

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States—

MR. PRESIDENT:¹ I do not care to address myself to the pending amendment, but I wish to submit some remarks in regard to the amendment which I offered on the 25th of May, providing that all articles the subject of a trust shall be admitted free of duty.

Mr. President, our civilization is founded upon the theory of evolution, upon the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, upon the law of competition, and is opposed to socialism. We say, as far as is consistent with the existence of protection under the law, Let man, untrammelled and unrestrained, work out his destiny. The result of this theory in the past was feudalism, or the supremacy of brute strength and physical courage, and its resulting paternalism. But feudalism, by the operation of the law of competition and evolution, destroyed itself by the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger and the creation of monarchical forms of government in its place.

To-day, under the operation of this law of competition, we are drifting toward socialism on the one side and plutocracy on the other. It is for us to say whether we will stop the march of events in their course, and make this again a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, or allow the present to crystallize and thus continue to be what we now are—a government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts—a plutocracy of artificial persons, sustained by bribery. In the past all plutocracies have been of natural

1. Speech in the Senate June 14-15, 1899.

persons, with something of conscience and human sympathy in their composition, and they have kept discontent in check by force and bribery, by a paid police, and by a standing army. But as our plutocracy is of the worst form, without heart and conscience, being an artificial person, it is fitting and well that it should be forced—if its existence shall be perpetuated—to rely upon the one means of sustaining its existence—that of loathsome bribery.

We have abandoned as a people the doctrine so oft repeated and so much believed, that competition is the life of trade, and have adopted the doctrine that competition is killing, resulting in the organization of trusts and combinations to restrict production, to maintain or increase prices, until today there are but few articles manufactured in the United States that are not the subject of a trust. There is a trust to control coffee, coal, sugar, lead, oil, glass, all kinds of hardware, steel, chemicals, and crockery. Thus the fundamental principle of our civilization is overturned, and those who can not combine—the farmer and individual proprietor and toilers of the land—are at the mercy of those who do combine.

When the Republican party came into being as the advocate of protection to American industry by the means of a tariff, it wisely based its advocacy of the doctrine of protection upon the theory on which our civilization rests—competition, and declared that the building of American factories to supply the protected article would create competition and thus lower the price of the article to the consumer. In every campaign we have told the people the story of nails—how they were 6 cents per pound, and we put a duty on them of 2 cents per pound, and American genius and energy produced the machinery, and competition reduced the price, and nails sold for 1 cent per pound, and the Republican doctrine of protection was triumphantly vindicated.

Last year the nail trust was organized, and the price of nails rose from 1 cent a pound to $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound, and thus the Republican theory of protection was completely overthrown. The same story can be told of almost every manufactured article in this bill. How to remedy this defect

so as to justify a tariff for protection in the future is the problem which every Republican is called upon to solve. The two questions are so intimately connected that they must go together. No tariff bill can be defended that does not protect the people against trusts. If the Republican party undertakes it, you will go down in defeat at the next election.

Mr. President, I offer my amendment in good faith as a protectionist. If it is not adopted, the theory of protection falls to the ground. If it is adopted, you can defend this bill before the people of the United States.

The amendment provides—

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of said articles to purchasers by preventing competition or otherwise. Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade, shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust as herein defined, and that articles or products subject to duty under this act, or articles or products of like character of domestic production, are manufactured, or their sale controlled, or the price affected by said trust; whereupon a summons shall be immediately issued from said court directing the defendant to appear and answer said petition, the case to be governed as to time and manner of service, the pleadings and all proceedings had therein, as is now provided by law in civil causes instituted in the district courts of the United States.

If any citizen of the United States shall file with any district attorney for said district the petition herein set forth, it shall be the duty of said attorney to institute proceedings forthwith in the district court for said district in the name of the United States for the purpose of determining the issues made by said petition, like proceedings to be had in such case as hereinbefore prescribed.

The summons to the defendant or defendants herein required shall be served upon the president or chief officer, if a corporation, or upon all the members, if an association or partnership, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be notified of the existence and nature of the suit.

All cases instituted as herein provided shall be advanced upon the docket of the court so as to have precedence of trial over all civil causes thereon, and an appeal may be taken from the decision of the district court to the circuit court of the United States for the district, under the same rules as are prescribed for like appeals in other civil cases, but the judgment of the circuit court shall be final.

If the decision of the court shall be that the allegations of the petitions are true, an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty shall at once issue: *Provided*, That where a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth: *Provided*, That at any time after judgment the Secretary of the Treasury, upon written grounds, or any party to the proceedings upon petition, verified by oath or affirmation, may move the court to set aside or suspend the enforcement of such judgment. If upon hearing it shall be adjudged that the trust has ceased to exist, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw or cancel his orders to the customs officers, and such officers shall immediately resume the collection of the duties imposed by this act. The parties to the original proceeding who do not join in the motion shall have reasonable notice thereof, and the motion shall be advanced and have precedence of trial over all civil causes. Appeals may be taken as in the original proceeding to the circuit court, but the judgment of that court upon the motion shall be final.

But you urge that if this amendment is adopted it will defeat the object of passing a tariff bill, as no revenue will be derived therefrom. If this is true, then surely we are in the hands of the trusts. But I contend that this tariff bill is so framed that the articles which are the subject of a trust are not the articles from which much revenue is derived, the evident purpose of the framer of the bill being to give the American market to the trusts and raise the revenue from other articles.

Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the trusts will dissolve rather than share the rich American market with foreigners? For if the trusts do not disband, and thus allow the various manufacturers to compete with one another, the opera-

tion of the amendment I offer will be to compel them to compete with the foreign manufacturer. Is it not sure to follow that, rather than open our doors to the free competition of the world, the trusts will cease to exist?

It is urged, however, that but part of the manufacturers may be in the trust, and that this amendment punishes the innocent with the guilty; but there can be no innocent persons, for the amendment provides that in order to be a trust the effect must be to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of the article. Thus those not in the combination are the recipients of the benefits, and the willing recipients, or they would have prevented the rise in price resulting from the trust. If the trust ceases to exist as to any article, the Secretary of the Treasury may commence proceedings to have that fact declared by the court, and the duty again collected.

The rapid growth of trusts in the United States began with the demonetization of silver, and the formation of trusts was the means adopted by some of the most far-seeing and shrewdest men having control and direction of capital invested in manufacturing and transportation to avert losses to themselves by reason of falling prices, which lead to overproduction and underconsumption. They realized that the first effect of a decline in prices is to stimulate production, because the producers hope to make up the difference in price by larger sales at a less expense. They also foresaw what the average producer fails to see, that when the decline of prices is general the purchasing power is less in the whole community, and therefore an increased production can find no market at any price, so that there exists at the same time an overproduction of things which are most needed and an underconsumption of these very things, because of the inability to purchase them.

The organizers of the trusts did not go into the causes of the falling prices. In most cases they knew nothing about the natural effects of throwing the entire burden upon one metal constituting the basis of the money of the world, which had formerly rested upon both gold and silver. So they made the common error of mistaking effect for cause, and attributed the decline in prices to overproduction. Therefore they com-

bined and formed trusts to restrict production and keep up prices.

But the sole argument which the advocates of the gold standard have offered to appease the producer of farm products for the lower prices which he must take for the results of his labor, and to the workingman for the enforced acceptance of lower wages, has been the increased purchasing power of what they call "honest money," whereby \$1 now will buy as much of most articles of general consumption as \$2 would have done twenty years ago.

The effect of the successful operations of trusts is to compel higher prices to be paid for the finished product, or for transportation, while they do not check the decline in the value of raw material nor in the rates of wages, nor do their managers wish to do so.

I do not desire to be understood as charging that the trusts are able to withstand the general fall of prices. The ability of the consumer to pay fixes the limit beyond which prices can not be forced, and that is the only limit upon the powers of a trust to regulate prices when the combination of domestic producers is so perfect as to defy competition at home and the tariff duty upon the imported articles excludes the competition in our markets of foreign producers.

Therefore the people of the United States are robbed by the trusts of the only advantage, if it can be called an advantage, which the advocates of the gold standard offer as a reason for the perpetuation of that standard.

Certainly, Mr. President, no consistent advocate of the gold standard can refuse to give his vote in support of a measure like my amendment, which is intended to destroy the monopolies held by the trusts in order to let the people get the advantage, through competition, unhampered by tariff duties, of the lower prices for all that they must purchase, which would naturally follow the maintenance of the "existing gold standard."

I insist that so long as the gold standard prevails the legislation of this Congress ought to be such as to give to the people who are the consumers of manufactured articles, who

pay the freight on the railroads, all the advantage which would naturally come to them through the legislation of this and other countries which increased the purchasing power of gold, and that this Congress ought not to permit the passage of any tariff legislation for the protection of American manufacturers without taking good care that no benefit whatever shall accrue to trusts from such legislation, whether the trusts are now in existence or may be organized in the future.

Mr. President, the objections to trusts are not fanciful, neither are they prompted by animosity to wealth or wealthy men. They rest upon public principles which are inherent and fundamental to our civilization. At common law bonds and contracts in restraint of trade are void.

In the time of Henry V the judge declared, when such a contract was presented and proven before him, that if the guilty party were present he should go to prison. In 1811 Judge Sedgwick said that bonds to restrain trade in general are bad, as prejudicial to trade and honest industry (8 Mass., 283). The common law from the first forbade agreements to restrict the freedom of trade, and has been universal in its application and in accordance with the spirit of our institutions.

The supreme court of Pennsylvania, as early as 1832, in declaring the illegality of an agreement between five coal-mining companies to fix the amount of each one's product, to bring the price and sales under the control of the combination (Judge Agnew) said such a combination is more than a contract; it is an offense, and that where the public is subject to the power of confederates a combination is criminal. (68 Pa. State, 173.)

In New York, where the owners of canal boats had combined to divide profits and control rates, the court held such a combination to be illegal and void. (5 Denio, 434; 4 Denio, 349.) The principle of the common law was laid down in England four hundred and sixty years ago that—

A monopoly has three incidents mischievous to the public: 1, the rise of the price; 2, the commodity will not be as good; 3, the im-

poverishing of poor artificers and all those not parties to the combination.

It has been remarked frequently in my presence during the last few days that there were no trusts; that corporations existed, but that no trusts existed. Under my amendment, in which I undertake to define trusts, any combination to limit production or increase prices is a trust, and therefore subject to the penalties prescribed in the amendment. But I think, perhaps, Mr. President, it is well to give the history of some of these combinations of capital, some of these corporations which control prices and limit production, in order that we may best determine whether such combinations actually exist.

Prior to August, 1887, there was life and free competition in all branches of the sugar trade. The producers of raw sugars all over the world sought in the ports of the United States a market in which numerous strong buyers were always ready to take their offerings at a price varying with the supply and demand. The duty collected by the United States upon imported sugar was specific, so many cents per pound, according to the color and saccharine contents of the goods. The seller knew what the duty was, and that it could not be changed by any collusion with the buyer in regard to the price. The buyer knew what the sugar was worth for his purposes, and how to refine it for the home consumption or to sell it for use unrefined, as the case might be.

There was the same healthy competition among the sugar refiners as among the producers and importers of raw sugar. This was manifested by constant efforts to improve the product and to lessen the cost of refining by the introduction of better processes.

The distribution of the raw and refined sugar to the consumer through the usual trade channels from the importers and the refiner by way of the jobber, the wholesale grocer, and the retail grocer to the family was also untrammelled. Each bought where he could purchase to the best advantage and sold upon terms agreed upon between him and the buyer, and not dictated by any third party.

In short, Mr. President, the sugar business was subject to

the laws of trade as understood and expounded by the best school of political economists.

But in 1887 the enormous profits amassed by the Standard Oil Trust suggested to a few of the leading refiners the possibility of controlling the sugar trade in the same way. It was then claimed for the first time that the individual refineries through competition were unable to make sufficient money to continue in business.

This seems a little strange in view of the fact that most of the refiners who had the misfortune to die or had retired from business before that time are known to have left or still possess many millions. These millions, however, no doubt seemed insignificant in comparison to the potentialities of wealth offered by the adoption of trust methods.

So the sugar trust was formed in the fall of 1887 by a combination on the plan of the oil trust, between a number of corporations, some of which were formed out of existing unincorporated firms for the express purpose of entering the trust, which was called The Sugar Refineries Company.

The firms or corporations that composed it at that time were:

1. The Brooklyn Sugar Refining Company, New York.
2. The Decastro & Donner Sugar Refining Company, New York.
3. The Dick & Meyer Company, New York.
4. The Havemeyer Sugar Refining Company, New York.
5. The Havemeyer & Elder Sugar Refining Company, New York.
6. The F. O. Matthiessen & Wiechers Sugar Refining Company, New York.
7. The Moller, Sierck & Co. Sugar Refinery, New York.
8. The North River Sugar Refinery, New York.
9. The Fulton Sugar Refining Company, New York.
10. The Knickerbocker Refining Company, New York.
11. The Havemeyer, Eastwick & Co. Sugar Refining Company, New York.
12. The Bay State Sugar Refinery, Boston.

13. The Boston Sugar Refinery, Boston.
14. The Continental Sugar Refinery, Boston.
15. The Standard Sugar Refinery, Boston.
16. The De Forrest Sugar Refinery, Portland, Me.
17. The Planters' Sugar Refinery, New Orleans.
18. The Louisiana Sugar Refinery, New Orleans.
19. The Belcher's Sugar Refinery, St. Louis.
20. The American Sugar Refinery, San Francisco.

And a year or two later,

21. The Baltimore Sugar Refining Company, Baltimore, was absorbed.

One of the first acts of the new trust was to close up the North River Sugar Refinery. This led to an action by the attorney-general of New York in behalf of the people for the forfeiture of the charter of the company, at the end of which the court of appeals declared the trust illegal, and the charter of the North River Company was forfeited. The trust was thereby compelled to abandon its organization and reorganize under the laws of New Jersey as the American Sugar Refining Company, a single corporation, in which were combined all the parties to the original trust.

What the value or the valuation was of the properties and plants which were thus united under one management it is impossible to say, but it did exceed \$10,000,000. The capitalization of the whole was \$50,000,000, which thus contained \$40,000,000 of stock for which no consideration was paid. This was divided into common and preferred stock, one-half of each. The common stock was to pay quarterly dividends, which have never been less than 3 per cent, or 12 per cent per annum. The preferred shares are guaranteed to pay 7 per cent per annum, and this interest or dividend must be paid before the common shares are entitled to any distribution of the profits.

The properties which have since been acquired by the trust are the Spreckels Sugar Refining Company, the Franklin Refining Company, and the E. C. Knight & Co. Sugar Re-

finery, of Philadelphia, and the California Sugar Refinery, of San Francisco.

Another refinery, built about a year ago at Camden, N. J., was bought up and never opened. It was rumored that the trust had bought the property. These new properties cost the trust \$10,895,000 in stock.

The capital was now raised to \$75,000,000, also one-half common and one-half preferred shares. The common has never paid less than 12 per cent per annum, and on one occasion—I believe it was in 1893—an extra dividend of 10 per cent was distributed. The preferred have always paid the guaranteed 7 per cent, besides the interest on ten millions of bonds.

All the above refineries are now owned by the trust, at least I know of none having been disposed of. One has been turned into a coffee-roasting establishment, to run in competition to the Arbuckle Bros., who have begun the building of a sugar refinery. Quite a number have been kept closed since the trust was formed. Those now in operation are:

At Philadelphia, the Franklin Sugar Refining Company, the E. C. Knight & Co. Refinery, and the Spreckels Sugar Refining Company have been combined.

At New York, the Havemeyers & Elder Sugar Refining Company and the Brooklyn Sugar Refining Company have been combined; and the F. O. Matthiessen & Wiechers Sugar Refinery and the Havemeyer Sugar Refining Company have been combined, and if needed, the Decastro & Donner Sugar Refinery is opened.

At Boston, the Standard Sugar Refinery and the Boston Sugar Refinery have been combined.

At San Francisco, the American Sugar Refinery and the California Sugar Refinery.

Further, one or both refineries at New Orleans part of the year. All the rest are closed.

The average product of the trust refineries is 30,000 barrels per day. Allowing 300 working days in the year, this would mean that they are melting up something like 1,400,000 tons of raw sugar per annum, or, say, 70 per cent of the total

consumption of 2,000,000 tons. The remainder of 600,000 tons is used by the independent refiners, including part of the Louisiana cane crop which is consumed without refining, and the refineries using beet sugar, etc., grown in this country.

There are now only four independent refineries in operation, and two are now being built at Brooklyn, one by Messrs. Arbuckle Bros., the other by Mr. Claus Doscher, who was formerly connected with the Brooklyn Sugar Refining Company. The four independent refineries now in operation are the following: The Mollenhauer Sugar Refinery and the National Sugar Refinery, New York; the Revere Sugar Refinery (Nash, Spaulding & Co., owners), Boston, and the W. I. McCahan Sugar Refinery, Philadelphia. Their combined product, I believe, is about 450,000 tons per annum.

The trust takes about 80 per cent of the Louisiana crop, mostly for the New Orleans refineries, and in order to get the sugars cheap they generally reduce their own prices all round as soon as the crop comes to market.

The Hawaiian sugars are bought under contracts with the producers, who are thereby enabled to absorb a good proportion of the duty saved. The terms have varied, but I think the present arrangement is that the trust pay the New York value of centrifugals 96 degrees test on day of arrival of any cargo at San Francisco or any other United States port, less one-fourth cent per pound.

Mr. President, in this connection there is certainly a very interesting state of affairs. It appears that the sugar trust has bought the Hawaiian sugar, paying for it at the New York price, less one-fourth of a cent a pound; in other words, the duty which would have been levied upon Hawaiian sugar has been divided between the producers and the sugar trust. The contract between the Hawaiian sugar producers and the sugar trust expires within a few weeks, and the trust is trying to force the producers to give them a larger share of the duty. They are not satisfied with one-fourth of a cent a pound, which amounted last year to \$1,200,000, but they want more of the plunder.

It is very significant in this connection, Mr. President,

that the committee of this body struck out the House provision continuing the Hawaiian treaty. It looks as though the intended purpose was to help the sugar trust and compel a greater division of the spoils. We can judge whether this is so or not when the committee bring in their provision to reinstate the treaty, and we can clearly, it seems to me, reasoning from cause to effect, see that the job has been consummated and that the producers have surrendered. It seems to me the Republican party is serving a curious purpose when it permits itself to be used in this manner.

It is said the trust is opposed to the continuation of the remission of duties to the Hawaiian sugar planters, and that has been used as an argument why the treaty should be continued. Mr. President, from the very moment the trust succeeds in getting the planters to divide the great bonus we give them by remitting duties, we shall find the sugar trust as ardent and as patriotic as the most enthusiastic jingoist from Massachusetts in favor of continuing the treaty.

A portion of the beet sugar produced in California as well as in Nebraska and other Western States is refined on the spot and goes into consumption. The rest is absorbed in the trust refineries, mostly in San Francisco.

I was a little surprised the other day to hear the Senator from Massachusetts [MR. HOAR] urge as a reason why the duty should be increased upon refined sugar that it would stimulate the production of sugar in this country. It seemed to me to sound like the same old argument which has been used to carry through almost every scheme to enrich a few people at the expense of the many.

Beet sugar is refined by the factories which produce it. The sugar does not go to the refinery at all. All the sugar is ready for market when it leaves the mill. Therefore, to stimulate the production of beet sugar in this country means the destruction of the refiners now operating; it means the absolute destruction of their property. The day that beet sugar supplies the American market the property of the refiners, whose refineries are located all along the coast, will be absolutely worthless. That will happen when the Amer-

ican farmer produces beets enough to supply the American market.

Therefore the trust is interested in anything and everything which will prevent the growth of the beet-sugar industry in this country. How a duty in the special interest of a lot of gamblers in New York can be construed into stimulating the beet-sugar industry of this country is beyond the range of my imagination. Neither will that argument be of any value to obtain for the Republican party the votes of the people of the West. They are going to know the facts in regard to this bill; they are going to know whether what we charged in the last campaign was true or not, that the Republican party has ceased to stand for anything but the gold standard and the trusts.

As a rule, we have always received about 80 per cent of the Cuban crops each year, which yielded a total of 1,000,000 tons and over, but, owing to the insurrection, only about 200,000 to 250,000 tons have been made during the last two years.

* * * * *

The 2,000,000 tons of sugar now used in the United States per year are drawn from the following sources:

About 1,550,000 tons come from foreign countries.

About 200,000 tons come from Hawaiian Islands.

About 250,000 tons are produced in this country—in Louisiana and Texas from cane, say about 200,000 tons; the remainder, 50,000 tons, from beet, maple, and sorghum.

Say 2,000,000 tons.

I wish to call attention to this fact, Mr. President, that all the Hawaiian sugar was not received at the port of San Francisco. On the contrary, 49,000 tons of Hawaiian sugar went to the port of New York and were admitted there free of duty, the same as that which was admitted at San Francisco.

Two million tons, Mr. President, are 4,480,000,000 pounds. Estimating the population of the United States at 76,250,000, the average annual consumption of each individual—man, woman, and child, of all races—is 62 pounds, and 70 per cent of this, or 43 pounds, is supplied by the trust.

Practically the entire sugar trade of the United States is subject to the dictatorship of the trust. The independent refiners follow the trust quotations and place their product in the same way. In buying raw sugars they are believed to have an understanding. At any rate, no signs of competition are visible. There are enough buyers disgruntled with the trust to keep up the independent refiners, and the latter are glad to be let alone by the trust so long as the trust is graciously disposed, as at present, to let them live upon the crumbs which fall from its table.

Let us consider the manner in which the business of the sugar trust is conducted. From the date of its organization in 1887, including as it did all the leading refineries, the trust controlled the sugar trade of the United States. Recognizing this fact, the Wholesale Grocers' Association of New York requested to be informed by daily quotations from the trust of the price of sugar, and otherwise how to manage their business. The trust complied and began at once to issue daily quotations of the price at which all grades of sugar manufactured by it should be sold by the wholesale grocers and jobbers, the profit of these to depend upon certain discounts and drawbacks allowed by the trust, but only paid at the end of three months upon the affidavit of the wholesale grocers and jobbers that the trust prices had been strictly adhered to.

At first, before the grocery merchants generally had become accustomed to submit to trust methods, the trust used to inflict severe punishment upon those who did not comply with its rules by refusing to supply them with goods, and it still continues to remind the trade of its power by occasionally summoning a merchant to its office to answer to the charge of selling below the established quotations. There was a time,

also, when it was not possible for a merchant who handled the product of any of the independent refiners to obtain sugar from the trust, but it is said to be more lenient in this respect now.

About a year ago, in order to avoid the charge of discrimination in sales, the trust determined not to sell their goods to any one. They then established a system of factors, to whom all sugar for the trade is consigned to be sold for account of the trust, upon a commission of three-sixteenths of a cent per pound, to be paid upon affidavit at the end of three months from the date of each consignment that the trust prices as established daily have been adhered to in selling. There are also certain commissions allowed upon like terms. By this system of factors the managers of the trust also secure themselves against loss. If a wholesale dealer in groceries, sugars, teas, and coffees who is a factor of the trust fails, the sugar trust takes possession of the sugar which he has on hand, and also receives from the assignee of the failing dealer all collections for sugar sold by him.

One exception is made by the sugar trust to the policy of making no sales to any one, and that is in favor of manufacturers, such as bakers, confectioners, packers and preservers of fruit, etc. Sales of sugar are made to such persons upon an agreement that the sugar is not to be sold except in the form of confections, candy, cake, pies, preserves, etc. It is a fact that a manufacturer of candy or a canner of fruit must sign a written agreement that he will not buy sugar of any one but the trust, and that he will not sell or dispose of the sugar except in a manufactured form in connection with his own product, and if he will not sign such an agreement, then the trust will furnish him no sugar whatever.

A factor or manufacturer who did not comply with the agreement as to prices and sales would be refused further consignments or supplies, and would thus be compelled to go out of business. Agents of the trust are continually on the watch to detect apparent violations of the agreement, and merchants and manufacturers are subject to frequent annoyance growing out of false and malicious reports of the trust spies.

The trust does not now attempt to control the retail trade, which can only purchase from the factor. Having made sure that the retail grocer pays the trust price for his goods, he may sell sugar to the consumer at any price he pleases.

The methods of the sugar trust can be best illustrated by the evidence taken before the Lexow committee in New York last winter. I shall not read this testimony, but I ask to have it inserted in my remarks. I will say, however, that Francis H. Krenning, of St. Louis, a wholesale grocer, refused to sign the agreement which the trust presented to him, and thereupon they refused to sell him sugar upon any terms. He then applied to the four independent refiners of this country to secure sugar for his customers.

They also refused to sell him a single pound of sugar under any circumstances, showing that after all the trust reaches every refinery in this country, and that the combination is absolute and complete. He was therefore compelled to import sugar. But he says that if the duty on refined sugar is increased above the present rate under the Wilson Act, he will be compelled to cease importing; that it will be impossible to do it, and he will be forced out of the sugar trade, in fact.

Francis H. Krenning, a St. Louis wholesale grocer, gave some clear-cut testimony in regard to the methods of the sugar trust in controlling middlemen and the absence of any real competition by the so-called "independent" sugar refineries. Mr. Krenning said that, desiring to maintain his independence, he refused to sign the latest sugar factors' agreement, and was promptly turned adrift by the trust, which charged him more for sugar than even the retailers were required to pay.

He tried to get sugar from the brokers of the "competing" refineries, and they flatly refused to sell him a pound. Nevertheless, he has managed to get along and make money by buying sugar of the small independent refineries in Louisiana during the season and by importing Dutch sugar at other times. The trust has not yet succeeded in closing him up, though it has placed spies upon him and attempted to cut off his source of supply. Mr. Krenning expects to be able to keep on fighting unless the tariff on refined sugar is raised, in which case he would have to go out of business or agree to the trust's conditions.

His testimony, which was substantiated by telegrams from the trust and from the "independent" refiners, was so telling that Senator Mc-

Carren could not let it pass unchallenged. The witness proved more than a match for him. He told him that Dutch sugar could be imported because the Dutch refiners were satisfied with a small margin of profit. He demonstrated that sugar labor was paid the same here as in Holland, and when Senator McCarren tried to disprove by him the theory that wholesale grocers can not exist without the consent of the trust, he answered him by pointing out that he was only one out of 18,000, or the exception which proved the rule.

The first witness in the afternoon was Francis H. Krenning, of St. Louis. Senator Lexow lost no time in getting down to business.

Q. Have you as a jobber had transactions with the American Sugar Refining Company?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you accept the factors' plan of agreement?

A. No, sir.

Q. Is this the system of factors' agreement adopted in St. Louis [handing the witness a document]?

A. Yes, sir.

"What happened when you did not accept the agreement?" asked Senator Lexow.

"The American Sugar Refining Company notified its St. Louis broker that we were to pay 9 points more for sugar. We also lost the rebate, which made a total difference of 36 points, or \$1.30 a barrel."

Mr. Krenning here produced a copy of a telegram which he said the American Sugar Refining Company sent the St. Louis broker on November 22, 1895. It was as follows:

"Have no consignment of sugars to offer Krenning. Will sell Krenning at \$4.75, direct shipment."

"What price would that be, including freight?"

"It would give the factor \$1.75 per barrel advantage over us."

Mr. Krenning also said that subsequent to this the Mollenhauer Sugar Company and the Howell National Sugar Company, both "independent," had declined to sell his firm sugar. He identified the copy of a telegram which his firm had received from the Howell Company. It was as follows:

"Howell declines to sell Krenning under any terms."

"What is the effect of the factors' agreement?"

"You can not do business without the factors' agreement."

"Are jobbers having the factors' agreement allowed to sell to you, not having the factors' agreement?"

"No, sir."

Mr. Krenning said that because of his refusal to sign the agreement his firm had experienced considerable difficulty in securing any sugar at all.

Q. Do you know whether an attempt has been made to exclude the Louisiana planters' sugar from competition?

A. Yes, sir; they attempted to exclude the Louisiana planters' sugar the same as the imported sugar.

Q. Are the factors allowed to sell the Louisiana sugar?

A. In 1896 they were prohibited from selling it, but in 1897 they were allowed to sell it under certain restrictions.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Why did you refuse to become a factor?

A. Because the factor system stifled competition, and that is not right.

Mr. Krenning said that the American Sugar Refining Company, during the grinding season, in which the sugar crop of the country is being produced, lowered the price of sugar in St. Louis by one-fourth of a cent a pound below the price at which it is sold in the East, and that immediately after the grinding season caused the price of its product to be increased in St. Louis.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Can you explain to the committee why foreign refineries sell at a lesser price than the American Sugar Refining Company?

A. The foreign refiners are content with a smaller margin of profit than the American Sugar Refining Company.

Q. Is it not because labor is cheaper on the other side?

A. No, sir; the average wages of laborers in the sugar business is about the same here as in Europe.

In reply to another question by Mr. McCarren, the witness said his firm was selling more sugar than ever and that they were making greater efforts to sell.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Have you ever found it difficult to supply your trade since October, 1895?

A. Sometimes.

Q. And your profits have been as great as when you dealt with the American Sugar Refining Company?

A. About the same.

Q. Then why did you come here to testify?

A. I want to show how that company has tried to prevent the importation of foreign sugar.

Q. And you are a living example of their failure to force wholesalers out of business?

A. I am the exception that proves the rule.

Mr. Krenning said that if the tariff on foreign sugar was increased his firm would have to go out of business or else sign the factors' agreement.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Would you be in favor of paying a slight increase for the American product if labor would benefit by it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then why don't you do it in this instance?

A. We can't get the American sugar without signing the agreement.

The relation of the daily price of refined sugar fixed by the trust to the market price of raw sugar is illustrated by the transactions of one day, in May of the present year. On that day the price of granulated sugar as fixed by the trust was \$4.56 per hundred pounds. Now the factor's trade allowance on this of three-sixteenths of a cent a pound is $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents, leaving the price to him $\$4.37\frac{1}{4}$. From this is to be deducted in his favor the trade discount of 1 per cent, say $4\frac{3}{8}$ cents, leaving $\$4.32\frac{7}{8}$, and from this a further discount of 1 per cent is made for cash, leaving the net price to the factor of refined, $\$4.28\frac{1}{2}$ per hundred pounds. The price of raw centrifugals, 96 degrees test, duty paid, on that day was $\$3.31\frac{1}{4}$ per hundred pounds.

The difference, or apparent profit, is $97\frac{1}{4}$ cents; or if all the decimals had been carried out, as they would be in large transactions, say \$97.29 on 10,000 pounds. From this, of course, is to be deducted the cost of refining. This is estimated by men who have grown up in the sugar trade as samplers and graders of sugar and have followed the cost of refining for years, from the time when it was 4 cents a pound and more down to the present time, to be now from $37\frac{1}{2}$ to 44 cents per 100 pounds.

Taking the highest estimate, and both cover everything that enters into cost of refining, including labor, interest on capital, wear and tear of plant, and delivery of goods f. o. b., the net profit is \$53.29 on 10,000 pounds.

The average product daily of the trust refineries is 30,000 barrels of 320 pounds each, or 9,600,000 pounds, upon which the profit thus estimated is \$51,098.40. For three hundred working days in the year it would be \$15,329,520. The annual charge of 7 per cent upon \$37,500,000 of preferred stock is \$2,625,000. The annual dividend of 12 per cent on \$37,500,000 of common stock is \$4,500,000. Together they amount to \$7,125,000, or less than one-half the estimated

net profit of the trust, for three hundred working days, of 30,000 barrels daily product of granulated sugar.

In this connection it is well to remark that the work of refining is done almost entirely by machinery; the number of men employed is very small; they are required to work twelve hours a day, and during the summer the heat is intense. So to-day no American laborers are employed in the sugar refineries of this country. The work is done by Huns and Poles, who have largely been imported for that purpose, and the number is exceedingly small—five or six thousand men at the outside. Yet we hear so much about the protection of American labor, and under the provisions of this bill we actually make a present to the sugar trust of \$10,000,000, not \$2,000,000 of which will be paid to those laborers.

The product is not all granulated sugar, and the relative quantity of hard and soft sugars made by the trust is a trade secret which is carefully kept. But the margin of profit on the soft sugars is greater than on the hard, because they are made from a cheaper grade of raw sugars and the process of refining is less expensive, so that the estimate of the profits of the trust based on all granulated sugar is not too large.

Moreover, the price of raw sugar in New York is subject to manipulation by the trust, as has been before alluded to in speaking of the purchase of the Louisiana crop. The price of raw sugar in New York is governed nominally by the prices quoted by cable for cane and beet sugars in London and Hamburg. But if the trust wanted to buy in New York, they might sell in London or Hamburg, so as to put down the price, and then buy in New York the next day.

Similar tactics are believed to be pursued in regard to the purchases of sugar abroad, and if the invoices of sugar imported by the trust are made out at lower rates than actually paid, as has often happened in the case of merchandise imported by others, an explanation would be easy of the preference by the managers of the trust for an ad valorem duty instead of a specific duty of so much per pound. If the trust keeps out of the market for three or four weeks, the price of

raw sugar goes down, because the other refiners can not take enough to keep the market up.

In addition to the advantage which thus accrues to the sugar trust through an ad valorem duty upon the raw sugar, there is also in the Wilson tariff act, as well as in the bill now before the Senate, a differential duty upon refined sugar. This is estimated by the trade to be about 22 cents per 100 pounds under the Wilson tariff. The trade also estimate that the proposed differential in the bill now under discussion, as it passed the House, was 35 cents per 100 pounds, and as originally reported by the Senate Finance Committee it was 45 cents per 100 pounds. As now reported by the Republican caucus of the Senate, the differential duty in favor of the trust is 52 cents per 100 pounds.

It is this differential duty the amendment of which I gave notice on May 25, and which has been read to-day, undertakes to abolish, unless the sugar trust ceases to exist, or, in other words, changes its methods of business so far as they restrict and restrain trade.

How much relief this would afford to the trade is a matter that can only be tested by experience. At present the quantity of refined sugar imported is quite small in comparison with the total consumption of this country.

Foreign refined sugar is now sold in limited quantities in New York, duty paid, at one-eighth to three-sixteenths of a cent lower than the net price of American refined—that is, the daily trust price—less the trade allowance and discounts. But it is not so popular as the domestic refined, partly because of the manner in which it is put up in bags instead of barrels and partly because it does not run so regular in the qualities of color and grain, although the saccharine test of most of it is equal to that of the American product.

It is quite probable that the repeal of the differential duty, which amounts now to a little over one-fifth of a cent per pound, and was increased to nearly half a cent a pound by the Senate Finance Committee and by the Republican caucus to over half a cent, would not enlarge to any great extent the importations of foreign refined sugar in ordinary times,

but the chief value of the repeal would consist in the check which it would impose upon the arbitrary increase of the price of refined sugar by the trust, for such an increase would be sure to cause foreign refined sugar to be sent here in quantities sufficient to affect the market.

The Senator from Rhode Island [MR. ALDRICH], in presenting the bill to the Senate, stated that at times raw sugar and refined sugar brought the same price in Germany. There is no doubt that is true, from the fact that the modern German factories are refineries as well, and they turn out nothing but refined sugar, and the cost of refining is therefore practically saved. So they can sell refined sugar at about the price of raw sugar, and if we were producing beets in sufficient quantities to make the sugar of this country, we would sell refined sugar at about the same price, for every modern factory is a refinery as well.

So far I have only referred to the strictly revenue duty upon sugar. I come now to the consideration of the differential duty imposed for the protection of the refiners.

The refiners of sugar, when they are not combined in a trust, are entitled to protection just as much as any other class of American manufacturers. But this protection should, like the duty upon the raw or unrefined article, be specific and so stated that all can understand it. Upon this point the sentiment of the public is, I believe, expressed in the following:

"Put a round extra duty of one-eighth of a cent per pound on all refined sugars, and if that is not enough, make it one-fourth of a cent. If the protection is too high, matters will easily adjust themselves by the building of more refineries."

I have no objection to whatever measure of protection to the sugar refiners may be satisfactory to a majority of the Senate. If the amendment which I have proposed to the pending bill be adopted, the following provision will apply to the sugar schedule as well as to others:

Provided, That when a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty

shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth.

I have already given a description of the manner in which the sugar trust conducts its business. Its methods are obnoxious to every free American citizen. But, Mr. President, the claim is made in behalf of the trust that it has cheapened the cost of sugar to the people.

I have therefore investigated the question, and find, on the contrary, that the organization of the trust has raised the price of sugar; not that sugar has not gone down since the trust was organized, for all things have gone down in value as measured in gold, but I contend that the price of refined sugar compared with the price of raw sugar is higher to-day and has been every day since the trust was formed than it was before. In other words the difference is greater. I have prepared a table showing the price of raw centrifugal sugar in New York in 1886 and each year since up to 1896, and the price of refined granulated sugar at the same place, and also the difference between the two.

I find that in 1886 the difference between raw and refined sugar in New York was 71 cents a hundred pounds. In 1887, the year the trust was organized, but previous to its going into operation, it was 64 cents a hundred. In 1888, the year after the trust was organized, the difference between raw and refined sugar in New York was \$1.25 a hundred pounds. In 1889 it was \$1.32 a hundred pounds. In 1890 the McKinley bill was pending; we were going to put sugar on the free list, and the trust was anxious for a differential protection, and it reduced the price of refined sugar so that the difference between raw and refined was but 70 cents a hundred pounds.

In 1891, however, they raised it to 73 cents a hundred pounds, and in 1892 to \$1.03 a hundred pounds, and in 1893 to \$1.15 a hundred pounds; but again a tariff bill was pending, the Wilson bill was under consideration, and they reduced the difference to 88 cents a hundred pounds. In 1896 it was 91 cents per hundred pounds, and to-day there is 97¼ cents difference on the hundred pounds between the price of raw

and refined sugar as against 64 cents when the trust was organized. Therefore we have between 30 and 35 cents more to pay for refined sugar than we would have to pay if the trust had never been organized.

Average prices of sugar, raw centrifugals, 96 degrees, and granulated refined, in New York, for the calendar years 1886 to 1896

Year	Raw centrifugal	Refined granulated	Difference	Year	Raw centrifugal	Refined granulated	Difference
	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>		<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>
1886*.....	5.52	6.23	0.71	1892†.....	3.32	4.35	1.03
1887*.....	5.38	6.02	.64	1893†.....	3.69	4.84	1.15
1888*.....	5.93	7.18	1.25	1894†.....	3.24	4.12	.88
1889*.....	6.57	7.89	1.32	1895*.....	3.27	4.15	.88
1890*.....	5.57	6.27	.70	1896*.....	3.62	4.53	.91
1891†.....	3.92	4.65	.73				

* Duty paid.

† Free of duty.

These figures are taken from the Statistical Sugar Trade Journal of New York. They show that at no time since the trust was organized has the difference between the cost of raw and refined sugars been so small as in 1887, before the formation of the trust. In 1887 the average difference between the cost of raw centrifugals and refined granulated was sixty-four one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound. The next year the trust took advantage of their mastery of the situation and advanced the price of granulated one cent and a quarter a pound above the price of raw sugar. In 1889 they gave the screw another twist and advanced the price to 1 cent and thirty-two one-hundredths of a cent above the price of raw sugar.

In 1890 a tariff bill was pending which put sugar on the free list, but in which the trust wanted the protection of a duty on refined, and so it reduced its margin of profit to seventy one-hundredths of a cent a pound. This was only increased by three one-hundredths of a cent in 1891, but the margin was over a cent a pound in 1892 and 1893. The trust came down to eighty-eight one-hundredths of a cent a pound in 1894, while the Wilson bill was pending, and kept that rate, on an average, in 1895. Last year the difference was ninety-one one-

hundredths of a cent, which is about the average of the past eleven years, or twenty-one one-hundredths more than in 1886, the year before the trust was organized. The difference at present, as I have shown already, is a little over ninety-seven one-hundredths of a cent a pound.

When the reduction in the cost of refining sugar since 1886 is taken into consideration, when we take into consideration the cheaper labor, cheaper material of every kind which can be had to-day than in 1886, this increase between the cost of raw and refined sugar shows how perfectly and how completely the trust have been able to manipulate and control the market.

Under these circumstances, owing to the fact that the trust charge practically all the difference they can possibly charge under whatever tariff we levy, it seems to me the conclusion must be that they can refine sugar as cheaply as anybody, and that any differential duty that we may place upon sugar is absolutely in the interest of the trust; and if we do it, we do it with our eyes open, intending to put that much in the pockets of the trust and take it out of the pockets of the people of this country. There ought to be no differential duty whatever in favor of refined sugar.

Mr. Havemeyer testified before the House committee that he could refine sugar as cheaply in this country as it could be refined any place in the world. Therefore what reason is there—I would like to know what reason the committee can give—why we should take out of the pockets of the people of this country this sum of money and put it into the pockets of men who, owing to this fact, have succeeded in staining the fair character of the Senate of the United States in the eyes of the people of this country?

They came in 1890, and what occurred? The House of Representatives had placed a duty of four-tenths of a cent a pound on refined sugar, all other sugar to be free. The bill came to this body. Every one knows that 40 cents a hundred is a sufficient duty upon refined sugar, for it costs only 40 cents to refine it. It is 100 per cent. Yet the Senate of the United States deliberately increased the amount to 50 cents a hun-

dred, making the duty about 125 per cent upon the cost of refining. Of course a sugar scandal grew up. Mr. Havemeyer testified in 1894 that under the operation of the McKinley law the sugar trust made a profit in three years of \$35,000,000, and he said so long as the McKinley law continued upon the statute books he proposed to take out of the people of this country that profit.

Everybody understands how in 1894 the sugar trust was on the ground and how close the fight was; but there was always enough to protect the trust. If every Republican in this body at that time had voted to strike off the one-eighth differential duty in favor of the trust, it was well understood that the Wilson bill could not pass.

It was well understood that unless the sugar trust had one-eighth of a cent differential duty in their favor on refined sugar they could beat the Wilson bill. And yet so potential was the trust, so all-powerful was their combination, that of the Republicans most interested in the defeat of the Wilson bill and in the perpetuation of the protective-tariff measure as framed by Republicans, enough were found to vote with the sugar trust to prevent striking off the eighth. In other words, the interest was so much greater in the sugar trust than in the general policy of protection that they flew to the rescue of the trust and abandoned the principle of protection.

When we come to a test vote now, it is very close, as it was the other day, but enough votes are secured always to protect the interests of the trust. It seems to me that unless the Republican party wants to go into the next campaign hampered by this issue, unless it wants to have put upon it as a party, in a way it can not avoid, the issue that it exists simply that the gold standard may be perpetuated and that trusts may thrive, it must vote for the amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky [MR. LINDSAY] striking off all differential duties whatever.

I should like to ask the Republicans from the Western States, who have no interest in sugar refiners and have no sugar refineries in their States, what they get out of being used for the purpose of perpetuating the interests of this monopoly?

Do they want in the next campaign to confront their constituents upon this issue? Perhaps they can afford to sacrifice their political lives, but I doubt it. They certainly can not afford to sacrifice their consciences and their opinions.

There is no doubt that the price of refined sugar is less now than it was when the trust was formed. At that time the duty on raw sugar was specific, based upon the saccharine strength, and averaged about 2 cents a pound. This duty was taken off by the McKinley tariff in 1890. Sugar remained free of duty until August 28, 1894, but the difference between the price of raw and of refined was greater in 1892 and 1893 than at any time since 1886, except during the two years 1888 and 1889, immediately following the organization of the trust. Since the imposition of the Wilson tariff duty of 40 per cent ad valorem, the apparent difference between the cost of raw sugar, duty paid, and that of refined is less than in the years referred to, but nearly 16 per cent greater than it was in 1886.

So the reduction in the price of sugar to the consumer is not due to the operation of the trust, but to changes in tariff duties and a fall in the price of raw sugar, which has lowered the price of refined sugar all over the world, and makes it possible now for foreign refined sugar to be sold in New York, duty paid, at a slightly lower cost than the net cash price of the product of the trust.

All dealers in sugar have a feeling of dread in their dealings with this corporation that grates upon their American instincts. They know that they are but slaves of an iron-handed and steel-willed despotism, which has the power of commercial life and death, and is subject to no restraint but the will of its managers. They dare not openly complain of the conditions under which they are forced to do business for fear that they may be deprived of the opportunity of doing business at all.

Since the sugar trust does not sell its product for general consumption, but appoints its own factors to sell its goods upon commission, it may dismiss a factor at its own discretion, and that means simply ruin to a merchant who has grown

up in the sugar trade from boyhood and knows no other business in which to make a living for himself and his family.

Mr. President, the old treatises upon political economy must all be destroyed and new text-books written for the instruction of the coming generation, no matter whether they are engaged in selling manufactured sugar or any other manufactures, if the rule of trusts is to be perpetuated through the neglect of Congress to enact the legislation necessary for their suppression. We have been taught that the successful merchant buys in the cheapest market and sells in the dearest, that prices are at all times subject to supply and demand, and that the wise man in business foresees the demand and provides the supply.

But I have shown conclusively that these laws of trade are absolutely overthrown in the cases of the sugar trust, and it is so with every trust. I have taken the sugar trust, and have largely exposed its methods, as an illustration of the entire business policy when conducted under trust methods.

Not only the merchants in the sugar trade and in every other trade controlled by a trust, but also the entire American people who are not participants in the profits of such illicit combinations are very impatient of trust domination. They do not listen with respect to the apostles of the new political economy who assure them that greater benefits accrue to the poor man under the modern system of trusts than under the old free competition in business which used to be called the life of trade.

But, Mr. President, there are many other trusts. I intend to give briefly the history of some of the other trusts which exist in this country. One of the greatest, most oppressive, and most heartless trusts is the anthracite-coal trust, and as it is a fair sample of many others, I will give a brief sketch of its methods.

Here, again, it is asserted that no trust exists. It will be fair, therefore, to examine somewhat the methods of this organization. This trust has existed for years. Fifty years ago the courts of Pennsylvania declared that the anthracite coal

producers could not combine lawfully; but to-day they are combined, and the rise in the price of coal in every hamlet in the United States upon a single day last year proves conclusively that a combination exists.

This trust has existed for years, but was reorganized at a meeting of the officers of the railroad companies engaged in the anthracite coal traffic held in New York City January 23, 1896. The various companies were represented as follows: Philadelphia and Reading, by Joseph S. Harris, president and receiver, and C. E. Henderson, general manager; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, by Sam Sloan, president, and E. R. Holden, vice-president; Lehigh Valley, by E. P. Wilbur, president, W. H. Sayre, second vice-president, and H. S. Drinker, general counsel; Central of New Jersey, by J. Rogers Maxwell, president; Delaware and Hudson, by Robert M. Olyphant, president; Pennsylvania Railroad, by George B. Roberts, president, and W. H. Joyce, general freight agent; Pennsylvania Coal Company, by Samuel Thorne, president, and Thomas Hodgson, sales agent; Erie, by E. B. Thomas, president, and H. B. Crandall, coal freight agent; New York, Ontario and Western, by Thomas P. Fowler, president, and J. E. Childs, general manager; New York, Susquehanna and Western, by Amos Lawrence Hopkins, president, and F. P. Moore, coal agent; Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill Railroad, by Alfred Walter, president.

The trust is created by a combination of the railroads who handle the anthracite coal. In fact, the coal mines are controlled by the roads.

At this meeting the claims of the Reading Company were admitted to produce 21 per cent of the total output, and the percentage which should be produced and brought to market by each of the other companies was agreed upon. The fact that Reading was undergoing reorganization at the hands of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, who was the manager of the notorious bond deals with President Cleveland in 1895 and 1896, by which it is proper incidentally to remark that as a sort of compliment to the Cleveland Administration somebody got

about \$20,000,000, had much to do with inducing the other companies to accede to the demands of the Reading.

It was said at the time that "the chief difficulty hitherto in handling the coal trade as a whole to advantage has been the attitude taken by the Reading Company, which has claimed that it was entitled to a greater proportion of the tonnage than it was securing, and in the last two years had been enforcing this claim by increased activity at its mines." The Reading Company owns 33 per cent of the anthracite in the ground, and in the last six months of 1895 it produced more than 22 per cent of the total output.

With Reading reorganized and its stock held in a voting trust named by Mr. J. P. Morgan, the other coal companies felt compelled to accede to whatever terms Mr. Morgan authorized Reading to propose, for they knew the power which he possessed and had seen some evidences of the relentless manner in which he exercised this power when his wishes were disregarded. So the matter was settled by giving the Reading Company the tonnage which it demanded, while the distribution among the other companies of the remainder of the anthracite production was made upon the basis recommended by the Reading Company—that is, by J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. So Mr. Morgan decided finally exactly how much coal should be produced by each one of the companies, and then decided just what price the American people should pay for the coal.

The anthracite-coal trust is not incorporated, and the distribution of the business is fixed by the percentage arrangement of January 23, 1896. The quantity of coal to be produced each month is agreed upon by the parties to the arrangement, and the prices of the different grades of coal are fixed by a circular issued every month to the trade. The control of the anthracite trade by the trust is absolute, but that trade is subject to competition by soft coal, gas, and electricity, so that the trust is under some restraint as to prices. Nevertheless, the statistics of the trade gathered by Mr. Rothwell, of the Mining Journal, show that the value of anthracite produced in 1896 was an increase of \$7,855,000, although the

number of tons mined in 1896 was considerably less than in 1895. The division of the business is substantially as follows:

	Per cent.
Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.....	21.36
Lehigh Valley Railroad.....	16.72
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad.....	13.22
Central Railroad of New Jersey.....	11.97
Pennsylvania Railroad.....	9.77
Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.....	9.29
Pennsylvania Coal Company.....	4.44
Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill Railroad.....	3.79
Erie Railroad.....	3.65
New York, Ontario and Western Railway.....	2.97
New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad.....	2.82

It is estimated by the managers of the trust that the production for the current year will be about 40,000,000 tons, which is 6,545,000 tons less than in 1895, the year before the trust was reorganized. It is also positively assumed that there will be no reduction in prices, but rather an advance,¹ if the people will stand it.

It appears from the evidence taken before the Lexow Committee last winter that the price of anthracite coal was increased \$1 per ton in 1896, and as the production was 40,000,000 tons, the profits must have been \$40,000,000.

I will give an extract of the testimony taken before the Lexow committee which covers this point and shows that these people met together and agreed to raise the price of coal first 25 cents a ton. That worked so well that shortly afterwards they raised it 25 cents more, and then raised it more, in each case on the same day throughout the United States. It applied even to coal in the hands of retail dealers.

President D'E. B. Thomas, of the Erie Railroad, was sworn. He said he was present at the conference held by the presidents of the various coal carriers and that the Erie Railroad received a 4 per cent allotment of the coal to be carried.

Then Senator Lexow read the following allotments: Philadelphia

1. Coal Trade Journal, New York, June 2, 1897.

and Reading, 20.50 per cent; Lehigh Valley, 15.65; New Jersey Central, 11.70; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, 13.35; Delaware and Hudson, 9.60; Pennsylvania, 11.40; Pennsylvania Coal Company, 4; Erie Railroad, 4; New York, Ontario and Western, 3.10; Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill, 3.50, and New York, Susquehanna and Western, 3.20 per cent. Mr. Roberts said he thought these figures were correct.

Q. Did your company live up to the agreement?

A. Not entirely.

Q. Is it not a fact that the coal sales agents hold meetings at No. 1 Broadway to fix the price of coal?

A. I don't know.

Mr. Roberts admitted that the restriction of output naturally increased the demand for coal, but said that the amount of coal to be produced was never discussed at any meeting he had attended.

Q. Was not the object of the conference to get a fair price for coal?

A. That was one of its objects. In 1895 the output exceeded the demand and there was a glut of coal on the market. We wanted to get a fair price in 1896.

Q. Can you give us the prices that ruled from February, 1896, until now?

A. The agents can.

Q. Do you remember that a month after the conference the price went up 25 cents a ton, and that the next month it went up another 25 cents?

A. I don't know.

Q. Is it not a fact that the price of coal has increased a dollar a ton since the conference?

A. I don't know; the agents can give you the figures.

Q. Was it not a fact that the output was limited to 40,000,000?

A. No agreement was made to limit the output. I will give you the figures since 1891. In that year the output was 40,000,000 tons; in 1892 it was 42,000,000; in 1893 it was 43,000,000; in 1894 it was 41,000,000; in 1895 it was 46,000,000, and in 1896 it was 43,000,000.

The price of anthracite coal, Mr. Roberts said, had fallen somewhat, owing to the use of oils and gas. Now, he said that the conference agreement terminated February 1 of this year. The witness created some surprise by announcing that he did not know the price of coal now.

F. H. Gibbons, treasurer of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, was then called and gave it as his impression that the price of coal was increased 30 or 40 cents a ton in 1896.

R. H. Williams, sales agent for the Erie Railroad Company, was then called. He admitted it was customary for the agents to hold

"informal talks" monthly about coal. He also said that it was customary to discuss the possible output for each month, and the allotments were based on those estimates.

Q. Why was it that the price of coal was increased after the presidents' conference?

A. Because the price was so low in 1895 that there was no money in the mining business.

Q. You believe you had the right to meet and agree upon a fair price for your property?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You fix the price for coal?

A. We try to do it, but we can not do it. The price of bituminous coal regulates the price of anthracite coal in New York.

Q. Was the first advance in coal in 1896 the result of the conference?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was the second increase?

A. About May or June.

Q. That was an increase also of 25 cents per ton?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And there was another increase of 25 cents on July 1?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And on September 1 the price was still raised 25 cents?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that between February 1 and September 1, 1896, the price of coal was increased \$1 per ton?

A. That is so.

Q. And that \$1 a ton increase was the result of the conference?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What does it cost to mine coal?

A. From \$1.60 to \$1.80 a ton.

Edwin R. Holton, vice-president of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, was then called. He said he had entire charge of the fixing of prices and sale of coal in his company. He denied that there had been any conferences of sales agents, but there were occasional informal "talks."

Charles W. Wisner, of Walden, N. Y., vice-president of the Stevens Coal Company, was next called. He testified that his company sold coal to the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company and that they got 60 per cent of what the product brought at "tide water." The other 40 per cent goes to the railroad company.

Q. What does it cost to produce a ton of coal at the mines?

A. About \$1.80 for anthracite coal.

Q. What does that sell for at tide-water prices?

A. I think the tide-water prices are \$3.87 a ton for stove coal.

Q. So that you would receive \$2.32 for a ton and the carrying company \$1.55?

A. Yes, sir.

The witness said when all expenses were cleared, the mine only made 12 cents a ton profit.

Q. Does your company fix the price to the consumer?

A. No, sir.

Q. That price is fixed by the carrying company?

A. Yes, sir; after we sign a contract with them.

Q. If you don't sign the contract, what happens?

A. We would have to market our coal direct to the consumer.

Q. Would that be feasible?

A. No, sir.

It was a fine thing to have a combination like this as a contributor to the committee in the campaign, was it not? A raise of \$1 a ton on 40,000,000 tons of anthracite coal would be \$40,000,000. A raise of 25 cents a ton would be \$10,000,000. So they made a raise in September. The campaign was in full blast. They made another raise a little later. Four raises were made, or a raise of \$1 a ton during 1896.

This combination must have been formed, I judge, in anticipation of the campaign which was coming on. Who do you suppose was the recipient of these great contributions, if any were made? Certainly it was not those who supported Mr. Bryan. Twenty-five cents a ton would buy a great many marching capes in a campaign; it would pay the expenses for speakers and railroad fare and all legitimate items in a contest of great magnitude, and get all the voters out. Was this for the benefit of the candidate who was nominated by the reform Democracy at Chicago? I hardly think so.

I have here a document which will prove conclusively, I think, that if any contribution was made, it was not made to the parties who supported William J. Bryan in the last contest, for Mr. Bryan, in one of his speeches (and the question of trusts was one of the issues of the campaign), said:

I have been called an anarchist because I have opposed the trusts and syndicates which would manage this country. I am glad to have the opposition of these men. I am glad that if I am elected there is

not a trust or syndicate that can come to me and say, "We put you there, now pay us back."

Again he said in another speech:

Mr. Harrison was to debate the question of the survival of our institutions. I will tell him that the great trusts which are supporting the Republican ticket are a greater menace to our government than anything else we have ever had. The various trusts of this country, by their representatives, are collecting tribute from the public, and when we protest against it they call us disturbers of the peace and anarchists. I am opposed to the trusts. As an executive I shall use what power I have to drive every trust out of existence.

I am glad to have supported that sort of a candidate, the man who had the indomitable courage in that heated campaign to make that immortal declaration. It was followed by a 25-cent raise in coal. That was a very convenient thing. It is no wonder they had a surplus after the contest was over. It is no wonder that they had a surplus in the treasury to go out and manipulate legislatures in order to make sure of this body. We heard it talked and whispered about this Chamber—no, not whispered, but talked on the streets, talked everywhere. It was a convenient thing.

The argument that trusts reduce prices is thoroughly overthrown (and I have taken some pains to go into this question because it has been so earnestly urged) by the experience of the Standard Oil Company. I will publish as part of my remarks a statement showing the cost of the crude oil and the cost of refined oil, and the difference between the cost of crude and refined, from 1870 to 1893.

Bearing in mind that the Standard Oil trust was formally organized in 1882, although in process of formation several years before that time, we observe that the average difference in price between crude and refined oil during the four years 1870-1873 was 14.697 cents per gallon, and during 1880-1883 was 5.885 cents, and during 1890-1893 was 4.97 cents.

The average difference during 1881, 1882, and 1883 was 5.577 cents, and during 1891, 1892, and 1893 it was 5.55 cents.

This establishes the fact that the fall in the charge for refining, which had been very rapid prior to the formation of

Year	Price crude oil	Price refined oil	Differ- ence	Year	Price crude oil	Price refined oil	Differ- ence
	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>		<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>
1870.....	9.19	26.35	17.16	1882.....	1.87	7.39	5.52
1871.....	10.52	14.14	13.72	1883.....	2.52	8.02	5.50
1872.....	9.43	23.59	14.16	1884.....	1.99	8.15	6.16
1873.....	4.12	17.87	13.75	1885.....	2.11	7.93	5.82
1874.....	2.81	12.98	10.17	1886.....	1.69	7.07	5.38
1875.....	2.96	13.00	10.04	1887.....	1.59	6.72	5.13
1876.....	5.99	19.16	13.17	1888.....	2.08	7.49	5.41
1877.....	5.68	15.44	9.76	1889.....	2.24	7.11	4.87
1878.....	2.76	10.76	8.00	1890.....	2.06	7.30	5.24
1879.....	2.04	8.08	6.04	1891.....	1.67	6.85	5.18
1880.....	2.24	9.05	6.81	1892.....	1.32	6.07	4.75
1881.....	2.30	8.01	5.71	1893.....	1.50	5.22	4.72

the trust, has almost disappeared since then. The Standard Oil Company, although more farsighted in forestalling public attack by some concessions in price than the sugar and some other trusts, has evidently intercepted many of the benefits which the progress in arts would inevitably have conferred upon the public under free competition.

Before the Lexow trust committee, according to press reports, President Henry O. Havemeyer thus testified:

It goes without saying that a man who can control 80 per cent of the output can control the price if he chooses to exercise that power.

Q. Then by controlling 80 per cent of the output you really do control the price?

A. Without a doubt.

Q. The trust fixes the price for itself, and when you fix it for yourselves you practically fix it for your competitors, don't you?

A. That is undoubtedly and substantially the way it works.

Mr. Arbuckle said that his competitors in coffee "usually adopt the scale of prices as fixed by us."

Thanks to these methods, the Standard Oil Company in 1896 made over 30 per cent on its capital of a little over \$90,000,000.

In the formation of the sugar trust in 1887 it was stated that \$6 of stock was issued for every dollar actually invested. However, I think this statement is excessive. But that more

than \$3 of stock was issued for every dollar of value that was put into the combination there can be no possible doubt.

One of the great evils of the trust is overcapitalization. This deceives investors and the public as to the amount of its exorbitant charges and its rational basis for expecting a continuance of these profits.

I think this overcapitalization was designed in their case for the purpose of deceiving the public as to the amount of their profit. Take, for instance, the sugar trust. Half of its profit was sufficient to pay 12 per cent on \$37,500,000 common stock and 7 per cent on a like amount of preferred stock, and the interest on \$10,000,000.

But if stock had been issued only for the amount actually invested, say \$20,000,000, which will cover every cent—\$25,000,000 at the outside—these dividends would have been more than three times as large, and would have attracted such attention that the Senate of the United States would not dare longer to continue to be the champion of this organization.

On the question of overcapitalization I propose to read a portion of the report of the Lexow Senate Committee on trusts in New York last winter, as follows:

Sufficient appears upon the record to justify the conclusion that of at least coördinate importance with the plan of industrial concentration was the scheme of the issue of stock certificates of greatly inflated nominal values. That this was a purpose definitely formed and not merely incident to industrial development was substantially admitted by the spokesmen for at least two of the principal combinations of the five which were examined.

In one case corporate assets acquired by an officer of the combination for the sum of \$350,000 were capitalized over night in the new combination by the issue of certificates of a nominal value of twice that amount, less 15 per cent.

Other corporations, organized for the distinct purpose of absorption by the combination on the basis of a stock issue of a nominal value of \$800,000, were simultaneously recapitalized in the combination by an issue of a nominal share value of about \$14,000,000. Corporations representing in the aggregate share issues of less than \$7,000,000 were recapitalized in the combination by a nominal share issue of \$50,000,000, less a rebate of 15 per cent. In another case live assets were

valued at about \$5,000,000 and made the basis of an issue of about \$25,000,000 of stock, the difference being made up in the assumed value of "good will," "brands," "trade-marks," etc. In another instance the live assets were capitalized in so-called debenture stock, while the common stock was issued upon the basis of computing the average percentage of profits over a period of years and multiplying these by 16.

The trusts, then, have adopted 16 to 1; that is, sixteen shares at \$1 each for every dollar they invest. Perhaps that is what they were contending against in the last campaign. I heard some of them talking, and I did not believe they understood the issue much better than to have taken that position.

In another instance both common and preferred stock were issued in bulk for the several properties acquired, studious care being exercised to conceal the details of payments for particular properties and to avoid the disclosure of the processes whereby values represented by stock issues were computed.

The net result of each of these methods of capitalization was that large overissue of capital stock was the important, if not the main, purpose of consolidation. One of the witnesses, whose experience and intelligence were especially marked, when interrogated upon this question, stated that the stock issued represented the prospective earning capacity of the combination; that is to say, its earning capacity considered from the view-point of all those advantages attributable to a perfected consolidation, the control of product, the ability to fix its price, and the economy, so eloquently described by all the witnesses, flowing from concentration of production, management, and distribution.

It is worthy of note that while these properties were separately competing with each other their stock issues were small and in a few hands, and that as soon as the combination was effected and the nominal values were inflated, the shares were listed on the Stock Exchange and distributed among the public.

Of course they would have distributed them among the public if they could get rid of them. They would be willing to take a part of the money acquired from their inflated capital to pay dividends for a while if they could get the public to take the stocks which were issued, three or four for one. It is no wonder that they were desirous of getting rid of them. It is no wonder that they might justly fear that legislation would affect their value when they were pursuing such a course of wholesale robbery of the people of the United States.

In one case properties controlled by not to exceed 100 owners and stockholders became at once speculatively active, and their shares were distributed in a short time among upward of 9,000 distinct stockholders; in another, the holdings of not to exceed 35 people became subdivided among about 6,000 stockholders, while in a third the properties of a few men were finally represented by share certificates held by upward of 2,000 people.

This has been pointed to as one of the beneficent results of large combinations, viz., the diffusion of ownership, whereby the control of a few has been subdivided among many. This argument would have some force were it not for the methods adopted in the capitalization of the properties before indicated. The diffusion of shares does not necessarily carry with it the control by many of the properties thus represented. Stockholders, satisfied with the profits they receive, are willing to leave the original management in permanent control. Realization of dividends is the father of contentment, and the supreme effort of management must be directed toward maintaining earnings proportionate to the stock issued, whether for live assets or for properties closed, abandoned, or dismantled.

All this tends to indicate that the net profits of a corporation thus organized must be held at an abnormally high figure in order to justify the payment of dividends upon live, dead, and inflated capital; and that, correspondingly, labor on the one hand and the consumer on the other must relatively bear their proportion. And this without reference to the fact that the change from a strictly industrial pursuit to one intimately coupled with speculation in the certificates representing that industry must naturally have some effect; and volume of product, price, and all the incidents of a purely industrial management must be affected by the requirements of fluctuating values on the exchange. What shall be purely industrial becomes the tender of speculation, and the law of supply and demand, instead of remaining the constant regulator of output and price, finds itself determined and disturbed by the exigencies of speculation.

So it is, Mr. President, that instead of pursuing the even tenor of our way as a people and as producers of wealth, the tendency is to organize for inordinate, unusual speculative profits, and we therefore change our business men from the plodding, honest, industrious pursuit of a trade or calling to gamblers and speculators. This certainly must have an effect upon our industrial life, upon our character as a people, which is well worthy of consideration in this connection.

I believe that one of the most important duties this Government has to solve to-day is the question whether we shall

drift until we become absolutely a nation of gamblers or speculators, or whether we shall make an effort to return to that industrial life which characterized the better and more vigorous days of the Republic.

Mr. President, I propose to give a list of many of the trusts, of the amount of their capital, and the amount which the properties were worth which were incorporated into the trust, showing the vast amount of pretended capital upon which the people of this country are compelled to pay interest. I have summarized it. First is the sugar trust.

American Sugar Refining Company: Incorporated January 10, 1891, under the laws of New Jersey, to take overestimated assets and business of the companies represented by the certificates of the Sugar Refining Company, which was reorganized in June, 1890:

Capital stock, common.....	\$37,500,000
Capital stock, preferred.....	37,500,000
Total.....	\$75,000,000
First mortgage bonds, bearing interest at 6 per cent....	10,000,000

In January, 1892, an increase of \$25,000,000 was voted, half to be common and half to be preferred, the proceeds to be used for buying up other refineries or for buildings. Accordingly a controlling interest was purchased in March, 1892, in the stock of the E. C. Knight Company, of Philadelphia, \$800,000; of the Franklin Sugar Company, of Pennsylvania, \$5,000,000; of the Spreckels Sugar Refining Company, of Pennsylvania, \$5,000,000, and of the Delaware Sugar House, \$96,000.

The \$25,000,000 of additional stock is included in the \$75,000,000. Dividends of 7 per cent per annum have always been paid on the preferred, and 12 per cent per annum on the common stock. Sixty million dollars of that \$75,000,000 of stock is water, and so is the \$10,000,000 of bonds. The officers of the company have always refused to make a statement of their earnings. Since 1890 the company has paid in dividends \$43,000,000.

Directors—H. O. Havemeyer, T. A. Havemeyer, F. O.

Matthiessen, John E. Parsons (their attorney), J. E. Searles, William Dick, W. B. Thomas.

Officers—H. O. Håvemeyer, president; John E. Searles, secretary and treasurer.

General office—117 Wall street, New York.

Then the American Tobacco Company, which was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey for fifty years on January 21, 1890, for the purpose of curing leaf tobacco, to buy, manufacture, and sell tobacco in all its forms, and to establish factories, agencies, and depots for the sale and distribution thereof, and to do all things incidental to the business of trading and manufacturing, with power to carry on its business in all other States and Territories of the United States, and in Canada, Great Britain, and all other foreign countries.

The company pays 8 per cent on the preferred stock, and has paid 12 per cent on the common. The last three dividends on the common have been at the rate of 8 per cent. About one year ago 20 per cent in scrip was declared on both classes of stock. The officers are now talking of redeeming it in cash.

	Issued.
Capital stock, common, par \$50.....	\$17,900,000
Capital stock, preferred, par \$100.....	11,935,000
Total.....	\$29,835,000
Authorized issue.....	35,000,000
	Amount not issued
Capital stock, preferred.....	\$2,065,000
Capital stock, common.....	3,100,000
Total.....	\$5,165,000

The company has paid in dividends since 1890 a little over \$19,000,000.

National Linseed Oil Company: Incorporated in June, 1887, under the laws of Illinois. The different properties now owned by this company were brought together in an association called the National Linseed Oil Trust. During 1890 the trust was dissolved and the properties were acquired by purchase. It appears that this trust organized just as the sugar trust did in the first place, by the combination of a large num-

ber of producers, and after the New York court declared that that form of organization was illegal under her industrial laws, they dissolved the trust and the properties were acquired by purchase by the National Linseed Oil Company, in April, 1890. They have 52 oil works, located in 42 cities of the United States, besides real estate, machinery, patents, etc. Capital stock, par value \$100, \$18,000,000.

It is estimated that the entire property in this trust was worth about \$8,000,000, and that they added \$10,000,000 at the time of forming the combination.

* * * * *

National Lead Company: This company was organized December 8, 1891, under the laws of New Jersey. It has plants in New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri, manufacturing white lead and like products.

Capital stock, common.....	\$15,000,000
Capital stock, preferred.....	15,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$30,000,000</u>

A regular 7 per cent dividend is paid on the preferred, and occasionally a dividend on the common is declared.

This is a gambling stock, and there is no doubt that the preferred represents more than the entire investment.

United States Leather Company: This company was incorporated in New Jersey February 25, 1893, and commenced the business of tanning and selling sole and belt leather on May 2, 1893. At the time of the organization this company acquired many properties connected with the business, and since then many properties engaged in the manufacture of leather have been purchased, and to pay for the same the issue of preferred stock has been increased from time to time, and in addition to every share so issued one share of common stock has been paid for the good will of the company.

In the State of Pennsylvania property was acquired by companies organized under the laws of said State. These separate companies are known as the Elk, the Penn, and the Union Trimming companies, their capital stock, \$10,000,000

each, being mostly owned by the United States Leather Company.

Capital stock, common.....	\$61,509,900
Capital stock, preferred.....	60,909,900

Total.....	\$122,419,800
Bonds, Debentures, 6 per cent, \$5,700,000	

The total amount of common stock, \$61,509,900, is water pure and simple—that is, there was no consideration for it whatever—and more than \$20,000,000 of the preferred stock, making, out of this \$122,000,000, \$81,500,000 of stock issued for which there is no consideration whatever.

The preferred stock is entitled to 8 per cent, and is cumulative. It is now behind in its dividends on the preferred stock 20 per cent. The last four dividends were 1 per cent quarterly. The last 1 per cent was paid March 15, 1897. So it is not behind in its dividends, except it pays only about one-half what it was supposed that the stock would pay.

The United States Rubber Company is an interesting example. This company was incorporated in New Jersey in 1892, for the manufacture of rubber boots, shoes, etc. The organization includes the following:

American Rubber Company, Boston.

Boston Rubber Company, Boston.

Para Rubber Company, Boston.

L. Candee & Co., New Haven, Conn.

Goodyear Metallic Rubber Shoe Company, Naugatuck, Conn.

Lycoming Rubber Company, Williamsport, Pa.

Meyer Rubber Company, New Brunswick, N. J.

New Brunswick Rubber Company, New Brunswick, N. J.

New Jersey Rubber Shoe Company, New Brunswick, N. J.

National India Rubber Company, Bristol, R. I.

Woonsocket Rubber Company.

Mervel Rubber Company.

Lawrence Felting Company.

Colchester Rubber Company.

Rubber Manufacturers' Selling Company.

Capital stock, common	\$20,166,000
Capital stock, preferred	19,400,500
Total	<u>\$39,566,500</u>

* * * * * * *

The common stock, \$20,166,000, is all water. The preferred pays 8 per cent, and very frequently the common gets a dividend. The company claim it is earning 7 per cent on the common.

The capital stock—the common stock—was issued for what is called good will, brands, trade-marks, etc. It was issued and divided among the men who organized, intending in advance to compel the people of this country to pay the interest or the dividends on this which was nothing.

Mr. President, wealth can only be created by toil. To issue stock is not to create wealth. No dividends can be paid upon any of this watered stock unless somebody has toiled to pay them, and toil must be plundered if such dividends are paid. There is no possible chance to avoid that conclusion.

The rubber trust has decided to shut down indefinitely the greater part of its immense plant at Bristol, R. I., and henceforth to manufacture there only tennis shoes. This means that more than 500 residents of Bristol who have depended upon the factory for their livelihood will be deprived of their only means of subsistence in Bristol. About 1,700 others were thrown out of work when the trust acquired the plant and have never been taken back. This is in perfect harmony with the methods of the rubber trust. After it was organized it acquired possession of about 15 rubber factories which had been competing with one another for nearly all the business in the country.

Having paid a fee of \$200,000 to Charles R. Flint, another of \$100,000 to H. B. Hollins & Co., and another of \$100,000 to Joseph P. Earle for their services in promoting the trust, the trust shut down about half its factories. Then it made factors' agreements with the trade under which dealers received a rebate of 7 per cent if they did not sell under the prices fixed by the trust. Though times have been hard and

the prices of other commodities have declined, the trust's products have risen in price from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. The net annual profits were \$2,239,791.50, the gross expenses being only \$293,148. This was during the year ended May, 1896. The trust made a profit of \$7 on every dollar of expenses. December 23, 1896, the trust declared a dividend of 2 per cent on the common stock. This, after paying 8 per cent on the preferred, left \$1,921,712.38, to which must be added the surplus earnings for the year ended April 1, 1897. As these will probably amount to fully \$3,000,000, the net surplus of the trust to-day can not be less than \$5,000,000.

In Bristol 2,200 persons were thrown upon the world. In Woonsocket and Millerville, R. I., 2,500 people are in distress—1,200 out of work. Since the trust acquired the plants in these places, the Millerville operatives have averaged only one-third time, on reduced wages. In Woonsocket the factory has been shut down nearly half the time, and wages have also been reduced. August 13, 1896, the two big factories closed, ostensibly on account of the agitation for bimetallism, and several thousand persons were left destitute.

They gave that excuse last summer. Whenever a factory shut down they would say if people would quit talking about silver the factories would all open, and the very moment that it was defeated they would start up. Now we are hunting for prosperity and the factories continue closed, and will continue closed. If talking about silver will close the factories, we will have them all shut up by the next campaign, for we intend to agitate the question.

An industrial structure that will not stand talking about, that falls before the breath of discussion, had better be destroyed, and we had better build another one. The fundamental principle of American institutions is free discussion, a full review of methods, men, and measures, and then let the people decide. Yet the formers of this rubber trust closed this factory, and said it was because we talked about bimetallism.

August 21, 1896, for the same ostensible reason, the factory in New Haven was closed and 1,200 persons were thrown out of work. In February of this year, 1897, 500 persons were

deprived of employment by the closing of the factory at Setauket, Long Island. At other times three factories, employing 3,000 persons, at New Brunswick, N. J., have been shut down; also one employing 700 persons at Colchester, Conn., one employing 500 persons at Franklin, Mass., and one employing 500 persons at Millertown, N. J. In all cases wages had been reduced by the trust, so that the average earnings of the employees were not over 75 cents a day. Rubber shoes that before the trust's formation cost the jobber 35 cents, now cost 65 cents a pair, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

In addition to all this, the trust has accumulated \$5,000,000 in the treasury after paying dividends on watered stock. Yet the Senate is afraid it will interfere with some of these so-called industries!

I desire to print in the RECORD a table of these eleven trusts. It shows that they are capitalized for \$432,000,000, bonded for \$43,000,000, and that the total actual investment was \$171,000,000. In other words, the people of the United States are called upon to pay dividends and interest on \$300,000,000 more than the investment.

Somebody has got to toil to earn that interest. Not one dollar of it can be earned except by the toil of somebody, and yet we are asked to legislate in favor of these combinations, these modern pirates of the world!

Trusts	Capital Stock	Bonds.	
		Size, or par value.	Amount outstanding.
American Strawboard.....	.....	\$1,000	\$889,994
American Type Founders.....	\$4,000,000	.....	196,000
Diamond Match.....	(*)	100	11,000,000
Debenture.....	8,000,000	.....	.....
National Wall Paper Co.....	30,000,000	100	7,500,000
New York Biscuit Co.....	10,000,000	100	9,000,000

* Listed in Chicago.

I will also publish a table showing 5 other trusts, making 16 in all, who are capitalized in about the same proportion but are smaller in size. I found it very difficult to secure informa-

STATEMENT SHOWING THE CAPITALIZATION, ESTIMATED ACTUAL INVESTMENT, ESTIMATED VALUE OF PRODUCTS, AND DUTIES ON IMPORTS UNDER THE LAWS OF 1890 AND 1894, AND THE PROPOSED LAW OF 1897, OF PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS OF CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS

THE TRUSTS

519

Trusts	Capitalization (stock outstanding)		Bonded debt	Estimated actual investment (a)	Estimated value of products (annual) (b)	Duties on imports of principal products		
	Common stock	Preferred stock				Law of 1890	Law of 1894	Proposed law of 1897
American Cotton Oil Co...	\$20,237,100	\$10,108,600	\$3,068,800	\$15,000,000	\$19,000,000	10 cts. per gallon	Free	7 cts. per gallon
American Spirits Mfg. Co.	26,491,200	6,662,800	2,000,000	15,000,000	70,000,000	\$2.50 per gallon.	\$1.80 per gallon...	\$2.50 per gallon
American Sugar Refining Co.	36,968,000	36,968,000	10,000,000	20,000,000	135,000,000	5/10 cent per lb. c.	1 ct. per lb. and 40 per cent ad val(c)	1 1/4 cts. per lb. d
American Tobacco Co....	18,173,000	12,117,000	.....	10,000,000	12,000,000	\$4.50 per lb. and 25 per ct. ad val.	\$4 per lb. and 25 per cent ad val.	\$4.50 per lb. and 25 per ct. ad val.
General Electric Co.....	30,460,000	4,252,000	8,750,000	20,000,000	15,000,000	45 per ct. ad val.	35 per ct. ad val.	45 per ct. ad val.
National Lead Co.....	14,905,400	14,904,000	.....	15,000,000	6,500,000	2 to 2 1/2 cts. per lb.	1 to 1 1/2 cts. per lb.	2 to 2 1/2 cts. per lb.
National Linseed Oil Co...	18,000,000	.....	108,000	10,000,000	13,000,000	32 cts. per gallon	20 cts. per gallon	32 cts. per gallon
National Starch Co.....	4,450,700	4,066,200	3,837,000	4,500,000	5,000,000	2 cts. per pound	1 1/2 cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound
Standard Rope and Twine Co.	12,000,000	.....	10,000,000	7,000,000	20,000,000	7/10 to 3 cts. per lb.	10 per ct. ad val.	1 to 2 cts. per lb. f
U. S. Leather Co.....	61,500,000	60,000,000	5,520,000	40,000,000	60,000,000	10 per ct. ad val.	10 per ct. ad val.	10 per ct. ad val.
U. S. Rubber Co.....	20,100,000	19,400,500	.....	15,000,000	20,000,000	30 per ct. ad val.	25 per ct. ad val.	30 per ct. ad val.
Total.....	\$263,360,400	\$169,479,000	\$43,783,800	\$171,500,000	\$375,500,000			

a These estimates are believed to be liberal, and it is thought that, could the facts be definitely ascertained, the figures here given would be found to be largely in excess of the real investments or values of the properties of the trusts named.

b These estimates are based upon the best obtainable data.

c Also, one-tenth cent per pound additional when produced by or exported from a country paying an export bounty.

d Also, when exported from a country paying an export bounty, a duty equal to such bounty or so much thereof as is in excess of any tax collected by such country

e Except binding twine, placed on free list.

f Except binding twine, placed on free list, but subject to duty of one-half cent per pound if imported from a country levying a duty on binding twine imported from the United States.

tion with regard to the organization of these trusts. I found it very difficult to get the details with regard to the amount invested. They are very secretive people. They do not care to talk very much, and nobody is responsible, because they are a trust. I found that the committees in New York had difficulty in securing information. Books were lost; officers say they do not know or that somebody else was responsible. So it is hard to get evidence with regard to these organizations.

It has been urged that this tariff bill will produce no revenue if my amendment is adopted. If that is true, then we are certainly in the possession of the trusts. If the object of this bill can not be accomplished, which is supposed to be the raising of revenue, if my amendment is adopted, then that argument is predicated upon the proposition that the trusts will not dissolve; that they will continue; that they will be perpetuated and share the market of this country with the foreign manufacturer.

Of course I believe that they will dissolve if my amendment is enforced. I know they will contest it in the courts, and I am well aware that many of our courts are subject to influences which make their decisions doubtful. I do not care to attack the courts, Mr. President, but I believe the courts will enforce this amendment of mine. Of course you will occasionally find a judge who will not; but it is a significant thing that in the testimony taken before the Interstate Commerce Committee of this body last winter this fact was disclosed, and it is a fact which makes the American people afraid of the courts.

When a case was to be tried in New York for the purpose of dissolving the Joint Traffic Association, which was a combination of railroads from Chicago to the seaboard, it was found that out of eight judges in that circuit only one man was qualified to try the case, because all the others held the stocks and bonds of the defendant corporations; all the others were the owners of stocks and bonds of railroads; and they had to go up into Vermont and find some rural fellow, who had not caught on to the modern methods of business, to try the case.

The evidence before the Interstate Commerce Committee

of this body goes on to show that Judge Jennings said he had afterwards qualified, because he had disposed of his stock and bonds. Of course it is unpleasant to recite these things, but when they come in as sworn evidence before a committee of this body, it is well to call the attention of the American people to the facts.

I believe, after examining this bill, Mr. President, that very many of the items contained in it are in the control of trusts, and that the loss of revenue, if not one single trust be disbanded, will not be very great. We will continue to collect the revenue from raw sugar. We will not collect any revenue from refined sugar, because none comes in. As to the other items, the duties are so high that nothing comes in; and on the basis of last year's importations, if the trust which embraces boilers and radiators, house furnaces, steam and hot-water heating apparatus, etc., should refuse to dissolve, we should only lose \$163,000 of revenue, for that is all that was collected last year. The duties range from 12 to 45 per cent. On chemicals, which embrace nearly everything in the chemical line in the bill, there is a trust, and if the trust should continue, so that these chemicals would be admitted free of duty, we should only lose \$2,107,000. The duty on all these articles is from 16 to 80 per cent. On iron and steel the duties are from 17 to 82 per cent, and pretty nearly everything made of iron or steel is in a trust.

If the trust should continue and there should be no foreign competitor coming in to take the market, the loss of revenue would be \$894,000.

On copper, lead, and zinc, which is in a trust, the duty is from 45 to 111 per cent, and the amount of duty collected is quite large, being \$1,338,880. We consume more lead than we produce in our country, and we shall be obliged, no matter what the duties may be, to import some of it.

On glass the duty is from 48 to 62 per cent, and if the glass trust should continue, we should lose but \$2,211,000, for that was the duty collected. The duty on leather is 20 per cent, and of that the duty on imports last year was but \$898. On linseed oil the duty is 52 per cent, and on that the duty

collected last year was \$2,420. On paper the duty is from 28 to 50 per cent, and we collected last year \$113,000. On rubber the duty is 34 per cent, and we collected last year \$85,306.

On saws and screws the duty is from 25 to 29 per cent, and the duty collected last year was \$1,574. On textile manufactures we collected \$205,320, and the duties range from 29 to 102 per cent. On car wheels and other wheels the duty is from 40 to 41 per cent, and we collected in duty last year \$131,000. On looking-glasses and on paints, varnish, arms, guns, fireworks, gun-powder—all of which are in a trust—collars and cuffs, oilclothes, etc., are all embraced in trusts, and the total loss of revenue if all the trusts I have named should continue would be \$8,189,000.

If the trusts were all to continue and insist upon continuing and sharing the American market with the foreigners, if they have to compete with the foreigners, they could not keep up their prices, and the people of this country would get the benefit of reduced prices. We can afford to lose \$8,000,000, and then collect the duty on sugar from the Hawaiian Islands.

According to the report of the Senate Committee on Finance, the duty on sugar from the Hawaiian Islands will amount next year to a little over \$8,000,000. Two-thirds of the plantations in Hawaii are owned by Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians, and native Hawaiians. What reason is there why we should give them a bonus of \$8,000,000 a year? If we should collect this revenue and the trusts should not disband, the revenue would not be affected at all. If our action and conduct are governed by reason and good judgment, there will be no trouble about revenue, while we could save the whole amount of the \$8,000,000 by paying only what it is worth to carry the mails. For twenty years there has been no reduction in the cost of carrying the mails.

We pay 8 cents a pound where we ought to pay but 1 cent, and we pay \$30,000,000 where we ought to pay less than \$20,000,000. What man in this country would, if he were paying \$30,000,000 a year for express, pay the same price now as he paid twenty years ago? We pay \$30,000,000 for

that service, the same price we paid thirty years ago, and yet we refuse to change it. I tell you it seems to me the Republican party will have a good deal to answer for if it passes this bill and collects the revenues proposed by it, and continues to spend our money to fatten the coolie labor and the miserable, wretched native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands, and pays \$10,000,000 more than it is worth to carry the mails of this country.

The expenses of this country have increased \$100,000,000 in ten years. If they had increased according to the increase of population, they would have only increased \$50,000,000. Instead of wanting more revenue, we want less expense. We should spend \$50,000,000 less. We have a surplus in the Treasury of \$125,000,000, and if we should spend \$50,000,000 less there would be no deficiency and we should have revenue enough. Yet it is proposed to tax sugar in order to raise \$52,000,000 under this bill; it is proposed to tax tea and raise another \$10,000,000; and, furthermore, to tax beer and things that go into consumption per capita, and thus take from the people of this country seventy-five or eighty million dollars and give it in remitted duties to Hawaii, to the railroads, and then to build fortifications where they are not needed, and also to build ships to rot on the seas.

If the Republican party wanted to live, it ought to have brought in a bill here to reduce the expenses one-half and gone before the people on that issue, instead of coming here and being obliged to go before the people as the apologists of trusts and the champions of the infamies of the gold standard.

The leading student of the problem among the college professors of political economy, J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, thus writes in the Political Science Quarterly for September, 1894, in the best magazine discussion that has thus far appeared upon this subject:

I expect to live to see the day when the political economists * * * must consider that a very large proportion of the productive business of society is on the monopoly basis.

This was written in 1894. He certainly lived to see the day of which he had spoken.

In the report of the Lexow committee on trusts of the New York Senate, already referred to, dated March 9, 1897, the proposition is stated thus:

One after another industrial pursuits are surrendering to similar combinations, and it is safe to predict that, unless this movement subsides, most, if not all, of the industrial pursuits will reach a similar concentration, and will be followed by results similar to those indicated in this report.

In a recent able symposium on trusts in the New York Independent of March 4, 1897, the socialist view of the trust was presented by Daniel De Leon, formerly lecturer at Columbia University, New York City, and now editor of the socialist organ *The People*. He holds, as do an increasing number of thinking people, that the trust is an evolutionary movement in the line of progress and that it will go on until all lines of machine industry are thus combined. The natural and inevitable end of the development is held by these thinkers to be the public ownership and operation of the trust.

Certainly it would be far more in accord with justice and equity, rather than to allow this condition of things to continue, for the public to take, own, control, and operate all these properties. However, I do not advocate anything of that sort. I believe we can remedy the evil by other means, and that it is our duty to do so.

On the other hand, Otis Kendal Stuart, of Philadelphia, arguing in the same symposium from the standpoint of the individualist, denounces competition as developing waste, business mendacity, and fraud.

He has reached the point where it seems to be moral to absolutely abandon the whole theory of Anglo-Saxon civilization, and it is well that some advocate should arise to justify this condition of things, for we have already nearly approached that point. "The trust," he says, "is not only the next natural step in business, it is a step in social evolution; the trust is not only a conservator of energy and of wealth, it is a conservator of morals and religion."

I wonder what kind of morals and religion are taught by a gambling operation such as is carried on, for instance, by the

sugar trust. Of course it is time that on high moral grounds somebody should appear to advocate this new doctrine of social existence. The new order of things needs a champion if they are to continue and revolution be avoided.

Mr. President, there has never from the day of our independence been a time, until recently, when a genuine American citizen did not resent the imputation of being a poor man, even if he did not have a dollar in his pocket. He is rich in his inheritance of religious and political liberty, rich in his confidence of manhood, and he was rich in opportunities to acquire wealth until deprived of them by legislation in the interest of corporate trusts and monopolies and of the manipulators of the world's standard of values, who aimed to prevent the masses from rising above the condition of poverty in order that their own accumulations might acquire greater value.

The time has not yet come when the American people will permit the plea of poverty to be entered in their behalf by trust magnates as an argument in favor of the continuance of trust methods. The same assertions that are made in behalf of the trusts might be repeated with equal force in favor of the establishment of a monarchy and the creation of orders of nobility, to be composed of the individuals who are so fond of prating about their regard for the welfare of the "poor people."

All that the American people want for themselves is a fair field and no favor. In business, as well as in politics, they believe that they can govern themselves better than any self-constituted dictators can govern them. The history of the American people demonstrates that this belief is well founded. One State after another, in obedience to the will of the people, has declared unlawful all trusts and combinations in restraint of trade.

The Congress of the United States so declared seven years ago by the passage of the act of June, 1890, which was Senate bill No. 1 of the Fifty-first Congress. The Supreme Court only recently affirmed the application of that act to combinations among railroad corporations. It remains for this Congress to enforce the provisions of the antitrust act of 1890

by providing an efficient penalty for its violation through the adoption of the amendment to the tariff act which I have proposed.

The future may develop that even this remedy may not avail, and that other remedies are required to be tried, but it seems to me that this remedy will be most effective and efficient, for I do not believe that the trusts in this country will undertake to continue, and thus deprive themselves of the exclusive control of the American market; but if this remedy does not avail, there have been many suggestions upon this subject, and I will briefly note two or three of them.

It has been suggested, first, that absolute publicity of accounts under Government control and audit must be insisted upon, as is coming to be done in a feeble way by railroads. This is the view of two eminent students of the problem, Prof. Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan, statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by Von Halle, in a work on Trusts, published by Macmillan & Co. in 1895.

It is the interesting suggestion of Professor Jenks, of Cornell University, that stock exchanges should not be allowed to list any of the securities of capitalistic monopolies without publishing most complete and sworn returns of the cost of construction, of capitalization, cost of products, etc., and that no stock shall be issued in excess of the actual investment.

The prohibition of factors' agreements. The New York Senate trust committee, in its valuable report (obtainable, probably, from the secretary of state of New York), fully describes, on pages 22-25, inclusive, these agreements.

The control by a national commission of maximum charges, and the prohibition, some way, of discrimination in charges in towns or counties contiguous to each other. That is, it might be possible to prevent a trust from charging more in one place than in another except by the amount of the difference of freight rates. One of the great weapons of the Standard Oil and the meat trusts is to ruin competitors by reducing the rates in a place below what the same company is charging in neighboring places.

There comes to my mind in this connection a very inter-

esting illustration. In Colorado there are oil wells. Petroleum exists there in inexhaustible quantities and of excellent quality. An oil refinery was constructed at a cost of \$2,000,000. That company was engaged in supplying that country with oil, when one day the Standard Oil Company began business in Pueblo and in other towns in Colorado, and sold oil at 5 cents a gallon until they wrecked and ruined the Colorado refinery and closed its doors.

The day after that was done the Standard Oil Company raised the price of their oil to 25 cents a gallon and continued to sell it at that price until they had made an immense profit and recouped the loss they had previously sustained, and to-day they charge 20 cents a gallon for their oil. In my own town an independent oil company began selling oil, and it was selling it at 8 cents a gallon, for the trust had put it down to that price, and yet the independent company was able to live and did live and continued for two years of time.

Finally one day they sold out to the trust; and from that day to this we have been paying 16 cents a gallon for oil. It is argued that we can not protect ourselves against these things. Certainly, Mr. President, if we can not, our institutions totter to a fall. What is this but socialism in the most odious form?

If these remedies fail, we must resort, unless others are found, to the last remedy, that of public ownership.

This may take the form of public ownership of such natural sources of supply as anthracite coal mines and oil wells, or possibly the leasing of their operation to private companies; or it may take the form of public ownership and operation of all industries that have become practical monopolies. This remedy begins to loom up as a distant possibility, but is as yet too remote a contingency to come within the domain of practical politics. But of one thing we can rest assured, socialism is preferable to despotism, and the right of each citizen to enjoy the products of his toil must be maintained if we are to maintain our institutions.

Mr. President, the history of the past teaches this lesson. Shall we follow the course of all other peoples in the past, or shall we begin a new era? When was it that Rome was de-

stroyed? When the original landed proprietors became paupers; when her farms became great estates. In the days of Cincinnatus 12 acres sufficed for each family; farms of 12 acres, owned by freemen, surrounded the walls of Rome, and no hostile legions could reach the city. When Rome fell, the individual proprietor was gone; the usurer had taken the land; the Roman citizen had been sold into slavery, and was toiling as a slave upon the estate of a part of which he was once the proud owner.

The legions of Goths and Vandals that marched to the walls of Rome would have been scattered like chaff before the legions of Cæsar recruited from the farms of Italy. So it will be with us if we allow the usurer to further fasten his grasp upon our people. If we continue this organization of capital, by which those who can not combine are deprived of the products of their toil, I say the end is near.

Our last census shows that the earnings of 54 per cent of our people are less than \$100 per year per capita. How near we come to European conditions, if \$100 per capita by 54 per cent of our people is all they can earn and consume; and yet we stand upon this floor and boast about the high wages of the American toiler. It is well to review the last census, which shows that 250,000 men own forty-four billion dollars of the wealth of the United States and 52 per cent do not own their homes and have no property whatever.

These problems, Mr. President, are pertinent. We can no longer satisfy the American people by quarreling and by fighting a sham battle over schedules in a tariff bill. We have done that for the last several years, with first one party in power and then the other, until to-day the tariff issue has fled from our politics. Last week it was demonstrated more than ever before that you can no longer divide the American people upon a question of schedules in a tariff. Other and mightier questions now do and must in the future divide parties and press for solution.

CHAPTER XX

BIG BUSINESS IN POLITICS

DISCUSSION was proceeding upon an anti-trust bill called from the table by Senator Pettigrew, when Senator Bacon said (*page 7119, Congressional Record*):

MR. BACON. In this connection I want to call the attention of the Senate to the most remarkable thing I ever heard and the most remarkable thing I ever saw in the Senate. I fancy that the country has never been the witness to what we saw and heard in this Chamber two days ago.

A Senator in his place in this Chamber stated as a fact that the manufacturer of ships, a prominent, and the most prominent, firm engaged in the manufacture of war ships for the Government, had stated that in 1892 he was approached by the officers of the Republican party and induced to give \$400,000 to the campaign fund of that party upon the assurance that the money would be returned to him or made good to him in the contracts which he should have in the building of warships.

Now, Mr. President, the remarkable thing that I want to call the attention of the Senate to is this: I heard that statement. I did not doubt that it would then and there be promptly challenged. I did not believe that such a statement could be made in the Senate of the United States in the presence of the leaders of the Republican party and no one deny it or call it in question.

Now, that was not made in a thin Senate; it was made in a full Senate. It was made when the present chairman of the national committee of the Republican party was in his seat and heard it. It was made when the chairman of the na-

tional committee of the Republican party in the campaign of 1892 was in his seat and heard it; and yet no one either challenged it or denied it.

Mr. President, in the absence of such a challenge and such a denial, the country must believe it is true.

* * * * *

Mr. HANNA. The Senator alludes to the fact that the chairman of the Republican committee was in his seat and did not deny the statement made.

Mr. BACON. If I am incorrect in that, I certainly made it in the utmost good faith. I think I saw the Senator present.

Mr. HANNA. If I undertook to reply to all such statements made upon this floor, I would occupy more time than the Senator from Georgia does in the Senate. I considered it unworthy of notice and declined to dignify it by a reply.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President,¹ I stated a few days ago upon this floor that in 1892 the Cramps contributed \$400,000 to the Republican campaign fund and expected to be recouped out of contracts for building ships for the Government. My authority for that statement is Mr. Cramp himself, who told me on a return trip from Europe on one of the ships of the American Line these facts. He did not make it private. He said he believed the money was not expended for the purpose for which it was collected; that he was assured that with that sum the Republican party could certainly win the election; that he was told where it would be expended; and that he had put detectives out and found the money had not been expended where it was promised it would be, and the result was disastrous; they had been beaten; and he consulted with me as to whether there was any possibility of his getting any portion of the money back from the committee. He intimated that it had been used for some other purpose than for campaign purposes.

Further than that, Mr. President, I stated these facts to the gentleman who was that year chairman of the Republican committee, and he smiled and said: "We did hit the old man pretty hard." You can draw your own conclusions.

1. Speech in the Senate June 5, 1900.

The Senator from Ohio [MR. HANNA] says that if he spent his time in answering such charges as that he would take up more of the time of the Senate than the Senator from Georgia [MR. BACON] consumes, as though that were an answer. No wonder that the Senator from Ohio makes that reply; no wonder that he gives that as his answer to the charge, for if he should spend his time in answering similar charges to those contained in the document which I hold in my hand, and if he spent time enough to convince the American people that the facts herein stated are untrue, he would spend a great deal more time in this body than is consumed by the Senator from Georgia.

I hold in my hand the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate on the election of M. A. HANNA to this body. The minority report of this committee is signed by Senators TURLEY, PETTUS, and CAFFERY. I will first read from the report of the majority:

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, to which was referred the certified copy of the report of the committee appointed by the Senate of Ohio to investigate the charges of bribery in the election of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA to the Senate of the United States, having considered the same, report back to the Senate said certified copy, and further report as follows:

This certified copy of the report of the Senate of Ohio, being a typewritten document, was presented to the United States Senate by the Vice-President on May 28, 1898, having been received by him through the mails, and was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections on motion of the Senator from Colorado [MR. TELLER], but no order for printing was made. It has, however, been put in type for the use of the committee. The contents of the certified copy are the "Report of the committee appointed by the Senate of Ohio," including the testimony, of which 500 copies were printed by the Ohio Senate, and the report further ordered to be printed in the appendix of the State Senate journal.

The closing paragraph of the report, signed by the chairman and three members, recommends its adoption by the State Senate, and that a copy thereof, with the testimony, "be transmitted to the President of the Senate of the United States, of which Senator HANNA is a member, for such action as it may deem advisable." The clerk of the State Senate in certifying on May 26, 1898, that the papers transmitted

were a true and correct copy of the report of the committee, adds as to the report the words "and adopted by the Ohio Senate."

From the above statement it will be seen that no direct remonstrance, memorial, or protest setting out that Mr. HANNA was not elected Senator or that he ought to be expelled, coming from parties asserting readiness to prosecute their charges, has been presented to the Senate. Nor has the reception on May 28, 1898, of the certified copy of the State Senate report been followed up by any appearance before this committee of any prosecuting parties or by the submission to the committee of any additional papers from any source. Nevertheless the committee have given an examination to the report of the Ohio State Senate committee, the points of the same, concisely stated, being as follows:

The specific charge is what the committee call "four main facts" stated in language as follows:

I have read that much from the report of the majority of the committee for the purpose of showing that they start off by saying that no one appeared in an authoritative way from the State of Ohio to prosecute the case, and so the majority report in favor of Mr. HANNA.

Now I will read from the report submitted by the Senator from Tennessee [MR. TURLEY], from the minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

IN THE MATTER OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF OHIO TO INVESTIGATE THE CHARGES OF BRIBERY IN THE ELECTION OF HON. M. A. HANNA TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

We cannot concur in the report of the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in the matter of the report of the committee appointed by the Senate of the State of Ohio to investigate the charges of bribery in the election of Hon. M. A. HANNA to the Senate of the United States.

The charge is that early in January, 1898, an attempt was made by H. H. Boyce and others to bribe John C. Otis, a member of the house of representatives of the general assembly of the State of Ohio, to vote for MARCUS A. HANNA for the Senate of the United States.

Among other things, the majority of the committee say:

"Moreover, it seems clear to this committee that it would not be justified in recommending any action to be taken by the Senate without further testimony to be taken by the committee. The question whether additional evidence should be taken has been the only difficult ques-

tion which the committee has considered. It is clear that Mr. Otis never had any intention of yielding to bribery. He encouraged Mr. Boyce by the advice of others only in order to entrap him. Then he carefully withdrew and substituted his attorney, Mr. Campbell, to continue the negotiations. Mr. Campbell labored to induce Mr. Boyce to offer money, and finally, as he says, obtained \$1,750 from him as part payment on \$3,500 to be paid for Mr. Otis's vote for Mr. HANNA, leaving \$6,500 to be paid if Mr. HANNA was elected. At this point public exposure, through Mr. Otis, Mr. Campbell, and their associates, took place. Mr. Boyce disappeared, and the incident was closed.

"That Mr. Boyce, operating in Cincinnati, where Mr. Otis lives, had relations with Mr. HANNA's representatives at Columbus, the State capital, the State Senate committee undertook to prove by the evidence of various detectives, professional and amateur, who listened at telephone wires and shadowed Mr. Boyce, Mr. Hollenbeck, and others. The effort of the committee was carefully and skillfully made. It was not wholly devoid of results; it raises pregnant suspicion that Mr. HANNA's representatives at Columbus knew what Mr. Boyce was doing. But this whole line of inquiry would require verification by testimony to be taken by the Committee on Privileges and Elections before that committee would be willing to found conclusions thereon."

The quotation which I have just read is from the report of the majority of the committee. Now, we will see what the minority further say:

The attempt on the part of Boyce to buy Otis's vote for Mr. HANNA is clearly proven by Campbell, who, from his testimony, seems to have been a lawyer of large practice. One thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars was paid in cash by Boyce to Campbell as attorney for Otis. Boyce agreed to pay \$1,750 more when Otis reached Columbus and a balance of \$6,500 if Mr. HANNA was elected.

We will now refer to portions of the evidence before the committee of the State Senate of Ohio bearing upon the relations existing between Mr. Boyce while at Cincinnati and Mr. HANNA's representatives at Columbus. It is shown that Mr. HANNA and Majors Dick and Rathbone—

This is the school in which Rathbone was educated, it appears, and became familiar with the ideas of "benevolent assimilation."

It is shown that Mr. HANNA and Majors Dick and Rathbone (Dick and Rathbone being managers for Mr. HANNA) were at the

Neil House in Columbus, Ohio, where Mr. HANNA had his headquarters, for a part of three weeks preceding January 12, 1898. The private telephone used in Mr. HANNA's headquarters was No. 1092.

Otis testifies that on Friday, January 7, 1898, about 11 o'clock, he was called up over the telephone from the Great Southern Hotel at Columbus by a General Boyce. He had never heard of Boyce before. Boyce stated that he "had come on from New York to see Otis on important business and had reached Columbus on Wednesday about two hours after Otis had left."

The result of the conversation was that Boyce and Otis agreed to meet at the Gibson House that evening. Later in the day Boyce telegraphed Otis that he would reach Cincinnati at 5:30 o'clock. Otis says he met Boyce at the Gibson House between 5:30 and 6 o'clock that evening and had a conversation with him in which the Senatorial question was discussed, and they agreed to meet again the next evening. Myers, a clerk at the Gibson House, testified that at about 6:40 p. m. on the 7th of January a call came over the telephone from Columbus for General Boyce, but he could not be found at the time. It was repeated a little later on, at which time General Boyce was standing in the lobby. He was at once called to the telephone in the hotel office. Myers said he heard Boyce say, "Hello, Major Dick!" and speak of HANNA being sore.

I will read it all.

This conversation, as far as he heard it, Myers says he repeated to the manager of the hotel, who told him if Boyce wished to use the telephone again to arrange for him to use the one in the manager's private office, which was numbered 548. It seems the two telephones were so connected that a person listening at the telephone in the hotel office could overhear everything which passed through the telephone in the manager's private office. Now, the books of the telephone company in Columbus show that on January 7 there was but one call from telephone 1092 at the HANNA headquarters to telephone 548, Gibson House, and that was at about 8 p. m. Myers testifies further that Boyce went to the theater after supper on the night of the 7th, returning to the hotel somewhere at about 10:45 p. m. In the meantime another call had come for him from Columbus. He was so notified and went to the telephone in the manager's private office and called up telephone 1092 at Columbus.

Myers said he listened at the telephone in the hotel office and heard all that was said, taking notes of same at the time. He says Boyce addressed the person in Columbus as "Major," told him he had seen "O," had arranged matters, and it would take \$20,000 down; that the Major replied: "They did not know about that; they would see 'H.'"—

This is getting a little closer than the communication of the Senator from Wisconsin [MR. SPOONER] undertook to attribute to Aguinaldo. That seemed to be very satisfactory proof to the Republicans, and I hope this will be——

and that then there was an intermission of about five minutes, when the person at Columbus said they would give \$10,000 down and \$10,000 when it was over; and that the conversation continued concerning Mr. "O." and what they would pay him for his vote. The books of the telephone company in Cincinnati show that on the 7th of January, 1898, at about 11:20 p. m., Boyce, from telephone 548, called up Columbus and talked with Rathbone eleven minutes——

I do not suppose they were talking about the postoffice business in Cuba at this early day——

and the telephone books in Columbus show that telephone 548 in Cincinnati called telephone 1092 in Columbus at about 11:15 p. m. on that day.

Myers and two other employees of the Gibson House testify that at about 12 o'clock the same night another call came from telephone 1092——

You must remember that "1092" was the telephone in HANNA's headquarters at Columbus, Ohio——

at Columbus for Boyce. Myers claims to have overheard this conversation also, and to have taken notes of it, copies of which were produced in full, and which are as follows:

* * * * *

BOYCE. Hello, Columbus! This you, Major?

MAJOR. (Major) Yes.

BOYCE. What do you want?

MAJOR. Have been talking to H. and he says: "Suppose he won't put signature on paper—what will we do?"

BOYCE. I will fix that all right; but if I was in his place I would not sign paper, as it is a foolish play. His price is \$20,000. (Dick is speaking to HANNA).

MAJOR. If he wants protection, exchange notes and accommodation papers with him, as that will protect both of you. He don't want him alarmed.

BOYCE. How will you arrange matters?

MAJOR. I will speak to HANNA——

It is not "H" this time, but "I will speak to HANNA"——

I will send Hollenbeck down in the morning. He will be there about

10; may be a little late. We are afraid that if Mr. O. falls out the rest will go to pieces. We will make it in a package and give it to Hollenbeck, so he can transfer it and not know what he is doing.

BOYCE. What shall I pledge him to do?

MAJOR. To vote for HANNA and the HANNA wing of the Republican party. I want you to make him feel as though he were among friends. Give him to understand that he will be treated as one of us—

MR. TELLER. Who is writing this?

MR. PETTIGREW. This is a conversation that occurred over the telephone between Mr. Hanna's headquarters at Columbus and Mr. Boyce.

MR. TELLER. Who else?

MR. PETTIGREW. Major Dick.

Give him to understand that he will be treated as one of us, and we will not overlook him when the fight is over. The terms are \$10,000 and the rest as soon as it is over. You want to meet Hollenbeck to-morrow and stay with him until he is ready to come back to Columbus, and then, if possible come up with him.

BOYCE. I will do as you say. I think everything is all right and in good shape. I am a very good judge of human nature, and I don't think that Mr. O. will betray us. If he should I would have him killed.

MAJOR (laughingly). Dead men tell no tales. Myers is up to some tricks again to-night.

BOYCE. What is he doing?

MAJOR. I only heard it mentioned.

BOYCE. Major, you will hear good news from Washington Sunday morning over the long distance 'phone.

MAJOR. What is it about and who is it from?

BOYCE. I can't tell you; but it is away up and is of the best.

MAJOR. As soon as your meeting is over to-morrow call me up and let me know what you did.

BOYCE. Justing, of Fairfax county, is all right.

MAJOR. I think Governor Bushnell is tired of the whole thing, and if he gets a chance he will give it up and drop out. Good night.

Now, I read from the minority report.

Hollenbeck, according to the evidence, did arrive at the Gibson House next morning, January 8, and had one or more interviews with Boyce. Miss Jacobs, a stenographer at the Gibson House, testifies that on January 8, at 1:30 p. m., she took notes of a conversation between Hollenbeck and some one at telephone 1092, Columbus. Her notes were produced and show the conversation to have been as follows:

SATURDAY, *January 8, 1898*—1:30 p. m.

Hello! Will you tell 1092, at Columbus, that Hollenbeck is now at the Gibson House—that is, Mr. Hollenbeck. I will wait for him.

* * * * *

A little later:

MR. HOLLENBECK. Hello! This is Hollenbeck.

COLUMBUS. Is this Hollenbeck?

MR. H. Yes.

COLUMBUS. Say, hold that line and just wait a minute there.

[After a few minutes' pause.] Hello!

MR. H. I did not succeed in finding Mr. Schmidlapp, but found another man who got the matter.

COLUMBUS. Who got the other matter?

MR. H. The other man.

This Hollenbeck is said to be the "Mr. H." in this conversation.

COLUMBUS. Who was the other man?

MR. H. He is all right.

COLUMBUS. But who is he?

MR. H. One of your friends—all right. He was up at Columbus the other day with you.

COLUMBUS. To whom did you deliver the message?

MR. H. General Boyce.

COLUMBUS. What became of the letter to Schmidlapp?

MR. H. The Schmidlapp letter was left with Mr. Schmidlapp.

COLUMBUS. Did he see the letter?

MR. H. He was not in, but it was left with his private man.

COLUMBUS. What was done with the draft?

MR. H. That was returned.

COLUMBUS. What was done with the letter?

MR. H. The letter was left. You can reach Schmidlapp by telephone at St. Louis, if you want him.

COLUMBUS. I do not care for that.

MR. H. The General feels very well over the outlook.

COLUMBUS. Did you find the other man?

MR. H. The other man has not come in yet.

COLUMBUS. There is a telegram here, dated at Springfield.

MR. H. I have not telegraphed. Have not said a word to anybody.

COLUMBUS. That is strange.

MR. H. Shall I show the letter introducing me?

COLUMBUS. Do as you think best. Here is the telegram I got. It reads: "Springfield Depot, January 8, 1898. Party left train at Springfield." That is the telegram received.

MR. H. I did not send any telegram to anybody. That is very

funny. I was very careful not to be seen; went down dark alleys and by-ways.

COLUMBUS. How about the General?

Mr. H. I am not supposed to know anything about him, but he is very well and very happy over it.

COLUMBUS. You have to be watchful.

Mr. H. I will be that. Good-by.

(And telephone rang off.)

The books of the telephone company in Columbus show that on January 8, at 1:30 p. m., telephone 1092 called up telephone 548 in Cincinnati.

Otis says he had his second interview with Boyce at the Gibson House Saturday evening, January 8, 1898, at about 3 p. m.

Miss Jacobs says that about 6:45 p. m. on January 8 she took down a conversation between Boyce and Rathbone. Her notes are produced and show the conversation to have been as follows:

SATURDAY, January 8, 1898—about 6:45

MAJOR RATHBONE. Hello! Is this Gibson House?

GENERAL BOYCE. Yes; we are still alive. My party has just gone. He has been here ever since 3. We have gone over the ground pretty thoroughly. A signed letter or telegram, which I am authorized to give the President out of deference to him—do you understand? He is all right; is very much interested. He is thoroughly convinced that if he did not come in that others would do it without him, but he says that neither Lane nor Droste will vote for HANNA. I want to tell you that. He can not do much with Droste. He says that Droste is jealous of him because he thought he got the inside of the speakership, but both of these men have asked him to help them about the committee. He thinks he could get Lane if he had somebody to go to Lane. He wanted to know if we counted the majority without that.

COLUMBUS. We do.

BOYCE. But of course we want them both.

COLUMBUS. Yes.

BOYCE. Can you make any suggestion at all. Well, I think the line for him to work on is that one to help out the committee, and he will do as they want him to do. I think that is the line to work on. We shall go up together on the train to-morrow, leaving here about 4 o'clock. Do not think that there will be anybody else on the train so far as we are interested. He thinks Droste is up there, and Lane too.

COLUMBUS. I do not know.

BOYCE. He is eager now to do something more—authorizing the telegram. He is coming again to-night, and we will spend most of to-morrow together—dine together.

COLUMBUS. How about telegrams?

BOYCE. If he signed the statement and said he was going to vote for Hanna—that will answer. Do not you think it will?

COLUMBUS. Yes; if he signs it.

BOYCE. Well, I will tell you. One of the inducements you know as thoroughly—but that was not enough. He wants to be protected, etc. I told him he should be. I did not write any papers because I did not want him to have any paper. He has not told anybody up to this time that he has been talking with me. He is afraid of Mason. Mason is going to give him some choice committee position, and, of course, he is shy of Mason. I suppose there is no hope for him.

COLUMBUS. I do not know.

BOYCE. When Otis comes up there and goes to Mason and says, "The thing is all up, I am going with the others," won't that help? Of course, if Mason knew that they were all going to break away, he would not be left in the lurch, would he?

COLUMBUS. No; I do not think so.

This is a conversation, as I understand it, between Major Rathbone, at Columbus, and Mr. Boyce, the agent of Mr. Hanna, at Cincinnati, heard over the telephone. In fact, it is stated in the minority report to be a conversation between those two parties.

BOYCE. I want to get your judgment. Both of us want to be judicious. We do not want to expose him to fight. You will see that he is taken care of in Washington.

COLUMBUS. I can arrange at that end so there is no leak there. About that dispatch; if you send it, send it through the Postal and let me know as quickly as it goes.

BOYCE. He is coming back here about 9 o'clock or so, and we will have another talk about these matters. Droste is a silver man and would have voted for Gray, but Otis would not have voted for Gray anyhow. In his mind was Kurtz and Bushnell when I opened the campaign.

COLUMBUS. As soon as you come I would like to see you and have a conference with you. Supposing we meet at 10 o'clock, unless I notify you to the contrary, at 263 East Broad street at 10 o'clock.

BOYCE. Will be at the Great Southern. We expect to leave here on the Pennsylvania line about 4 o'clock, but we are going to settle definitely to-night or to-morrow. Good-by.

Now, the minority of the committee say:

The telephone books in Cincinnati show that at 6:52 p. m., on January 8, Boyce, from telephone 548, talked to Rathbone about

thirteen minutes; and the telephone books at Columbus show that at 6:50 p. m., on January 8, telephone 548, at Cincinnati, called up telephone 1092 in Columbus. According to Campbell and Otis, Boyce's first interview with Campbell was on Saturday night, January 8. Other interviews followed on Sunday, and it was in these interviews that the terms for the purchase of Otis' vote were finally agreed upon between Boyce and Campbell. Campbell says in these conversations Boyce wanted to know if they could not arrange for the votes of Droste and Lane, and other members of the legislature, mentioning the sums that he could get for these votes, and stating that there would be a large amount to divide between them.

Now, Miss Jacobs testifies further that on January 9, at about 11:35 o'clock a. m., she took down another conversation between Boyce and Columbus, which was in the following words:

SUNDAY, January 9, 1898—about 11:35.

BOYCE. Hello! Is this the Major?

MAJOR. Yes; wait a minute. [After a moment's pause.] Hello!

BOYCE. How are you, Major?

MAJOR. I recognize you.

BOYCE. Well, I wanted to ask if you have any direct connection with either Droste or Lane? These men were all elected here on a pledge, and our little friend, who is interested, would like to have the others come, and he brought to me a lawyer, who wants to make a deal. They would not do it unless they received a consideration for it. He says that under no circumstances does he think Droste will vote for the Senator unless for these reasons. Do you think I can put any emphasis upon Lane coming our way?

MAJOR. I do not know; we are catching them as fast as we can bring them.

This is what Major Rathbone said from Columbus.

BOYCE. Do you put much faith in Jones?

MAJOR. He can not get away.

BOYCE. I said in the first place we did not need either Droste or Lane, only for their strength. Now, you know there is going to be a conference to-night with the other fellows. Is not it wise for us to keep away and not come?

MAJOR. I do not know, General.

BOYCE. You know when a man is safe he is safe; that is all there is about it.

MAJOR. They telegraphed them all to come down.

BOYCE. If anything should occur between now and 2 o'clock, will you ring me up, please?

MAJOR. Yes; I will.

BOYCE. The young lawyer is coming to see me again. You understand these men were elected on a pledge saying that they would not vote for Senator HANNA?

MAJOR. I know that.

BOYCE. It was a peculiar thing to get this man off Jones or Manuel. This man had pledged himself. This man had pledged himself to become elected. He has been afraid all the time, and is now afraid, of the Enquirer.

MAJOR. I do not think they will have much to say. During the heat of the discussion the whole thing will be wiped out. I think we are in good shape. We have got the men with us.

BOYCE. We want a clear majority for our side without any question. There is no doubt but what we will have 17 of the senators.

MAJOR. There ought to be 18. I don't see why Burke should not come in.

BOYCE. My man would like to have Mason for HANNA very much. You see Mason votes before he does. He couldn't raise a question then about it. If I will not come up there I will notify you. I shall see in an hour or two whether Lane or Droste are both here, or one of them. No one seemed to know last night and I couldn't find out. I shall know in an hour or two. The latest information is that Droste would nominate Gerrard.

MAJOR. I am to have a conference a little later, and then we will see what is to be done. I will let you know. Good-by.

The minority of the committee go on to say:

The telephone books in Cincinnati show that on January 9, at 11:18 a. m., Boyce, from telephone 548, talked to Rathbone in Columbus for ten minutes, at a cost of \$2.50, while the books in Columbus show that on said day telephone 1092 at 11:15 a. m. called telephone 548 at Cincinnati, at cost of \$2.50.

There was other evidence before the State Senate committee tending to show the intimate relations between Boyce and Mr. HANNA's managers, but it would carry this report to unnecessary length to quote it.

We think that the evidence to which we have already referred, standing as it does uncontradicted and unexplained, shows that certain of Mr. HANNA's managers at Columbus not only knew the purposes which Boyce had in view in Cincinnati, but also that they aided, abetted, and advised him in carrying out these purposes, and that this state of affairs existed while Mr. HANNA was present at his headquarters.

This view is strengthened by two facts disclosed in the report of the State Senate committee:

First. That many of the witnesses, whose testimony apparently

would have thrown much light upon the subject under inquiry, denied the jurisdiction of the committee and refused to testify under the advice of counsel, who stated that they represented the interests of Majors Rathbone and Dick and Senator HANNA; and

Second. That Mr. HANNA and his representatives had subpoenas sent them by mail, which seemed to have reached them, calling upon them to appear before the State Senate committee, to which they made no response.

The report of the majority says they "do not doubt that if facts appeared from the report of the committee of the State Senate requiring the United States Senate, out of a proper regard for its own reputation, to take further testimony concerning Mr. HANNA's election, it would be the duty of the Senate to proceed without waiting for further prosecution of the case coming from residents of the State of Ohio."

We think such facts do appear from the report of the committee of the State Senate, and that this body should direct further inquiry and investigation to be made.

Now, the report from the State Senate of Ohio, which comes here, recites in substance the facts which are recited in the report of the minority of the Senate committee; and the minority who signed the report which I have read was composed of Senators TURLEY, PETTUS, and CAFFERY.

Mr. President, these things are known to the American people. It will not do for the Senator from Ohio to stand up here and say that charges of this sort—if he answered all that were made he would not do much else—are unworthy of his consideration or notice. From the Senate of his own State come these charges; from a minority of the committee of this body came these charges; and yet the Senator from Ohio says they are unworthy of his notice; that they are little things. I believe a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio stated that a vast sum of money was collected to carry on the campaign of 1896, and that it would take a bigger one next time. I think I can turn to the record where he states the sum; and it runs into the millions. Where was the money got?

Mr. Havemeyer testified that he contributed to the campaign fund of the political parties. It is hard to get this testimony, of course. Men make armor plate at a profit of mil-

lions upon millions, and the privilege is conferred upon them by a political party. Men build ships and say that they made vast contributions because of the enormous profits they expect to make. We deliberately pass a bill which allows this Administration, on the eve of a political campaign, to make contracts for 35,000 tons of armor plate, most of which is not to be used until long after the campaign is over, and we fix a price so that there is a profit of \$7,000,000 in the contract. We let it out to two concerns which are known to be in collusion. We let it out to them without competition. There is no doubt in the mind of any man who is familiar with the last campaign that from those people will come vast contributions for the coming campaign. What other sources are there? As I stated this morning, the beer people want to get rid of the war tax on beer. They are ready to negotiate and they are negotiating. They will give their contribution with a promise of relief next year.

There are so many of these things that it would take the time of one member of this body to reply to them, if he tried to reply, and therefore he will not reply; and he then undertakes to escape the damaging facts by saying they are unworthy of his notice. Oh, Mr. President, men who engaged in these things, when exposed, can make no other answer. They must say, "Oh, it is too small a matter in the course of my great life." Bribery and corruption, collection of funds for corrupt purposes, the securing of legislation in order that funds may be enlarged in quantity. A little matter of \$400,000 is hardly worth the notice of men engaged in such transactions. So we are to be called upon to pass legislation, extravagant legislation, in order that funds may be collected.

It would be better if we would simply pass a bill saying that so many million dollars shall go to the Republican party out of the Treasury to conduct its campaign, and thus save the difference between the amount they set and the amount that goes in profit to the contractors in excess of what they are rightfully entitled to.

I did not care to get into this controversy, but there is more of it. I am not at all afraid of Senators staying here and dis-

cussing it just as long as they want to discuss it. There are many more things that can be said and told in regard to these transactions, but I do not care further to take the time of the Senate.

CHAPTER XXI

WHO PAYS THE TAX?

The Senate having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the bill (H. R. 10100) to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures—

MR. PETTIGREW said:

MR. PRESIDENT:¹ I do not care to discuss the bill, but I propose briefly to show who will pay the tax.

We are all agreed, no matter what our political belief may be, that money enough should be raised to carry on the war. There is no conflict upon that question, yet we have discussed the revenue bill for weeks. And why? Simply because we differ as to how the money shall be raised. We say, and by the amendments we often have shown, that we desire to have the accumulated wealth of this country pay its share of the burden. The majority say, "We will levy a per capita tax; we will lay the burden upon the people of this country, the toiling masses; not upon wealth, but upon consumption, upon the individual." Your policy is that by which a man with \$100,000,000 pays the same share of the burden of this war as his coachman who works for \$1 a day.

That is one of the issues in this contest; that is one of the questions upon which there is disagreement and one of the reasons why we refuse to support this bill.

You say we will issue interest-bearing bonds. We say no more bonds shall be issued until the necessity arises and that the necessity has not come yet. We say we will issue \$150,000,000 in currency. You say the currency is necessary, but

1. Speech in the Senate June 10, 1898.

we will issue interest-bearing bonds and the banks may issue the currency, and that makes another issue.

After all, what is the process? We issue \$400,000,000 of interest-bearing bonds and say we are going to allow the public to subscribe. Every person within the sound of my voice knows the public is unable to subscribe. The bonds will go to the bankers; and what is the process. Four hundred million dollars of bonds can be taken to the Treasury of the United States and there they can secure 90 per cent of the face value of the bonds in currency. Ninety per cent of currency is \$360,000,000 in money. The bonds can be taken to the Treasury of the United States and exchanged for national-bank currency. What is the process? The custom is when we ask for subscriptions of bonds to require payment of 10 or 20 per cent.

In this case perhaps we would require 10 per cent. Four hundred million dollars of bonds are issued. The banks subscribe for them and pay 10 per cent in cash. They immediately signify their desire to deposit them and secure currency. They are to make another payment in thirty days, and before the thirty days are up the national-bank currency is printed by the Government and handed over to them, and the bonds are deposited in the vaults of the Treasury Department. How does it work out? The banks then have paid in currency to the United States but \$40,000,000. They have received \$400,000,000 of bonds and exchanged them for \$360,000,000 of currency. They are required to make no other payment whatever, because the \$36,000,000 of currency which they receive can be immediately turned over to the Treasury to pay for the bonds.

If they had paid for the bonds when the purchase was made they could take then the \$360,000,000 of currency which they would then have, and for which, in fact, they have paid but \$20,000,000, and loan it to the people of this country at 6 per cent. Against this we contend, and it makes another issue.

We say that currency is not as good as the greenbacks which we propose to issue, because the greenback is legal

tender, because it has behind it as security the whole property of the people of the United States. You say it will make the money better not to have it legal tender, which is money good enough to get in debt with but not fit to pay with. You say it will make the money better to have the bank draw 3 per cent on your \$400,000,000 worth of bonds.

Who is behind this bank currency? Nobody, unless it is the people of the United States. Why, then, should the people of the United States be called upon to pay interest upon it? Why not, in the first place, if you will issue bonds, put them in the Treasury of the United States and then issue your paper against them, and thus save the interest on \$400,000,000? Who can raise any objection to that? Why, instead of delivering these \$400,000,000 of bonds to the bankers, do we not place them in the vaults of the Treasury in the first place and then say they shall remain there as a sacred fund, securing the payment or redemption, if you please, of the greenbacks you issue?

What argument can be made except the argument of greed, except the desire to further promote special interests? Why should the bonds be delivered to the banks and the people of the United States be forced to pay \$12,000,000 a year interest upon them, and then they lie in the Treasury as security for money which the banks take out and loan to the people?

I should like to hear that contention answered. Nobody undertakes to answer it. Where is the sense, the reason, or the judgment that justifies such financiering as that?

But, Mr. President, who will pay this tax, this per capita tax, this tax levied upon consumption? The tax under this bill will be paid by the men who are filling the ranks of our armies as privates, by the people who have no property; and when it is collected, it will be turned over to the men who have all the property and get all the contracts and whose sons hold all the offices. You propose under this bill to make the people who toil in this country not only pay the entire expense of the war, but furnish all the private soldiers, and then you fill every position above that of private with the sons of rich men, so

that all the best salaries shall go to them, and thus array the classes against the masses and make another issue.

I remember in 1889 how startled I was when I read an article—I think it was in the *Forum*—by Shearman, of New York, showing the distribution of wealth in this country. I thought it could not be true. He showed that 250,000 families owned over \$44,000,000,000 of the wealth of the United States. He arrived at his conclusion by taking the rich men, showing what their wealth was, deducting that from the nation's wealth, and seeing what was left for the rest of the people. I thought the figures must be untrue, that such calculations could not be sustained. But, Mr. President, when we took the census in 1890, Mr. Shearman's figures were more than corroborated. The census of 1890 shows a condition of affairs produced in this country within thirty years of time which has caused the destruction of every free Government that ever lived, and it will cause the destruction of ours.

Holmes, who had charge of the compilation of the indebtedness of the United States under the census of 1890, publishes this statement: He divides the people of this country into three classes. He has class 1, class 2, and class 3; which is very appropriate. He might have said caste 1, caste 2, and caste 3, and then his language would have accorded with the division of the population in India, for instance. In India the population is also divided into three classes, 80 per cent of whom never have enough to eat, 16 per cent of whom have barely enough to eat, and 4 per cent of whom live in unlimited wealth and luxury. That is the caste we hear so much about in India.

The same condition of affairs has grown up in our country, and here is the proof of it: Millionaires, 4,000 families, less than three one-hundredths per cent of our population; aggregate wealth, \$12,000,000,000, 20 per cent of the wealth of the people of the United States. Rich, 1,139,000 families, or 8.97 per cent of our population; aggregate wealth, \$30,600,000,000, making a total for these two, which he places under one class, of \$42,600,000,000, or 71 per cent of the wealth of the people of the United States, leaving 29 per cent

for the 91 per cent of our population. Then he divides still further. He says under the head of class 1—really it should be class 2, for he divides the rest of the population into three classes—3,556,000 families own \$12,000,000,000 of the wealth. More than one-fourth of our population own only the same amount that 4,000 families own.

MR. GALLINGER. If it will not disturb the Senator, I should like to ask him if he seriously places any dependence upon those figures, even though they were exploited in the last census? Does he seriously believe that they are at all accurate? And I will make this further observation that I have in mind: A gentleman—I think he was born in the State of New Hampshire—who was reputed to have been worth from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000, figured in some of these lists that have been published of the multimillionaires of the country. He died somewhat recently, and I think I am correct in saying that his estate will not show \$1,000,000, and I believe considerably less than that amount. Is it not possible, I will ask the Senator again, that these figures are very erroneous? Is it not a guess at best as to the amount of wealth that any individual or firm possesses in the United States.

MR. PETTIGREW. If the Senator will listen until I have finished, he can draw his own conclusion as to whether I have made a case and believe what I am saying. The facts and figures which I will give have never been disputed.

Class 2, 1,397,000 families, have \$2,400,000,000 of wealth. Class 3, or 6,604,000 families or 52 per cent of our population, have \$3,000,000,000 of wealth, or one-fourth of the wealth of the 4,000 families which own this country. The total poor people of this country, or 91 per cent of our population, own 29 per cent of our wealth, or \$17,400,000,000, while the rich, the 1,143,000 families, own \$42,600,000,000 of the wealth. Mr. Holmes then publishes documents which show the relative wealth to population, which I will publish in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

How did Mr. Holmes arrive at this conclusion? He took the wealth of the poor of this country and the middle classes. He ascertained it by finding out what the mortgages amounted

Holmes's table of the distribution of wealth in the United States

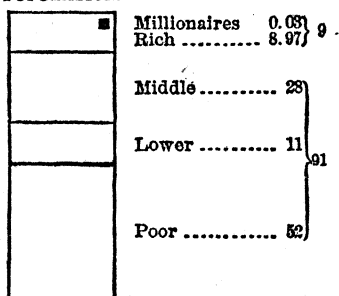
Class	Families	Per cent	Average wealth	Aggregate wealth	Per cent
Millionaires.....	4,000	0.03	\$3,000,000	\$12,000,000,000	20
Rich.....	1,139,000	8.97	26,866	30,600,000,000	51
Total rich.....	1,143,000	9	37,358	42,600,000,000	71
Class 1.....	3,556,000	28	3,374	12,000,000,000	20
Class 2.....	1,397,000	11	1,718	2,400,000,000	4
Class 3.....	6,604,000	52	454	3,000,000,000	5
Total poor.....	11,557,000	91	1,514	17,400,000,000	29
Grand total.....	12,700,000	100	4,725	60,000,000,000	100

Class 1 are the families owning farms or homes without incumbrances, class 2 are those owning them with incumbrances, and class 3 are tenants of farms or homes owned by others.

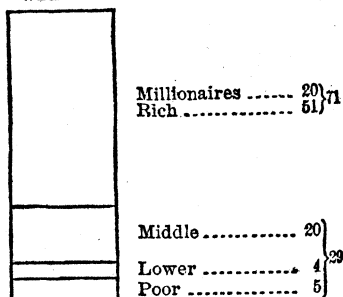
to. He inquired about the ownership of every house, every piece of property in the land, and then he deducted that from the whole sum, and the result showed what the very rich

Diagrams showing, by percentages, the population and wealth distribution in the United States, according to Holmes's tables

POPULATION.



WEALTH.



This diagram shows by its percentages the population and wealth and the distribution of wealth in the United States, according to Holmes's tables, and Holmes was the compiler of the census of the United States for 1890 in relation to farms, homes, and mortgages. Now, look at this diagram. It is an interesting study. Here it shows where the property of the United States has gone. Can you see that little black spot? Can you see it? That represents three one-hundredths of the population.

Rich pay \$27,000,000; poor pay \$273,000,000.

possessed. Shearman did the opposite. He determined how much the very rich possessed, deducted it from the whole sum, and saw what the mass of the people possessed in this country. The two results are so parallel, so corroborative of each other, that I will publish both tables.

Here are Mr. Shearman's tables: The rich, 235,000 families own \$43,900,000,000 of the wealth of this country. The middle classes, 1,200,000 families, own \$7,500,000,000 of the wealth. The working classes 11,567,000 families, own \$11,175,000,000 of the wealth. In other words, according to his tables, the rich, 10.6 per cent of our population, own 70 per cent of the wealth.

According to Mr. Holmes's table the rich are 9 per cent of our population and own 71 per cent of the wealth of this country.

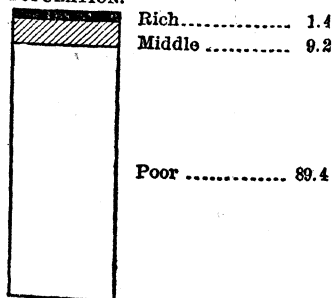
I will also publish Mr. Shearman's table.

American Wealth

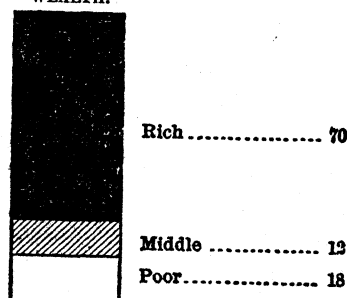
Class	Families	Wealth	Per family
Rich.....	235,000	\$43,900,000,000	\$186,567
Middle.....	1,200,000	7,500,000,000	6,250
Working.....	11,567,000	11,175,000,000	968

Diagrams showing, by percentages, the population and wealth distribution in the United States, according to Shearman's tables

POPULATION.



WEALTH.



Commenting on this, Mr. Shearman says:

The United States of America are practically owned by less than 250,000 persons, constituting less than 1 in 60 of its adult male population. Within thirty years, the present methods of taxation being continued, the United States of America will be substantially owned by less than 50,000 persons, constituting less than 1 in 500 of the male population.

He says that this is an underestimate, and in the second article adds:

If this system continues, the coming of the billionaire on the one hand and of the million paupers on the other is inevitable.

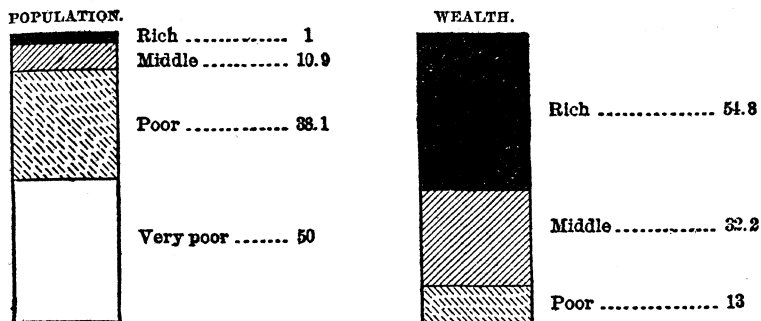
But what is more, Mr. President, we had another investigation. Mr. Spahr, who is a writer upon the Outlook, a journal published in New York, a law lecturer in the New York Law Academy, a man of decided ability, a statistician well known throughout the world, and a lawyer by profession, made an investigation. His investigation was carried on differently from that of both the others. He went to the probate courts, and he ascertained the estates which were administered upon, and from that examination he makes a table which almost exactly corroborates the other two.

He shows that the rich—125,000 families, 1 per cent of our population—have \$32,880,000,000 of wealth; the middle classes, 1,362,500 families, have \$19,320,000,000 of wealth; the poor 4,762,500 families, have \$7,800,000,000 of wealth, and he puts down the rest of the population as having nothing or practically nothing, the amount is so small, they being more than half of our population, and the amount they own is scarcely worth considering.

Spahr's table of the distribution of wealth in the United States

Class	Families	Per cent	Average wealth	Aggregate wealth	Per cent
Rich.....	125,000	1	263,040	\$32,880,000,000	54.8
Middle.....	1,362,500	10.9	14,180	19,320,000,000	32.2
Poor.....	4,762,500	38.1	1,639	7,800,000,000	13
Very poor.....	6,250,000	50	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	12,500,000	100	4,800	\$60,000,000,000	100

Diagram showing, by percentages, the population and wealth distribution in the United States, according to Spahr's tables



Whatever error there is in this table is demonstrably on the side of understating the present concentration of wealth, for in the returns made to the surrogates the debts are not yet deducted from the value of the estates, and it is the small house owners and shopkeepers and farmers whose debts cover the most considerable portion of their holdings. We must recognize, therefore, that the nation's vast wealth does not bring comfort and independence to the rank and file of the people. If the nation's wealth is to mean the nation's well-being, the rank and file of the people must reverse the policies which the rich, and the tools of the rich, have thrust upon them.

He discovered an alarming state of affairs in the State of New York. He found that out of every four men who died at over 25 years of age, three left no property whatever to be administered upon, and he found by an examination of the probate records this distribution of wealth absolutely corroborating the figures of the census and the article written by Mr. Shearman. Mr. Spahr is a Populist, Mr. Holmes is a Republican, and Mr. Shearman is a Democrat.

I do not believe the facts developed in this investigation can be successfully disputed. They are based upon the investigation of our own census, based upon an examination of the probate records of the various States, and based upon calculations as to the wealth of individuals.

To continue this phase of the subject, Mr. President, an investigation of the distribution of wealth in England has

demonstrated the same result. The very rich consist of 222,500 families, and they own \$27,781,000,000 of the wealth of Great Britain. The average wealth of these families is \$125,149. The average wealth of our enormously rich families, according to Mr. Shearman's tables, is \$186,567 for each family. It is easy to presume that Mr. Shearman's figures are correct, that 235,000 families own \$186,567 each. That embraces the multimillionaires, men who own fifty, one hundred, and two hundred million dollars each. The rich men, therefore, have on the average more wealth in this country than in England. Where, then, is all our boast about the distribution of wealth? Where, then, is our boast about the advantage our toiler has under free institutions? Where the beneficent result of the tariff?

What is more, the middle classes in Great Britain, consisting of 1,824,400 people, own \$9,142,000,000 of wealth; the working classes, consisting of 4,629,100 families, own \$1,930,000,000 of wealth; in other words, nearly two-thirds, or quite two-thirds of the people of Great Britain practically own nothing. They own less than \$80 apiece, men, women, and children—not enough to support them a year.

What are the facts in regard to our own country? I will use Mr. Holmes's tables, because they are based upon the census. Six million six hundred and four thousand families in the United States have an average wealth of \$454 per family, or about eighty-five or ninety dollars apiece, and practically own no property whatever; and yet this is absolutely parallel with the result worked out by Great Britain, and we have worked it out under our system of government. We have pursued her policy as to finance, as to monopoly privileges, as to special legislation, class legislation, and unequal taxation, and landed in the same place where she has landed. I say, Mr. President, that, with figures like these, free government is a failure, unless we can apply the remedy.

Now, I proceed to show how we have brought about, in a large measure, this result. In the first place, it has been by just such legislation as we are called upon to vote for to-day. The rich people of this country, according to Holmes's tables,

own \$42,600,000,000 of the wealth, and under this bill they will pay twenty-seven millions of the taxes.

They are the people—everybody knows it—who will buy the bonds to be sold under this bill, and they will take these bonds, \$400,000,000 of them—put them in the Treasury of the United States, draw \$12,000,000 a year interest, get \$360,000,000 of national-bank currency, and loan that at 6 per cent, which will make them \$21,600,000 per annum, and thus receive, owing to this bond measure, \$33,600,000 a year, and pay in taxes \$27,000,000. It is a fine scheme. They pay a fraction over one-twentieth of 1 per cent upon their wealth. They pay \$27,000,000, and the poor, who are 91 per cent of our population, who own \$17,400,000,000 of the wealth of this country, pay under this bill \$273,000,000 of the tax of \$300,000,000.

Suppose the bill yields \$300,000,000 before it is repealed, and if it yields less the amount they will pay will be in just the same proportion. I took \$300,000,000 because I supposed at the time I made these figures that just \$300,000,000 of bonds would be issued; but no matter whether the revenue is raised this year or next year, or in three years, or whenever we raise \$300,000,000, this is the distribution of the burden. The poor, who are 91 per cent of our population, will pay \$273,000,000, while the rich will pay \$27,000,000. The poor will pay 1.56 per cent, while the rich will pay a little over one-twentieth of 1 per cent.

The poor, the 91 per cent of our population, pay more than thirty times more upon the property they own than the rich people pay, and yet we refuse to levy a tax upon corporations. The rich should pay, if they paid in proportion to their wealth, \$212,500,000. They do pay \$27,000,000. The poor should pay \$85,500,000. They do pay \$273,000,000. That is why I am opposed to this bill; that is why I did not vote for it and will not vote for it.

What is more, 52 per cent of the population, according to Holmes's tables, own but \$3,000,000,000 of wealth, and 52 per cent of our population practically to-day have no property, and over 52 per cent do not own the homes in which

they live. Fifty-two per cent of our people, who own \$3,000,000,000 of wealth, would pay \$156,000,000 of this tax if we raised \$300,000,000, or 5.2 per cent on every dollar of what they have; and their property is almost entirely in clothing, household furniture, and personal effects.

They do not own their homes or real estate. Their property is perishable and ought not to be taxed at all. They pay, then, over 5,000 times on their property more than the very rich; for the very rich, who compose 4,000 families in this country, own \$12,000,000,000 of wealth, and they pay under this bill, under an assessment upon necessities, upon consumption, the magnificent sum of \$94,480 of a tax of \$300,000,000, or less than eight ten-thousands of 1 per cent upon every dollar of their wealth.

They are the people from whom your officers are selected to receive big salaries and pretend to carry on military operations; they are the class who furnish the money for the contracts; they are the men who are selling to the Government yachts absolutely worthless for naval purposes and old, broken-down ships which are found to be only fit to obstruct harbors so that our war vessels can not get at the enemy. These people would pay, if they paid upon their wealth, \$60,000,000 a year, instead of \$94,480, which they do pay.

Mr. President, this result has been brought about by legislation; by unequal, dishonest taxation like that within the present bill; by granting monopoly privileges, special legislation, like the banking and transportation privileges, in the interest of the few. The Theban Sphinx destroyed all who refused to answer her question. If we refuse to answer this question, if we fail to answer it, such failure will destroy us.

The inexorable lessons of history prove what the result must be. I can not regard the talk about a popular loan as anything but hypocritical. How can the public subscribe when the public has no property? How can the 52 per cent of our people who own but \$454 per family, or \$90 worth of property each, and that in personal effects, such as worn clothing and second-hand household utensils, buy 3 per cent bonds? He who knows these facts and yet talks about a popular loan certainly

does not expect to do other than act the part of a demagogue and deceive the public.

Mr. President, it is because of the manner and method of taxation that I decline to vote for this measure. It is because the Senate voted down the income tax, the tax upon corporations, and almost every burden that could be laid upon the rich people of this country.

CHAPTER XXII

SUMMING IT UP

FELLOW CITIZENS:¹ We have just closed a very remarkable political contest, the most remarkable, perhaps, in the history of this country. For the first time in our career as a people, political parties were not arrayed so much against each other as were great interests. For the first time in our experience, the two leading parties divided. That portion of the democratic party which represented the great trusts and combinations, the accumulated wealth of the nation, united with that portion of the republican party which had been absorbed by the same interests. Arrayed against these forces were, as the votes show, over six million of the producers of our country. Arrayed against this combination were the toilers of the land to the extent of six million laborers, the majority of them engaged in agriculture, and a majority of small traders and merchants were allied with the farming classes, being interested with them in the successful prosecution of the pursuit of tilling the soil. What caused this great division? What caused this alignment of forces? These questions are the questions which will not down and are questions which can be settled only by the success of those who advocate the cause of the producers of wealth.

On the one side, then, was concentrated, in the hands of those who had not produced it, the amassed wealth and capital of this country, striving for mastery in an effort to completely dominate and control our affairs. On the other side was the great mass of the people who had produced the wealth, but still through the process of legislation had seen it slip from their grasp and drift into the hands of the few people who

1. A speech delivered at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, November 14, 1896.

control the other side. In a contest like this, with such forces arrayed against us, with every corporate interest reaching out to coerce the loyalty and support of its employees, with the creditor class everywhere browbeating and trying to intimidate our farmers, as they did throughout the length and breadth of this State, the wonder is that the people of Dakota were able to turn back the forces of plutocracy and rescue this State from the most corrupt combination that ever cursed any commonwealth. It was a victory worth our effort. It was a victory for which the people struggled without hope of reward, other than the public good. And we have occasion to congratulate each other to-night over our success. Root and branch, every portion of our State government is rescued from their hands. The legislature is at least sixteen majority on joint ballot and we have both houses. We must so handle our victory that we may remain in power. We must pursue that course of careful legislation which will retain for us the confidence of the people. The hope of South Dakota is in her ability to control her own affairs. In being able to secure that just consideration from the railroad companies which will not rob the people of the products of their toil. And while we should not favor legislation which would be discreditable in being extreme, we should legislate so that the question of justice and right between our own people and these foreign corporations shall be left in our own hands to decide. You will find that great vigilance and care is necessary to produce results which will hold in our ranks the conservative people of this country, and yet do even justice to all.

I believe to-night, as I have through this whole controversy, that those great principles for which we have contended must be solved in the interest of the toiling masses, if free institutions survive in this government. I believe that financial reform, far reaching and radical, is absolutely essential in order that the producing classes may reap the reward of their efforts. There should be no half-way measures in this respect.

The banking system of this country is so organized and constituted as to take from the producer the result of his

effort; purposely so organized; organized with the intention of controlling the volume of money; contracting and expanding credit so as to produce a panic, or apparent prosperity, as suits the purpose of its organizers and managers.

This system of banking was the invention of Lord Overstone, with the assistance of the acute minds of the Rothschild bankers of Europe, and was so constructed as to enhance the importance of capital and overshadow the importance of toil. The system is one based upon a small volume of legal tender money, and the limit of this volume they would make as small as possible, in order that they may control it absolutely, whatever it is. Expansion by the issue of credit, not legal tender; contraction by the withdrawal of credit. Expansion that they may sell the property of the producers, which they have taken in with the last contraction, and then contract again in order to wreck the enterprising and once more reap the harvest of their efforts. This is the banking system of Great Britain, and the banking system of every gold standard country in the world to-day except France. It is the banking system of the United States. This is the system the republican party is pledged to strengthen and perpetuate. There is no hope of relief for the people of this agricultural country in any possible thing the republican party can or will do. In 1873, fearing that the volume of metallic money would become too large, these manipulators of panics, these gatherers of the products of other people's toil, set about to secure the demonetization of silver and make all their contracts payable in gold. The result has been, as the thinking ones of every nation agree, that in every gold standard country on the globe, agricultural prices have fallen steadily from that time to this, until we have reached a point where the cost of production is denied the producer.

How has it been brought about?

First, by the demonetization of silver.

Second, by securing the adoption of the gold standard by one nation after another, through the pressure of debts due the combined bankers of Europe.

Third, by the accumulation of the gold of the world since 1891 in the hands of European bankers.

And this rapid decline has been accelerated by the absolute destruction of silver in the United States, which occurred in 1893, until prices have reached a point lower than in two previous centuries of time. How shall we remedy it? If we remedy this, we must strike at the root of the evil and destroy the cause. To talk of doing it by any other method could bring only temporary relief, and in the end further panics and invite destruction.

I lay down this proposition: That the price of commodities in all gold standard countries must be measured by the volume of gold in those countries. That this is absolutely true of all products which are interchanged between those nations. Every gold standard country must have a range of prices as to that which it sells or buys of other nations, measured by the volume of gold in all those countries.

Some one says that if the quantity of money in any one gold standard country regulates the prices, then France with her fifty-six dollars per capita must have prices several times larger than Switzerland with her nine. The person who makes that proposition simply exhibits absolute ignorance so dense as to be undisturbed through all time by the barest fundamental principles of finance. I can make that clear to every one within the sound of my voice.

We say the prices within those countries must be the same as to the things they exchange with each other, and those prices are fixed by the quantity of gold which exists in all of them put together. Now France has a greater volume of money than Germany per capita. If the prices in France were higher because of her greater per capital of gold than in Germany, then the gold would leave France and would go to Germany, where it would buy more than it would buy in France. Therefore she must maintain the international level of prices in order to retain her gold. Why is it that one people have a greater volume per capital of gold than another? Simply because of their different system of banking. In France the banks cannot, outside the city of Paris, loan one dollar

of deposits. Therefore, they do business with cash and it takes a greater volume of money to do business in consequence, even at the international level of prices. France has not had a panic for fifty years. She has suffered a decline in prices resulting from a scarcity of gold, but by having a large volume of legal tender money and by doing business with a minimum of credit she has escaped the curse of panics for two generations. In this respect she disregards the financial system created by Overstone and the genius of the Rothschilds to gather the wealth created by human toil. Her agricultural interests suffered, as ours have suffered, by declining prices, and the rural population of France has decreased two million three hundred thousand in the last thirty or forty years, but her industries have escaped the wreck of recurring panics. What I say then, is that the volume of gold fixes the prices of farm products in this country, as our surplus goes to gold using nations, and 80 per cent. of all our exports are farm products. If that is the case, how are you going to give prosperity to the farmers by building a tariff wall? It is impossible; absolutely impossible.

The plan of the Republican party is to try and secure an expansion of the credit controlled by the bankers, and to adhere to the gold standard without any gold. Why, a New York banker told me that all that was necessary was simply, for instance, to have one ounce of gold placed in a glass case and declare it the standard, and that it would answer every purpose, so ignorant was he of the fundamental principles of finance. What is their plan? It is to retire the silver; to retire the greenbacks; to retire the treasury notes—every one of them; to retire the silver certificates and to make silver legal tender for ten dollars and limit the coinage, and then issue national bank notes for the currency of this country. Then issue bonds for the public to pay interest on, making a currency which they can expand or contract at their pleasure and thus wreck and plunder the producers of this country. Already they have adopted a plan. The Chicago Record, I am told, last Saturday contained a proposition endorsing the Baltimore platform, which was not only to issue currency

to the amount of the face of the bonds, but also the face of their capital stock. A most dangerous power. Give me control of the money of the people and I will take from them everything but a bare subsistence, and I will make that as mean as I please. You will remember these bank notes are not legal tender. They are credit money; confidence money, and that is what they mean by a restoration of confidence. They can be withdrawn at the pleasure of the banks, and bankers can contract the currency and expand it whenever they choose. They can raise prices even of town lots; prices of property not internationally dealt in, but they cannot, by expansion of that sort of money, raise the price of farm products. Then, under their plan, there is no hope for the agricultural people of this country. You might get temporary relief by expanding credit so that town lots, if you can get people to believe in them, not farm property, but town lots, would find something of a market. But the products of the soil of this country are held down to the limit of the gold in the gold using countries of the world and there is no possible escape from it unless you enlarge the volume of metallic legal tender money, fundamental money. It would be a blessing to us if our gold should all leave us; every dollar of it, and the more the better. Then we would do business upon silver certificates the same as now. No surprise or shock could come to our business, for we have no other money now in circulation, but our volume of gold would go to Europe, causing an inflation of the currency of those gold using nations and raising prices there so that our wheat and our cotton and our meat would bring more gold than now, and thus make it easier to secure gold to pay our interest abroad, or for that matter at home.

I hold that these principles for which we contend are fundamental and that we can only get relief by success, and therefore I begin again this contest. I have said several times during this controversy on the stump that I expected to wait four years. I admit that I was somewhat disappointed, for I hoped when I saw the mighty enthusiasm and wonderful courage of our leader and the mighty efforts of the rank and file, that success would come this year. But we could not battle against

and overcome the selfish interests of men, blinded by party zeal, or the bribery and fraud which were perpetrated against us. Yet we made most marvelous progress. We made a most wonderful fight and four years more will crown our effort with victory.

I said there was a chance for me to return to the Republican party if McKinley was defeated, but his success as the champion of the cause of boodle and wrong, his victory as the representative of the trusts, makes my alliance with that party impossible.

Not only must we fight for the great principles of financial reform, not only must we fight for a volume of money which will increase in fullness as we increase in population and growth of business; for an honest dollar is a dollar which will require no more of products of toil to secure at one time than at another; which will have no greater purchasing power when the debt is due, than it had when the debt was contracted, not only must we fight for that, but if we would preserve free institutions in this country, we must fight for the overthrow of trusts and syndicates which to-day rule the nation.

I think it has been established by history; I think it is fixed as one thing that is established beyond question, that as civilization advances, capital accumulates. Those who have absorbed it try to increase its value by legislation, and the easiest way to increase its value is to contract the volume of money and make it scarce and dear. The easiest way to double the debts of the world is to double the purchasing power of the dollar in which they are to be paid.

Every political economist agrees that this can be done; that quantity regulates the value rather than the substance of which the dollar is made.

Now, great accumulations of capital occurred and the owners of this capital proceeded to double the value of the dollar as measured in the product of human toil, and it has had the same effect upon the producers of wealth and the debtors throughout the world that the doubling of the length of the yard measure would have had upon the manufacturer, who, twenty years ago, agreed to deliver a million yards of cloth

at this time and in the interval the man who was to receive the million yards of cloth had secured legislation by which the yard stick was still thirty-six inches in length but each inch was twice as long as it was when he made the contract. Of course the manufacturer would have to deliver the million yards, because he had contracted to deliver so many yards, but he would be obliged to deliver exactly twice the quantity of cloth he had contracted to deliver. So it is with the debtor, and so it is with the national debt. We contracted to deliver so many dollars, but in the meantime, and by legislation, they have doubled the purchasing power—or size of the dollar, and we are obliged to-day to deliver just twice what we agreed to give.

And then they talk all through this country about the honest dollar, and call us repudiators because we protest against this dishonest robbery.

Rome with her legions robbed the world. When the Roman Empire was founded most of the people owned twelve acres apiece; twelve acres per family, indicating a dense rural population. No foreign foe could march through that compact rural population of land owners to the wall of Rome. They were successful farmers and prosperous, and they made mighty soldiers. Cincinnatus left the plow and led legions on to victory. But during the first century of the Christian era, centralization had done its work; the lands had been absorbed by the usurer and gathered into vast estates, cultivated by tenants and often by slaves, the mines of gold and silver in Spain and Greece had been worked out; no more money came from the conquests of other nations; the currency was sent to India for precious stones and to China for silk, and with the decrease in the volume of metallic money, prices of farm products fell to a point below the cost of production, and the ruin of agriculture was completed. Pliny thus described the condition of the family classes during his time:

“A large estate adjoining his own was for sale, and he was tempted to buy, ‘for the land was fertile, rich and well watered,’ the fields produced vines and wood which promised a fair return, and yet this natural fruitfulness was marred by the misery of the husbandman. He found

that the former owner 'had often seized the pignora, or pledges (that is, all the property the tenants possessed), and though by so doing, he had temporarily reduced their arrears, he had left them without the means of tilling the soil.' These tenants were free men, who had been unable to meet their rent because of falling prices, and who, when they had lost their tools, cattle and household effects, were left paupers on the farms they could neither cultivate nor abandon. Consequently the property had suffered, the rent had declined, and for these reasons and 'the general hardness of the times,' its value had fallen from five million to three million sesterces.

"According to Pliny the collection of a rent in money had become impossible in the reign of Tragan. The reason was that with a contracting currency prices of produce fell, and each year's crop netted less than that of the year before; therefore a rent moderate in one decade was extortionate in the next. But taxes did not fall with the fall in values; on the contrary, the tendency of centralization is always toward a more costly administration. Under Augustus, one emperor with a moderate household sufficed; but in the third century Diocletian found it necessary to reorganize the government under four Cæsars, and everything became specialized in the same proportion.

"The evolution of this centralized society was as logical as every other work of nature. When force reached the stage where it expressed itself exclusively through money, the governing class ceased to be chosen because they were valiant or eloquent, artistic, learned, or devout, and were selected solely because they had the faculty of acquiring and keeping wealth. As long as the weak retained enough vitality to produce something which could be absorbed, this oligarchy was invincible."

In 360 A. D. Rome demonetized silver and the usurer made all contracts payable by weight in gold, just as our usurers are now doing by making every contract payable in gold dollars of the present weight and fineness. From this time the decline of Rome was very rapid. The city ceased to be the seat of empire and fell an easy prey to the barbarous hordes who in the time of the legions of rural land owners would have been scattered like chaff long before they reached the walls of Rome.

Within the last few years, under the powerful forces of concentration, the expenses of the government of the United States have grown to half a billion a year and even in excess of that amount. You remember how the country was startled when for the first time the appropriation amounted to half a

billion dollars, yet now we have come to consider it as a matter of course. Even though prices have gone down and our people cease to prosper, still the cost of administration mounts up and up as the years go by and increases instead of decreases, as it did in the Roman Empire in the days of her decay.

Are not we reaching the same point when men attain power through their ability to acquire and retain wealth, rather than because of their great intellect and virtue? You have often heard about the millionaires' club of the United States Senate. We have come to regard corruption with indifference. I could go on and show to you that every nation that has disappeared from the stage, has disappeared from the same cause. It was so with the Byzantine empire, with Venice and Spain, and so it will be with us.

The usurer has no sense. He trusts that the day of reckoning will not come in his lifetime and that others may reap the destruction the seeds of which he has sown, and that he may escape and that time will put it off until some chance shall furnish relief. Rather than release his greed and grasp. And so he goes on and on and national decay and ruin set in and his country disappears.

Now I am going to show you that the gold of the world is cornered by the world's great creditors. England has thousands of millions of dollars loaned to other countries. The Rothschild family have made loans to the debtors of the world amounting to forty thousand millions, an amount equal to two-thirds of the wealth of the people of the United States, all under the control of this house of European bankers. Think of it. An amount equal to two-thirds of all the wealth of our seventy millions of people is under the control of one family of European bankers.

In December, 1891, the European banks held one thousand one hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars in gold. April 6, 1896, they held five hundred millions more, or one thousand six hundred and thirty millions of dollars in gold. Let us see where they got this five hundred millions, for with the increase in the treasury of Russia, the increase has been five hundred and thirteen millions since 1891. During this

time there has been taken from the mines of the world eight hundred and forty-five million dollars' worth of gold and there has been consumed in the arts in the five years three hundred and twenty-five million and the loss by wear and tear of coin in circulation is one hundred million. These are the figures of the Statistical Society of France and they show that the total consumption in the arts and that required for coinage was four hundred and twenty-five million dollars. The total product during that time was eight hundred and forty-five millions. The balance of the four hundred and twenty millions was left for currency purposes, according to these statistics. But the European banks had accumulated five hundred and thirteen millions of dollars, or ninety-three millions more than the total product from the mines during all these five years. They laid this vast sum away and withdrew it from circulation, and thus contracted the currency. We were foolish enough in 1893 to complete the demonetization of silver and contribute to the downward course of prices.

We exported in 1890 five million eight hundred thousand dollars in gold; in 1891 forty-four million dollars; in 1892 sixty-two millions seven hundred thousand; in 1893 ten million six hundred thousand. Then we repealed the Sherman law and it was said gold would cease to leave the country and confidence would be restored. And in 1894 we exported seventy-four million eight hundred thousand; in 1895 seventy-one million seven hundred thousand, and up to the 1st of last July, or the end of the fiscal year in 1896, we exported eighty million dollars more than we imported. We have lost, then, three hundred and forty-nine million to the syndicates of European bankers. Thus by insisting upon the single gold standard we have placed the price of everything we sell in Europe in the hands of the people who want to buy our products. We possess not a grain of sense to pursue such a policy. Yet they tell us we must continue it until they are willing to quit.

I contend, fellow citizens, that the figures in relation to the consumption of gold are incorrect and that all the gold produced each year is used in the arts and not a single dollar of it is used for currency; that instead of increasing the amount

of gold in circulation by the annual output from the mines, all the mines have produced during the last five years has been consumed, and the hoarding of gold by the European banks has contracted the gold in circulation, five hundred and thirteen million in the last five years. And I take for my authority the statistician of the London Statistical Society, Giffin, who makes the following statement in his book, "The Case Against Bimetallism":

"The demand for non-monetary purposes on the annual production is also preponderant in the case of gold, and very large in the case of silver. About two-thirds of the gold annually produced is taken for the arts, and if the consumption of India is included, as being either for simple hoarding or for the arts, and in no case for the purpose of circulating money, then the demand for gold for non-monetary purposes appears almost equal to the entire annual production."

Now, it seems to me that these figures are alarming. That these facts ought to startle the American people. They ought to turn their backs upon a combination which maintains a financial system satisfactory to the people of Europe, who are plundering the people of this country of the products of their soil.

I am in favor of the policy of protection to American industries. And I am in favor, and was in favor in 1892 or 1894, of such legislation as would leave the issue of this campaign—the currency—alone. I am in favor of it yet. Not because there is any relief in the tariff, for it is idle and foolish to talk about it, but because I want to remove from this contest every question which agitates the minds of the people of the north. However, as I said before, I will never vote for an increase of the tariff, unless it contains a provision which will provide that every article the product of a trust shall be admitted free of duty. Small chance for me to get back into the Republican party with a declaration like that. Mr. McKinley would veto the bill, in my opinion, for I believe that the forces which control him would compel him to do it.

We submit to the will of the people, so far as resistance is concerned, and conform our action to the law; but we

agitate, we follow up, we continue to discuss these questions until truth triumphs.

If we have a financial system that is so weak that it totters at the breath of discussion, it is time it was destroyed. I think my position in regard to the tariff and finance is fairly outlined in a speech which I made in the Senate in 1894 against the passage of the Wilson bill.

This was on the 29th of May, 1894. I said: "If the Wilson bill passes, prosperity will not come to the south. A few factories may start up, but with the gold standard, prices will continue to fall, resulting in enforced idleness and in the agony and misery always accompanying the process of turning the property of the producers over to the owners of the credits. The owners of the credits will then say, as they now say, it is the Wilson bill which causes all this trouble, and in the next campaign the tariff alone will be the issue, and so I fear that the actual and legitimate issue, money for all the people, will be obscured and the creditor classes will be thus enabled to fasten their grasp more firmly upon the property of the country.

"On the other hand, if the Wilson bill is defeated, prosperity will not return. But the creditors can no longer claim it is the tariff that causes the disaster, and they will be forced to face the real issue, the question of enlarging the volume of metallic money, with victory assured to those who plead the cause of the toiling masses, the real producers of the nation's wealth. We cannot have free trade and a gold standard, or the balance of trade will be against us, as it is against all nations who produce raw material. Our gold would leave us and leave nothing in its place to do the work, and while we would be nominally on a gold basis, in reality using an irredeemable paper currency. I am convinced that the only people who hold a logical position in this controversy are the silver men of the west, who insist that free coinage of silver and a protective tariff go hand in hand; that this is the true doctrine of the Republican party and that upon this platform alone can the Republican party remain in power."

Then I said: "I have a feeling which approaches con-

tempt for those representatives of New England and the east in this body, who, in making tariff speeches have shown a silver lining to the dark cloud of their insincerity. For twenty years and up to date they have voted on every occasion to destroy silver and put the country on a gold basis, and having accomplished their object and ruined silver, cotton and wheat producers, and in fact all other producers, they now turn to us and smile and say, we are friends of silver. I want to say to you gentlemen of the east, we are going to vote with you against this Wilson bill from principle, because we believe in protection to American laborers and American industry. Your smiles and your talk about silver do not deceive us one particle. We despise your cunning and your duplicity. You want a tariff so that the things you manufacture shall not suffer the decline in price resulting from the appreciation of gold, and you want a gold standard so that your credits may command more and more of our food products and raw material and so that your promise for the future delivery of gold may become more and more valuable. Your position may be cunning, but it is inconsistent and dishonest. You say we must have a gold standard so we can pay the balance of trade which may be against us and in the same breath you say you do not want to trade with the gold using countries, as they produce the same manufactured goods we do, and we want to build a tariff wall against them.

"Why, then, I ask, do you want financial unity with these nations against which we wage unceasing industrial warfare? I have already given the reason. You wish to plunder the producers by the growing value of your credits. You wish to take an unearned increment at the expense of enterprise. We say, we will join you in a tariff for protection because we do not wish to trade with gold-using countries and you must join us in the free coinage of silver.

"Upon this platform and this alone we can continue to act with New England. We are the debtors and while we do not ask that our debts shall be scaled down, we do insist that it shall take no more of the results of our toil, no more of our products to pay the debts when due than it took when the debts

were contracted. Our position is patriotic, for while we resist the robbery of the producers by our own citizens, who are creditors, we also prevent the foreign creditor from plundering any of our citizens."

This was in 1894 when the tariff bill was under consideration in the Senate, in opposition to the Wilson bill, for the reason largely that I wanted this contest entirely upon the money question. Last winter when the Dingley bill came up in the Senate, I was in favor of its consideration and passage for the same reasons. Now, in the future, I shall insist upon something being done, which when they protect American industries, shall also protect our people from combinations which raise the price to the limit of the tariff.

Now let us see what has been the result of our financial legislation and our laws in relation to corporations. The United States has produced more wealth in the last thirty years than any other nation on the globe; with marvelous energy, with wonderful enterprise, the boys came home from the war and engaged in the productive industries of this country. They built railroads and cities, opened up the farms, and what is the result? By a doubling of the worth of the measure of value they have been plundered of the results of their efforts; and to-day fifty-two per cent of our people live in rented houses.

Are we to continue this condition of things until civilization ceases and the republic fades from existence? That is the question in this controversy. It is not a question of who holds the offices, and while I am glad to see my friends gain control of the offices in this county and State, yet it is not a question of who holds the offices. It is a broader and mightier question than that. It is the question of civilization itself. More than all other things has this doubling of the value, this lengthening of the yard stick, been the cause which has accumulated the wealth of this country practically in the hands of two hundred and fifty thousand men. How easy to marshal their forces. How easy to send forth an order that the patriotic young man should be defeated who had declared that he would use the power of his office, if elected, to drive every trust from

existence. I admit that the creation of corporations has been an element in this destruction of the producing classes, because all wealth is the result of human toil and when we allow corporations to exist which can create capital stock without any effort, without any toil, and then compel the public to pay interest upon it, we simply plunder the man who toils. When a man who does not toil asks a reward, he is not entitled to it. For instance, no railroad in this country was built with its capital stock, not a dollar paid upon its capital stock. The stock is pure and unadulterated, what, in parlance of the board, is called watered. For instance, the Northwestern is capitalized, bonded and stocked in this State for forty-one thousand dollars a mile and it cost, say, twelve or fourteen thousand dollars a mile; all above this represents no investment. It represents no wealth, because it represents no human toil. If it pays a dividend, those who toil are plundered to that extent. No corporation should be allowed to issue a dollar of stock without a dollar was paid for it. We have not looked into these things. The trouble is we have gone along, haphazard, with the wonderful growth and development of this country until we have reached a stopping place and we can go no farther. Every railroad should be built with the money raised by the sale of its capital stock at par, or no stock issued. The Northwestern pays nine and three-fourths per cent upon all this watered stock; upon all this nothing. Somebody must toil to make that possible.

You cannot create wealth except by toil, and any other method of accumulating it is by plundering the man who does toil. So we let it go on until a vast quantity of stock is out. Now they say it is scattered in the hands of innocent purchasers. There is not an innocent purchaser of that stock living to-day. They have taken it for what they could get it for, believing that the methods were such that they could compel the population of this country to pay interest and dividend on the bonds and stock. They all knew it was issued without consideration, that nothing was paid for it. They are entitled to no consideration whatever. The stock of every corporation ought to be pared down to the actual cost of the

property and nothing more, or else the government should build and own roads to protect the people of this country.

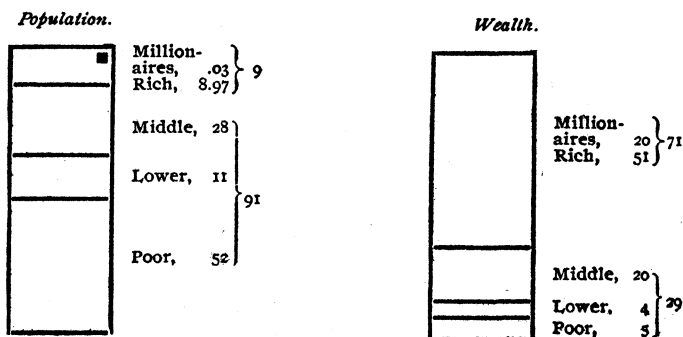
Take our telegraph system, bonded for one hundred and thirty millions. You can reproduce it for twenty-five millions. You can produce a better system for twenty-five millions, and all that one hundred and thirty millions was built up out of an investment of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Not a dollar was paid in by anybody after the three hundred and fifty thousand dollars first invested. All this vast sum has been taken from the people of this country, and that one hundred and thirty millions represented three hundred and fifty thousand dollars original investment. How was that acquired? The toilers of this country made this vast sum and it has been taken from them and there is no getting around it. Only a million of our people use our telegraph system—eighty-seven per cent of the messages are sent by stock jobbing gamblers and race track patrons, five per cent are domestic and eight per cent news—because the price is so great that the people do not use it. We ought to let the gamblers and stock jobbers keep the system—they have got it—and put in one by the government, connected with the postoffice, for the

Holmes's table of the distribution of wealth in the United States

Class	Families	Per cent	Average wealth	Aggregate wealth	Per cent
Millionaires.....	4,000	.03	\$3,000,000	\$12,000,000,000	20
Rich.....	1,139,000	8.97	26,866	30,600,000,000	51
Total rich.....	1,143,000	9.	\$37,358	\$42,600,000,000	71
Class 1.....	3,556,000	28.	\$3,374	\$12,000,000,000	20
Class 2.....	1,397,000	11.	1,718	2,400,000,000	4
Class 3.....	6,604,000	52.	454	3,000,000,000	5
Total poor.....	11,557,000	91.	\$1,574	\$17,400,000,000	29
Grand total.....	\$12,700,000	100.	\$4,725	\$60,000,000,000	100

Class 1 are the families owning farms or homes without incumbrances. Class 2 are those owning them with incumbrances, and Class 3 are tenants of farms or homes owned by others.

Diagram showing, by percentages, the population and wealth distribution in the United States, according to Holmes's tables



people. Let the gamblers have it. Let them use it. Let the people put in a system of telegraphy for the people of this country. I doubt whether the Republican party in its platform would endorse that policy.

This diagram shows by its percentages the population and wealth and the distribution of wealth in the United States, according to Holmes' Tables; and Holmes was the compiler of the census of the United States for 1890 in relation to farms, homes and mortgages. Now look at this diagram. It is an interesting study. Here it shows where the property of the United States has gone. Can you see that little black spot? Can you see it? That represents three one hundredths of the population of this country, or four thousand millionaires and they own twenty per cent of the wealth of the United States. That spot compared with this whole diagram represents their number in comparison to the population. This diagram shows the amount of their wealth. The amount of their wealth, the wealth of the millionaires, is twenty per cent of the total of this country, or twelve billions of dollars. This top strip represents the millionaires and the rich, or nine per cent of the people of the United States. This represents the whole population of the United States. And this represents what these own. And this represents the total wealth. This represents the millionaires and the rich. This represents what

they own of the total wealth. The middle classes or the people who own their own homes are twenty-eight per cent, and they own twenty per cent of the wealth. In other words these people who own their own homes, or twenty-eight per cent of our population, own the same amount that those people own who are represented by that little black spot. They own twenty per cent of the wealth. He calls this next class the lower class, who represent eleven per cent, and they are the people who have mortgages on their homes. Eleven per cent of the population own four per cent of the wealth. See. The rest of this represents fifty-two per cent of the population and they don't own their homes. They live in rented houses. And this represents what they have of the total wealth. This represents fifty-two per cent of the people of the United States. And this represents their share of the property of this country, or five per cent of the total wealth. This strip at the top of the diagram of population represents nine per cent of the people of the United States—and that large strip embracing nearly the whole of the diagram representing the property of the United States represents what they own of the wealth of the people of this country. Fifty-two per cent of our people own nothing; less than \$100 per capita in 1890, according to our census. And their poverty has been brought about by doubling the value of the dollar and by manipulation of the means of transportation and by the trusts with which capital has plundered the people of this country. Are not these questions now demanding the serious consideration of any man who loves his country? I would rather go down in defeat, contending for the rights of the people against these unjust conditions, than be victorious on the side of oppression and wrong, and I feel a thousand times better in defeat with justice on my side, than I would if I had been victorious on the other side. I would not be on the side that has been victorious, knowing these facts. I would be ashamed to face my fellow man. I would be ashamed to look my constituents in the face as a defender of any system that produces such results in a great and free country like this. I want victory at no such expense.

I want you to examine this closely and think about it very carefully. Is it a condition that should be perpetuated?

Do you know that the price of every barrel of sugar is fixed at every railroad station in the United States by the edict of Havemeyer? Under it no wholesale merchant can sell a barrel of sugar at any railroad station in the United States for any other than a certain price, which is fixed by Havemeyer. If he does, he forfeits his commission, and all sugar is sold on commission. It is the same with everything you buy, practically. Manufactured articles are all valued by trusts. There is also a great beef trust, controlling the cattle of this country. Last year they put the price up and cattle brought ten and twelve dollars more than they had been bringing and the men on the ranges everywhere shipped in cattle. They were induced to load and start them to market and when they had fairly got them going from every quarter and train loads of them were coming, they put the price down twelve dollars a head, and did it in a day, and thus took the property of the producers from them. The raisers of cattle were utterly helpless to resist these great combinations.

What is more, wheat goes up and they raise the railroad rates. They now take three cents a bushel more for shipping out wheat than they did a month ago. And then they thought the wheat raiser would want to buy coal and so they put the freight up on coal a dollar a ton. And what is the result? A man ought to be ashamed of himself to defend a system that produces that result. We may go down in defeat; we may never live to triumph again, we may never hold another office of trust—but we can stand defeat, if we have the approval of our own conscience. No man can be popular with any people for any length of time unless he is popular with himself, and no man can be popular with himself unless his course meets the approval of his conscience.

I am going to show you another diagram, but I want you to get that one well fixed in your mind. It startled me. I had read Shearman's statement of 1889 on the distribution of wealth in this country and I thought certainly Shearman must be mistaken. I wrote him and asked him if time had

corroborated his figures, and he wrote me saying it was more than confirmed. Every statement he had made he believed was rather under than over his estimate of the enormously rich. Then Holmes comes with the census. Then a New York lawyer comes with an investigation which corroborates the census and corroborates Shearman. Holmes is a Republican; Shearman is a Democrat and the New York lawyer, Spahr, is a Populist, and he corroborates the others and he reaches his conclusions on the distribution of wealth in a different way. Shearman reaches his conclusions by taking the millionaires and the rich and deducting their wealth from the total. Holmes gets his conclusions by taking the property owned by the poor, as shown by the census, and the middle class, and deducting it from the whole amount. Spahr reaches his conclusions by going to the probate records of the State and finding out how much property was left by people. He found that the rich, worth over fifty thousand dollars each, had two-thirds of all the personal property of this country, and of every four men who die over twenty-five years of age at the time of their death only one left any property whatever.

I tell you these statements startled me and led me to investigate more thoroughly the cause of this distribution of wealth. Is a country rich because it has rich men? No, a country can only be rich when its people have the comforts of life distributed among all the masses. Would you call Sioux Falls rich if all of us knew not where we were going to get our next meal and we had one man worth fifty million? Is this a rich country where two hundred and fifty thousand men own all the wealth? Let us see. The United States of America, Shearman says, is practically owned by less than two hundred and fifty thousand persons, constituting less than one in sixty of its adult male population. He says in thirty years, the present method being continued, the United States of America will be owned by less than fifty thousand persons. I believe it. Constituting less than one in every five hundred of the male population. He says that this is under estimated, and in the second article adds: "If this system continues, the coming of the billionaire on the one hand and of the

million paupers on the other hand is inevitable." I agree with him.

Daniel Webster lays down these principles. He says: "Liberty can not long endure in a country where the tendency is to concentrate wealth into the hands of the few." Such is the testimony of the wisest of mankind, almost from creation until the present time. It is emphasized in the downfall of Egypt when 2 per cent of its people owned 97 per cent of its wealth; in Persia when 1 per cent owned all the land; of Babylon when 2 per cent owned all the wealth. Are we going to follow the same road, or are we going to turn back lessons of history and establish a new rule on this subject in this country? This is the question for the voters of the United States to decide. We are the only free people on the globe. We are the only people where a man can go and vote for himself; where every one has an equal voice in the government, if he chooses to exercise it. It is our duty to educate the people upon this subject until they fully understand all its phases. I am ashamed of a man who having investigated this question turns back. He is either defective mentally or morally.

This is Holmes' table. Here are the millionaires. Four thousand, or three one-hundredths of the population. Average wealth three millions apiece. Total wealth twelve billion, or 20 per cent of the total wealth of the country. I say a country is not rich where such conditions are brought about as are shown by that table.

These are the conditions we protest against. Can a controversy of that sort be silenced? Can the fact that men are bulldozed throughout this country, that corporations in Chicago, one after the other, in great numbers, paid off their men Monday night and told them they need not come back Wednesday morning unless McKinley was elected; can the fact that men were bought, bought in this State, bought in every State of the Union, change an issue like that? Can they silence our voice? Can they smother this controversy by a campaign like that? Can an American citizen vote to maintain and continue a policy like that when he knows the facts? We mean simply

from now on to pursue a campaign of education, which shall make them know the facts, and then we know the result.

I make the statement that men went from house to house in different counties in this State, in Lincoln county and in this county and other counties, and told men who had mortgages on their farms they would be foreclosed if they did not vote for McKinley, or if he was not elected; that was the general statement. In one instance I know of a man who claimed to control sixty thousand dollars worth of mortgages said that he had been instructed to foreclose every one of them unless McKinley was elected. Can a campaign like that silence our voices or make any difference with the great issues presented in this contest? Think of these matters. You will have plenty of time to do that in the next four years. No prosperity will come to this country by any policy that Mr. McKinley can inaugurate. You can depend upon that. I, without any possible fear, make that prediction.

Prosperity can only come by that which McKinley will not do. It cannot come by giving power to the trusts and syndicates to further plunder and rob the producers of this country.

Let us see. The proposition is—and it is all they offer for relief—to increase the tariff, so that the trusts can increase prices, for everything that is manufactured is in a trust, and then put the power to issue money in the hands of the banks and let them issue credit to be expanded and contracted at their pleasure.

Do you remember when, under the Hayes administration, Congress passed a law refunding the debt of this country at three per cent? Do you know why it was vetoed? The banks said it was not interest enough. How did they make him veto it? We had this national bank currency in circulation and they retired seventeen millions of currency in a week, while Hayes had the bill under consideration and so produced a temporary panic and scared Hayes, as they scared the timid men all over this country, and he vetoed the bill. Then the banks again issued the seventeen million of the currency they had retired. This is a matter of history. Now the proposition

is to again put the control of the money in their hands to be used to intimidate Congress, the President and the people and gather to themselves the results of human toil.

I remember a millionaire told me not long ago that no man ought to complain because one man had accumulated an enormous fortune. He said nature was an inexhaustible store house and any man could draw from it whatever he chose. He said, "why don't they go and by toil and industry and self-denial accumulate as we have accumulated?"

I said to him let us carry this illustration a little farther. I said, suppose a thousand men were engaged in drawing from nature's storehouse and in their number there was an additional one—a thousand and one. They delved and toiled each day to acquire a little wealth until each one's pile had become perceptible. But they noticed this one man never toiled. They noticed that he was idle. That he slept mostly in the day time and that his pile of wealth was becoming enormous, towering above theirs. I said, suppose after while it was discovered that he went about in the night after their piles had become sufficiently large so that by the taking of a hundredth part of each day's produce from each one and adding it to his they would not notice it was gone. They had lost one hundredth part of what they had accumulated that day and they didn't miss it from the pile, and he had got ten times as much as any other one. So his pile grew ten times while theirs grew once and it became ten times as great as either of theirs. Then I said, what would you think of your theory? I said that the great fortunes of this country, and yours among them, have been accumulated in that way. You, by legislation, have been able to take from each citizen a little sum of what he has earned each day, so small that he did not discover it that night, but only discovered it as time rolled by, and added it to yours until it is mountain high, without having produced one element of the wealth itself. That is exactly what has occurred and is happening, and it is exactly what the Republican party has decreed shall continue to happen.

Now, fellow citizens I have talked longer than I intended to. I simply wanted to state again the issues in this contest.

We never intended for a moment to stop if we were defeated. We intended to agitate, pursue and educate until this great principle shall triumph, and that is our intention to-night. We propose then, first; the reform of our financial system, the enlargement of the volume of metallic money; the raising of prices resulting in a profit to agriculture and toil. We propose second: to enact those laws which will destroy the trusts and syndicates and control the corporations so that they will be our servants rather than our masters.

APPENDIX I

THE PHILIPPINES

MR. PETTIGREW:¹ I ask to have printed as an appendix to my speech in regard to the Philippine Islands certain extracts from the reports of our officers with regard to the character of the people of the islands. There is no original matter whatever in it. Some of it is from newspaper correspondents, but most of it is official, from the officers of the Government, from the officials' reports, and from Document No. 62.

* * * * *

CHARACTER OF FILIPINOS

It may be well to quote Gen. T. M. Anderson in the *Chicago Times-Herald*:

"As to the Filipinos themselves, I understand many erroneous impressions are current. I was in the Philippines until the latter part of March, having been sent there in June, 1898, in command of the first military expedition, and during that time I had some chance for studying the Filipino character and mind. I regard the Filipinos, such as have been carrying on operations against our forces in the island of Luzon, as being not far below the Japanese in intelligence and capability of culture. Nearly all can read and write; they have many schools, and there are a number of newspapers. Their cities are populous and well laid out and kept. There are many engineers and artists among the Filipinos."

Gen. Charles King is a close observer of people. He spent quite a time in the Philippines and fought the Filipinos, yet he wrote the following letter to the *Milwaukee Journal*:

SAN FRANCISCO, June 22, 1899.

To the Editor of the Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.

DEAR SIR: Thinking over your telegram and request of June 7, I find myself seriously embarrassed. As an officer of the Army there are many reasons why I should not give my "views of situation in the

1. Speech in the Senate June 4-5, 1900.

Philippines, how long fighting is likely to continue, and thoughts as to America's part in future of islands."

The capability of the Filipinos for self-government can not be doubted; such men as Arellano, Aguinaldo, and many others whom I might name are highly educated; nine-tenths of the people read and write; all are skilled artisans in one way or another; they are industrious, frugal, temperate; and, given a fair start, could look out for themselves infinitely better than our people imagine. In my opinion they rank far higher than the Cubans or the uneducated negroes to whom we have given the right of suffrage.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES KING.

As to the government maintained by the Philippine republic, I shall quote from a letter of Lieut. Henry Page, of the United States Army, to the Chicago Record. It was written February 25, 1899. In it he says:

"When we reached the headquarters of Santa Ana another surprise awaited us, for here was found some of the machinery of Aguinaldo's government. Among the papers scattered about in confusion by the retreating officials were telegrams, letters, and commissions showing something of their system. One letter was from a township governor asking relief from his duties. A surgeon's certificate was inclosed. It had been forwarded through official channels to Aguinaldo's secretary of state and returned, with abundant indorsements, approved. With it was an order to the governor of the province to have a new election. Another letter was a complaint made against another local governor for maladministration. It stated the charges in real legal form and was duly signed. The numerous papers concerning school-teachers' appointments showed that the Filipinos had already perfected arrangements for the education of the youth on a large scale.

"I might also mention the deeds of property, records of births, deaths, etc., to show that Aguinaldo's organization is at least not a laughable farce. I might mention also meteorological and other scientific instruments and records to show that the Filipinos did not neglect science during those busy, warlike times. Letters dated February 4, from Malolos, showed that they had a good courier system. A book on tactics, engravings of the several uniforms, beautiful topographical maps, copies of the declaration of independence and the revolutionary constitution, military and state seals, and other articles all went to show that labor and intelligence were united in their production."

Notwithstanding the difficulties under which the Filipino government existed, how much inferior was it, as indicated by Lieutenant Page's letter, to our own Government? Was it the work of a people who need the guardianship of the United States?

In a letter to the Secretary of State Agoncillo said, on January 4, 1899:

"The Philippine Islands are in a state of public order. They possess a government satisfactory to their inhabitants, and are without an enemy within their borders offering any resistance to its just operations, and they find themselves to be at peace with all the world."

Every people, if left to themselves, will have as good government as they are entitled to, and they can not be given a better one. It is a novel doctrine that a remote people must have a government satisfactory to us. Since when has it become essential that every weak people must have a government of our choosing?

CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Lieut. John D. Ford, United States Navy, of the *Olympia*, who left Manila May 9, 1899, interview in Baltimore:

"The Filipinos are of an intelligent, industrious character. The women are virtuous, more so, perhaps, than those of almost any other nation. It is believed by many that they are a very ignorant race, but such is not the case. There is hardly a man or woman, even in the middle class, who can not read and write. The children are given early education and are quick to learn. The half-savage Negritos are no more representatives of the Filipino race than our Indians are representatives of this great country. There are only about 100,000 Negritos in a population of between 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 Filipinos, and it is unfair for these people to be classed with them." * * *

Gen. Charles A. Whittier before peace commission:

"I went over the line of the only railroad in the Philippines, leaving one Saturday morning (in August, 1898) and going up 120 miles through the rice fields, a country of marvelous and most extraordinary fertility. The next morning we started out early and went up to Dagupan Bay, the terminus of the road. * * *

"At this time I was collector of the port, and during this time I heard all sorts of expressions, and I think I had a very fair opportunity—being amused with the natives and studying their peculiarities—to form a fair judgment. I stand a little isolated in my opinions, however, perhaps. Men so quickly dismiss the natives from their minds as simply 'niggers' and 'savages'; but when you think of all they have done you must give them credit for great capacity."

Edwin Wildman, United States vice-consul at Hongkong, in the *Munsey*, April, 1899:

"Hundreds of natives speak English and thousands Spanish; some have been educated in Madrid and Paris. There are native assistants in the Manila observatory who handle the delicate instruments for measuring sound waves, registering seismic oscillations, determining the

movements of atmospheric disturbances, and calculating weather prognostications. The richest man in the archipelago is a native. Native curés occupy many of the churches in the provinces. * * * Unquestionably there is good material in our new-found friend the Filipino, for it is inconceivable that he will decide to be our enemy; and the time is ripe for his development into a worthy and self-respecting member of the family of nations."

Capt. H. L. Wells, Second Oregon Volunteers, in October, 1898, witnessed a grand review of the army of the Republica Filipinos at San Fernando, and a ball, and of these he wrote in the Pacific Monthly:

"When I beheld the display of wealth, the bitterness of feeling of the planters against Spain, and their enthusiasm for the cause of liberty, I understood better than before how it had been possible for Aguinaldo to carry on the insurrection and maintain his army of bare-footed warriors in the field. These rich, educated, and intelligent landed proprietors are the brains and sinew of the revolution, while the common herd, which is guided by them as absolutely as the populace of any country is managed by the aristocracy, is the bone."

Brig. Gen. Charles A. King, interview in Catholic Citizen, Milwaukee, after his return home:

"The Americans here do not realize the truth that nine-tenths of the people in the Philippines can read and write. Men have told me again and again that they can not credit it. I told those whom I met it was certainly so, and I have as authority the Jesuits, whose friendship I was fortunate in making in Manila, who are capital men and who assured me that this is so. You see the people are all Catholics, and their children are educated in the parochial schools. They have a good common-school education. There is no culture, excepting among the higher classes of course, but there is fair education everywhere; and many people have ability. The men in power whom I met are gentlemen, many of them scholars, educated abroad, polished in manners, perfect in courtesy, broad minded, and ripe in judgment. There is no reason in the world why the people should not have the self-government which they so passionately desire, so far as their individual ability to carry it on goes."

Letter of Admiral Dewey, August 29, 1899, to peace commission in Paris:

"The population of Luzon is reported to be something over 3,000,000, mostly natives. These are gentle, docile, and under just laws and with the benefits of popular education would soon make good citizens. In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23 I expressed the opinion that 'these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.' Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

"Panay, Cebu, Negròs, and Leyte are very thickly populated and well cultivated. In these islands the natives are conceded to be the best educated and furthest advanced in civilization."

"Very naturally the whole Filipino structure is built upon the Spanish model. Their uniforms, like every detail of government, are copied more or less exactly. But the Filipino is an imitative little body. He is always anxious to learn new methods, and he masters them very quickly."

Provisional constitution, proclaimed June 20, 1898:

"ART. 2. As soon as the inhabitants of each town are free from Spanish domination, the most intelligent and capable of the people, distinguished by their intelligence, social position, and honorable conduct, both in the towns, villages, and provinces, shall assemble in open public meeting and there proceed to elect, by a majority of votes, a chief of the town, and also a head man or chief of each suburb or village, recognizing as such suburbs or villages not only those before as such, but as well the existing centers of population. All those inhabitants that possess the character stated in the conditions expressed, that are lovers of the independence of the Philippine Islands and have arrived at 21 years of age, shall have the right to compose this public meeting and be eligible for election."

Capt. Mark L. Hersey, quartermaster, Twelfth United States Infantry, interviewed in Boston Globe, August, 1899:

"Is Manila a good place for Americans?"

"For the capitalists, I should say yes. For the laboring man, no. Labor is too cheap. Why, you can hire the best of male servants for \$4 American money a month. There are vast coal fields there. American capital, aided by native labor, could produce coal at \$3.50 per ton, whereas it costs about \$17.50 per ton. The country is fertile beyond any standard we have in this country.

"What about the people?"

"They are far from being the ignorant men that they have been represented to be. They are not idol worshipers, but belong to the Catholic church, and are well grounded in the tenets of their belief. They are an intelligent people, a large part of them being able to read and write. In my army experience I have come in contact with the Mexican greasers and the Cubans. From what I saw and heard while in Manila I have no hesitation in saying that they are the superior of either of these people. They are men of education and refinement.

"Are they competent to govern themselves?"

"Well, the Mexicans have succeeded very well in that direction, and I see no reason why the Filipinos shouldn't, inasmuch as I believe them far more intelligent than the former.

"What sort of field is it for the missionary?"

"Well, they might just as well send them to convert the people of Spain. There is just as much chance to make converts."

President Schurman, interview in Chicago, August 21, 1899:

"What sort of people are the Tagalos?"

"Well, most of them are Christians. They and the people of the Visayas and parts of the people of all the other islands of the Philippines are Catholics, converted to Christianity by the Spaniard. Some of those in Luzon are still barbarians. They have a heathen form of worship of the Malayan sort."

President Schurman, interviewed in Omaha Bee, August 19, 1899:

"It will be a surprise to many Americans to know," said President Schurman, "that the educated Filipino is the equal to any other civilized people in the world. You may take their lawyers, doctors, artists, and educated business men and put them alongside of the same class of any other country, and they will equal them in mental capacity and in every attribute of citizenship. Great are the possibilities of these people and their country. They are quick to perceive the advantages of Western civilization; they are inspired by a hope to improve their condition intellectually and materially. Americans must deal gently with the Filipino. He is entitled to sympathetic consideration. There are many pleasing traits in his character; his home life is exemplary, and as a class he is well disposed toward his neighbor or his superior. Once his confidence is gained, if dealt with in a frank, straightforward manner, the misunderstanding will all be dissipated and the Filipino will realize that the American is his friend."

The Catholic World gives the following statistics of the church membership in the Philippines:

Under Augustinians.....	2,082,131
Under Recollects.....	1,175,156
Under Franciscans.....	1,010,753
Under Dominicans.....	699,851
Under Jesuits.....	213,065
Under secular clergy.....	967,294

Extract from a letter by Orman Osbon, of the First South Dakota, dated at Bacoor, Philippine Islands, August 31, 1899:

"There are in this town many wealthy people who were glad to see us come. Many in the States doubtless believe this country a wilderness and the people savages. I would like to take them into some houses here and see them stare. There is one gentleman here who formerly practiced in the Manila courts. While you might not expect him to be quite a savage, you would scarcely look for a fine Greek scholar in the jungles of Luzon; yet here is surely one. There is another family of musicians here. They have a very fine place, and

I have spent some as pleasant evenings there listening to the piano, violin, mandolin, harp, and singing as I ever passed in my life.

"Señor Joven is a scientist quite up in modern electrical research. His house is lighted by an electric plant of his own manufacture. He was educated in Hongkong and Japan, and is a Freethinker. But the man I am most interested in is the principal of the schools, from whom I am taking instructions in Spanish. I go down at 3 o'clock and business begins. I teach him English and he teaches me Spanish."

Captain O'Farrell in the *Irish World*:

Editor Irish World:

There are about 600 islands in the Philippine group, but there are only 11 of them large enough to merit consideration, viz: Luzon, Mindanao, Samor, Panay, Negros, Polaun, Mindoro, Leyte, Cebu, Masbate, and Bojol. Luzon, the largest of these islands, contains about 43,000 square miles—nearly equal in size to Virginia or Ohio.

The population has been estimated at about 10,000,000, but is not accurately known. We are indebted to the priests for census and maps of the islands.

The Sulu, or Moros, should not be confounded with the Philippine or Christian islands.

There are five Catholic bishops, with their respective dioceses, in which the members are enumerated as follows: The diocese of Manila, 1,817,445; Cebu, 1,748,872; Jaro, 1,310,752; Viga, 997,629; Camarines, 691,298, making a total of 6,565,998.

These people have their colleges, schools, churches, and convents throughout the islands.

There has not been a city or village captured by our army but had well-appointed separate schools for boys and girls, while the large cities have fine colleges and seminaries. Foreman, in his book on the Philippines, published by Scribner's Sons, 1899, says: "The teaching offered to students in Manila was very advanced. The curriculum in the Athenæum embraced algebra, arithmetic, agriculture, commerce, commercial law, commercial geography, English, French, geometry, Greek, history, Latin grammar, Latin composition, mechanics, mercantile arithmetic, natural history, physics, chemistry, philosophy, painting, rhetoric and poetry, Spanish classics, Spanish composition, topography, and trigonometry.

"In the high school for girls the following was the curriculum:

"Arithmetic, drawing, dress cutting, French, geography, geometry, geology, history of Spain, history of the Philippines, music, needlework, physics, reading—prose and verse—Spanish grammar, sacred history.

"There are still higher colleges where students study theology and law."

Foreman further says: "The natives have an inherent passion for

music. Musicians are to be found in every village, and there was scarcely a parish without its orchestra."

Of course we know that the people are mainly of the Malay race, and are divided into several tribes. They speak about twenty different dialects. The two greatest or most important divisions are the Tagals and the Visayans. It is stated that 70 to 80 per cent. of the Tagals can read and write their own language, which, to their credit be it said, they have preserved, despite the efforts of the government to force the Spanish language upon them.

Magellan discovered these islands in 1521. England conquered them from Spain in 1762.

The natives under the leadership of General Anda, who was the Aguinaldo of that day, continued the war against the British for about two years, fighting over the same ground contested between Otis and Aguinaldo during the past six months.

In 1764 a treaty of peace was made between England and Spain, when the British withdrew. It appears that they were glad to get out of the place, as they failed to collect a ransom of \$5,000 which they levied on Manila at the time of its capture. I may also state here that a royal commission had previously advised Philip III, King of Spain, to abandon the islands because they were unproductive and costly. His Majesty declined on account of the salvation of the souls of the natives who had been converted.

The chief products of the islands are sugar, rice, tobacco, and hemp.

GENERAL REEVES' TESTIMONY—SAYS DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE AMONG FILIPINOS IS GENERAL—DOMINICAN UNIVERSITY WITH 5,000 STUDENTS—CONCILIATORY METHODS WOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE WAR—OTIS'S ARROGANT POLICY.

[From the San Francisco, Cal., Republican.]

When I was appointed chief of police of a city of 350,000 inhabitants I deemed it wise to ascertain as soon as possible something definite and to the point regarding the character, traits, disposition, and intelligence of the native population. Accordingly I sought the counsel of the leading English, Scotch, and German merchants. They told me that the Filipinos were intelligent, industrious, peaceable, and fond of home life. Personal investigation convinced me that the natives were engaged in all branches of industry. In the professions of law and medicine were many of the natives.

The best dentist in Luzon was an officer in Aguinaldo's army. In the field of mechanical and railway pursuits the Filipinos were active and promising.

I was surprised to ascertain that the diffusion of knowledge was general. The percentage of natives able to read and write was large.

The enrollment of students in the San Thomas and Dominican universities and the attention paid to such branches of knowledge as law, medicine, liberal arts, and civil engineering excited my surprise.

Five thousand students were enrolled at the Dominican University. I mention these facts to dispel the impression that the Filipinos are ignorant and unlettered savages.

Throughout the provinces in the island of Luzon good common schools and high schools are maintained, the teachers being native priests.

In the provinces we found courts and schools established, and found local authorities administering affairs of government. Here was a system of collecting and disbursing the money so collected in the interests of the governed.

The disposition of the natives was that of extreme friendship toward Americans.

In the city of Manila the Filipinos, especially those who were wealthy, were anxious to remove the impression that they were ignorant of the requirements of modern life and the usages of civilization. They readily extended the hospitality of their homes to American officers of the military and civil service.

While I was General Garcia's guest I met an officer of the staff who spoke English fluently. Naturally the future of the islands was the topic of conversation, which brought forward the question whether the natives were capable of self-government. General Garcia's talk was interpreted. He favored a policy of permitting the natives to test their ability to govern themselves under the protection of the United States. The same sentiments were expressed by Aguinaldo.

General Reeves was asked if the bloodshed—the conflict of arms—could have been averted by an intelligent policy of conciliation, and to the question he replied:

Conciliatory methods would have prevented the war.

General Otis's unfortunate proclamation of January 4 rendered conciliation almost impossible. He adopted the policy of ignoring the natives, of treating them as half civilized savages.

Now, we all agree to the proposition that the insurrection must be suppressed, but in the beginning a conciliatory course was not adopted.

No indication was given to the Filipinos as to the future intentions of the Government. In August, September, and October, immediately following the capture of Manila, the Filipinos kept inquiring what we were going to do, and our authorities replied, "We can not tell until the Paris Commission gets through." The Filipino would ask, "What will you do if you acquire the islands?" And still no hint was given to them by General Otis until it was too late. He ignored them completely. At every step of the peace negotiations he stipulated that nothing should be considered until the Filipinos laid down their arms. Herein is where the natives mistrusted the Americans. The Filipinos had

many lessons from Spain in the folly of laying down arms. They were not able to comprehend the difference between Spanish and American promises.

ADMIRAL DEWEY'S GOOD OPINION OF THE FILIPINOS

Admiral Dewey entertains a high opinion of the industry and intelligence of the natives. He employed many of them at Cavite Arsenal, and spoke highly of them. The natives expressed great admiration for the Admiral. He holds to the opinion that the Filipinos are capable of self-government, and, in my judgment, he firmly believes that the war could have been honorably avoided by an enlightened policy of conciliation in dealing with the natives. The Filipinos are much better fitted for independence and self-government than are the Cubans. It is my understanding that Admiral Dewey has on several occasions stated that the Filipinos were capable of self-government, and that a wise policy of conciliation would have averted the war against the natives.

NAVAL PAYMASTER WILCOX FOUND A GOOD GOVERNMENT AND A HIGHLY CIVILIZED PEOPLE

[Paymaster W. R. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the Independent]

No doubt it is a misfortune that the Filipino does not understand American valor, and I dare say it is equally unpleasant that the average American does not know the true character of the natives of the Philippine Islands. Diplomacy could do much, and justice as we claim for ourselves could do more.

HOSPITALITY OF THE FILIPINOS

I was fortunate in being allowed by Admiral Dewey to make a long journey through the island of Luzon: in fact, I covered the whole northern portion from Manila to Apari with the then Naval Cadet Sargent, and in no country have I been treated with more kindly hospitality.

On reaching Aritao, the presidente local put us up in an old convent, and his band serenaded us at night, and in the morning everywhere the same generous kindness was shown. Our next stop was at Bambang, where the nephew of Aguinaldo met us some distance out of town, guns firing and convent bells ringing.

AGUINALDO'S POLISHED COURTESY

In the evening a fine orchestra was stationed in the hall, and lulled two sleepy Americanos to rest in sweetest strains, for almost all Filipinos can play some sort of music. In leaving this spot we were accompanied

by soldiers, as usual, and by Aguinaldo himself, to Bayombong, capital of the province of Nueva Viscaya. I was met at the bank of the river by the presidente local, and we rode into town amid flags flying and the band playing, and were taken to the municipal building.

PEOPLE OF THE INTERIOR HIGHLY ACCOMPLISHED

From this place our next important stop was Iligan, the capital of the province of Isabella, where millions of dollars come in annually to purchase the product of tobacco which is grown in this perhaps most fertile province in the whole of Luzon. On our first night in this inland capital we were given a dance, at which 50 well-dressed young ladies and the same number of gentlemen attended; I was sorry, indeed, I had not my dress suit. One young lady with whom I danced had a splendid gown of rare silk, handsomely embroidered, and she danced, I confess, better than I; she was a fine player on the piano, and sang many songs for us. The next night a theater was given, and the players were quite as good as in some shows in a more pretentious country.

GENERAL LAWTON'S PROTEST

Rev. Peter McQueen, of Boston, returned in August from the Philippines, and he reports Maj. Gen. Henry W. Lawton as saying:

"The Filipinos are a very fine set of soldiers. They are far better than the Indians. The latter never fight unless they have the absolute advantage. The Tagals are what I would call a civilized race. They are good mechanics, imitative—they manufacture everything. They have arsenals and cartridge factories and powder mills. They can manufacture everything they need. There is a rude arm they are getting the knack of making. Taking everything into consideration—the few facilities they have, the many drawbacks—they are a very ingenious and artistic race. And taking into account the disadvantages they have to fight against in arms, equipment, and military discipline, without artillery, short of ammunition, powder inferior, shells reloaded until they are defective, inferior in every particular of equipment and supplies, they are the bravest men I have ever seen. The Filipinos are not military by nature. They are rather domestic in tastes and habits, peace loving and industrious.

"Among the Filipinos there are many cultured people who would ornament society anywhere in the world—ladies who have studied and traveled; men who have had a good education and a fine brain. Take them as a class, there can as many of them read and write as the inhabitants in many places in America. As for their treachery, you would not have to come so far as this to find that. There is plenty of it in North America. All nations are treacherous, more or less. Some men and nations have treachery trained out of them more than others. What

we want is to stop this accursed war. It is time for diplomacy, time for mutual understandings. These men are indomitable. At Bacoor bridge they waited till the Americans brought their cannon to within 35 yards of their trenches. Such men have the right to be heard. All they want is a little justice."

[Hongkong Telegraph.]

THE FILIPINOS

From the constantly growing crop of exploded stories concerning the moral turpitude and general worthlessness of the Filipinos, it is very evident that much of our previous information on the subject has been inspired by other motives than a desire to tell the truth about them. Our experience with the Cuba prevaricator seems to have been duplicated in the Philippines, and for this reason it seems particularly unfortunate that none of our consular officials in Manila or Hongkong, who from longer residence best understand their character, were sent to Paris along with General Merritt for the more complete enlightenment of our peace commissioners.

General Merritt's information and opinions concerning the military and naval situation at Manila, reinforced as they undoubtedly are by those of Admiral Dewey, were, of course, vitally necessary to the commissioners at this time. But it could not be expected that after an experience of but four or five weeks of army operations in and around Manila, he could furnish that variety and exactness of information concerning the natives that either Consul-General Wildman or Consul Williams is possessed of.

It is a somewhat significant fact that both of these civil officials, who have lived with and closely observed the Filipinos for several years, have a much higher opinion of them than do the all-wise and absolutely truthful press correspondents, with a few weeks' observation in a time of turmoil and revolution and a great desire to send a good "big story" over the cable to their papers.

The consuls, however, happen to be backed in their favorable opinion of the natives by Admiral Dewey and also by Prof. Dean C. Worcester, who spent nearly four years on the whole archipelago, engaged in his researches and collections as a naturalist, and who undoubtedly came in contact with more classes and varieties of the Philippine natives than any other white man who has ever visited them.

This is a part of what Professor Worcester has to say on this subject in the *October Century*: "The people of mixed blood and the civilized natives really constitute the bulk of the population, and for our present purpose may be treated as one class. In characterizing them I shall quote the opinion of a former British consul, not only because I agree with him, but because I wish to make plain the fact that my good opinion of them does not lack for confirmation:

"Rarely is an intratropical people a satisfactory one to eye or mind. But this can not be said of the Philippine Malay, who in bodily formation and mental characteristics alike may fairly claim a place, not among the middling ones merely, but among the higher names inscribed on the world's national scale. He is characterized by a concentrated, never-absent self-respect; an habitual self-restraint in word and deed, very rarely broken except when extreme provocation induces the transitory but fatal frenzy known as "amuck;" an inbred courtesy equally diffused through all classes, high or low; by unflinching decorum, prudence, caution, cheerfulness, ready hospitality, and correct, though not inventive, taste. His family is a pleasing sight—much subordination and little constraint, liberty, not license. Orderly children, respected parents, women subject but not oppressed, men ruling but not despotic, reverence with kindness, obedience in affection—these form a lovable picture by no means rare in the villages of the Eastern isles."

This is, indeed, a very different story from those we have been hearing, and while Professor Worcester does not think the Philippine native is yet capable of complete self-government, does it not seem that by an entirely considerate, just, and humane leading hand extended from this great nation of ours he may ultimately become so, and make his country fit for a colonial union, at least, with the United States?—*Boston Times*.

FILIPINO CIVILIZATION, AS DISCOVERED BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
OF THE MINNEAPOLIS TIMES AND UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS

MINNEAPOLIS, *July 19, 1899.*

A special from Manila to the Times from its special correspondent contains the following:

"Those who believed that the natives in the country districts were wild and untutored savages have been most agreeably surprised. The Tagalogs of central Luzon are by no means a barbarian people, even though their feet are uncovered and their right to bare arms has not been infringed. The Pampangese, or the natives of Pampanga province, are more refined in appearance, larger in stature, and more intelligent than their southern neighbors, the Tagalogs, and speak a different dialect. Every town has its church and school, and in almost every house the soldiers found books, well-written letters, and other evidences of intelligence and education.

"The scrawny and measly-looking rabble that makes Manila hideous is not to be compared with the Filipinos of the country districts."

The Times correspondent took particular pains to inquire into the kind of government that had prevailed in the different towns during the régime of the Filipino republic. In Baliuag, the largest town captured by Lawton's flying column, President Marciano, a full-blood

native, was directing affairs of local government in a manner highly satisfactory to the business men and other residents of the charming pueblo.

The 25,000 or 30,000 inhabitants of the town were amply protected in their personal and civil rights by a police force consisting of twelve picked natives. An apartment in the upper story of the large and magnificent church was used as a council chamber and a court room, where civil and criminal cases were tried. Serious crimes, however, are of rare occurrence among the natives.

When San Miguel was taken several prominent Filipino business men of the town remained behind, trusting to the generous treatment of the victorious invaders. Simon Teeson, president of the pueblo, had departed for the mountain districts with the majority. His residence was made brigade headquarters. Its interior decorations were superb, and bore high testimony to the skill of the native as a painter, a fresco artist, and a wood carver.

As General Lawton and Colonel Somers indulged in a game on the departed insurgent mayor's billiard table, they remarked that at home people were still of the opinion that the soldiers here were fighting savages armed with bows and arrows. Said Lawton: "No one would believe us over in the States if we told them of finding such luxuries as this in the 'wilds of the Philippine jungle.'"

Simon Teeson had been mayor of San Miguel during the Spanish régime, but became an active spirit in the revolutionary councils at the time of the rebellion in 1896. Every native that the writer talked with at San Miguel was of the opinion that the Filipino government, both national and local, was satisfactory, and those who were informed on political events all expressed the belief that the present trouble would not have occurred had the Administration at Washington given the Filipino people a definite promise of independence, either immediate or future. The proclamation by General Otis, January 4, crushed their hopes, and they could not understand why the United States should not treat them in the same way as the Cubans. San Miguel has always been an insurgent hotbed, and its numerous wealthy natives have contributed large sums of money to the revolutionary cause.

After San Miguel, the next important town taken was San Isidro, in the province of Nueva Ecija. This place had been the capital of the Filipino republic since the fall of Malolos, and here Aguinaldo and members of the cabinet and congress were well known.

Each day's developments are disclosing the base duplicity employed by the McKinley Administration in dealing with the Spanish-American and McKinley's private war in the Asiatic country. General Reeves, General King, Commodore Ford, Surgeon McQuestion, and many other Army and Navy officers who have returned from the Philippines, to say nothing of the scores of privates who have been discharged after

nearly a year in that country, demonstrate beyond question that the Filipinos, the soldiers themselves, and the public generally, have been "flim-flammed" for the past year completely by the "board of strategy" at Washington, ostensibly consisting of Alger, Corbin, and McKinley. Of course behind this body of war managers are the millionaire bondholders and franchise speculators who guide the acts of the public servants, and with the assistance of the Associated Press trust and secret news censor, news is manufactured and public utterances made by those in charge. Secretly the Government is being committed to a different position entirely.

The public has been given to understand that the Cuban people are being rapidly "christianized" and efforts made by our war managers to put them in condition for self-government from our American standpoint, while everything possible has been done secretly to disorganize and discourage them and give the world to understand they are treacherous and villainous in the extreme. Our space at this time will not permit us to give in detail the numerous dastardly outrages that are being perpetrated upon these people under the pretended guise of education, but every thoughtful citizen who has followed the trend of our national official managers knows the tableau behind the scenes will not bear the scrutiny of rigid public consciousness.

What is true of Cuba concerning the duplicity practiced through the connivance of the dollar-above-man speculators, aided by their willing tools in charge of governmental affairs, has been more than duplicated tenfold in the Philippine Islands.

The Spanish-American war was instituted by Congress in the interest of humanity, to free from industrial slavery what was supposed to be about 400,000 Cuban people who were not so well equipped for self-government as the 8,000,000 Filipinos, if Admiral Dewey is to be believed, yet from the very outset, early in 1898, the Administration was secretly conniving to change our form of government, fought for at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, and adopt an imperial government under the pretense of expansion, which was to commit the 8,000,000 people to industrial slavery in the Philippine country.

Early in the summer of 1898, Maj. F. T. Greene, of the United States Volunteers, was instructed to investigate the Philippine Islands and see whether our insurgent allies were in possession of that country, and if they were such people as were able to govern themselves, and also to report on the resources of the islands. On August 30, 1898, Major Green made his report (see Senate Document No. 62, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session) to General Merritt, and through him the War Department, and among other things said:

"In August, 1896, an insurrection broke out in Cavite under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, and soon spread to other provinces on both sides of Manila. It continued with varying success on both sides,

and the trial and execution of numerous insurgents, until December, 1897, when the governor-general, Primo de Rivera (Spanish) entered into written agreement with Aguinaldo. It required that Aguinaldo and the other insurgent leaders should leave the country, the (Spanish) Government agreeing to pay them \$800,000 in silver, and promising to introduce numerous reforms, including representation in the Spanish Cortes, freedom of the press, and the expulsion or secularization of the monastic orders.

"Aguinaldo and his associates went to Hongkong and Singapore. A portion of the money, \$400,000, was deposited in the banks of Hongkong, and a lawsuit soon arose between Aguinaldo and one of his subordinate chiefs named Artcho, which is interesting on account of the honorable position taken by Aguinaldo. Artcho sued for a division of the money among insurgents according to rank. Aguinaldo claimed that the money was a trust fund and was to remain on deposit until it was seen whether the Spaniards would carry out their promised reforms, and if they did not, it was to be used to defray the expenses of a new insurrection. The suit was settled out of court by paying Artcho \$5,000. Aguinaldo is now using the money to carry on operations of the present insurrection."

This was Major Greene's official report to the War Department at Washington, made August 30, 1898. It clearly showed the insurgent leaders were willing to be exiled from their country in order that the Filipinos might receive the benefit of the Spanish reforms promised. The same report also showed none of the reforms promised by the Spanish Government were given, and Aguinaldo had kept the money to prosecute another insurrection for the freedom of his countrymen from Spanish industrial slavery. So that when Admiral Dewey learned of the ability of the leading insurgents he was anxious to coöperate with them in driving away the Spaniards, and he secured communication with General Aguinaldo in April, 1898, and assisted him with arms and munitions of war, giving him to understand his countrymen would be treated the same as Cuba and have their independence. With this state of facts and many more before the Administration, last winter they caused the report to be sent out that Spain had bought Aguinaldo off and that he was a mercenary and dishonest scoundrel, with no ability, and justly ought to be killed, in order that the Mohammedans might christianize the rest of the Filipinos.

DEWEY'S VIEWS

In June, 1898, Admiral Dewey wired the Administration at Washington of the fitness of the Filipinos for self-government, and his sympathies were with the struggling insurgents in securing them their independence. Knowing the mercenary motives of the Administration managers, it was the most natural thing in the world for Admiral

Dewey to cut the cable and keep the gang at Washington from having direct communication with him for several months. He was aware of the secret work of the Administration in their silent effort to prepare for the subjection of the Philippine Islands and making industrial slaves of these struggling Malays, and being a true American who had assisted in freeing 400,000 black slaves under our Declaration of Independence, he used his efforts to give the Filipinos their freedom.

Accordingly he prepared another telegram for the secret managers at Washington (see Senate document, No. 62, above referred to) with a view to aiding these Asiatic insurgents in securing their independence before the treaty with Spain was closed and we paid the Spanish bondholders the \$20,000,000 for their quitclaim deed for something they did not own. His second one read as follows:

“UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCE ON ASIATIC STATION,
“FLAGSHIP BALTIMORE, MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,

August 28, 1898.

“In a telegram sent the Department on June 23, I expressed the opinion that ‘these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.’ Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.
DEWEY.”

Is it any wonder that the hero of Manila should have become disgusted with the Washington commercial warriors who were prostituting the fundamental principles of this Government, and asked to be returned to the United States?

CONSUL-GENERAL

In this same Senate document is more interesting correspondence which shows the agreement made with General Aguinaldo to secure his leadership in driving the Spaniards from the Philippines, even before Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet.

Consul-General Pratt wired Washington officials as follows:

CONSULATE GENERAL UNITED STATES,
SINGAPORE, *April 28, 1898.*

On the evening of the 23d instant, I was confidentially informed of the arrival here of the supreme ruler of the Philippines, General Aguinaldo, by H. W. Bray, an English gentleman of high standing, who, after fifteen years' residence as a merchant and planter in the Philippines, had been compelled by the disturbed condition of things resulting from Spanish misrule, to abandon his property and leave there, and from whom I had previously obtained much valuable information for Commodore

Dewey regarding fortifications, coal deposits, etc., at different points in the islands.

Being aware of the great prestige of General Aguinaldo with the insurgents, and that no one, either at home or abroad, could exert over them the same influence and control that he could, I determined at once to see him, and at my request a secret interview was accordingly arranged for the following morning, Sunday the 24th, in which, besides General Aguinaldo, were only present the general's trusted advisers and Mr. Bray, who acted as interpreter.

I telegraphed the Commodore the same day as follows, through our consul general at Hongkong:

"Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here; will come to Hongkong and arrange with Commodore for general cooperations with insurgents at Manila if desired. Telegraph.

"PRATT."

The Commodore's reply regarding this:

"Tell Aguinaldo come as soon as possible.

"DEWEY."

I received it late that night and at once communicated to General Aguinaldo, who, with his aid-de-camp and private secretary, all under assumed names, I succeeded in getting off by the British steamer *Malacca*, which left here on Tuesday the 26th.

E. S. PRATT,
Consul-General, Singapore.

"This Senate Document No. 62 gives the following further evidence of an agreement with Aguinaldo, which was wired to Washington:

SINGAPORE, *May 5, 1898.*

I regret to have to report that the circumstances attending the departure from here of General Aguinaldo to join Commodore Dewey, which I had endeavored so hard to prevent being disclosed, were, in substance, made public in yesterday's edition of the *Singapore Free Press*. The facts are, in the main, properly given.

E. S. PRATT,
United States Consul General, Singapore.

Senate Document No. 62 contains the article above referred to by the consul-general which appeared in the *Singapore Free Press*, and a part of it reads as follows, and was by Pratt said to be correctly given:

"The consul-general of the United States, coinciding with the general views expressed during the discussion, placed himself at once in telegraphic communication with Admiral Dewey, between whom and Mr. Pratt a frequent interchange of telegrams consequently took place.

"General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines, whose internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advisers. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba."

This Singapore Free Press said the above were the arrangements with General Aguinaldo, and Mr. Pratt said that this was the agreement.

With these facts and hundreds of a similar character before the Administration at Washington for more than a year past, under the censorship of Government officials the public has been given a much different view of pretended existing facts. Who can expect the public to believe in this National Administration when the facts are plain that deception of the grossest character was practiced on the Filipino insurgents, and also on the patient people of the United States? The Journal will from time to time give its readers more of the duplicity of the national servants at Washington and elsewhere.

"At this interview, after learning from General Aguinaldo the state of and object sought to be obtained by the present insurrectionary movement, which, though absent from the Philippines, he was still directing, I took it upon myself, while explaining that I had no authority to speak for the Government, to point out the danger of continuing independent action at this stage, and having convinced him of the expediency of cooperating with our fleet, then at Hongkong, and obtained the assurance of his willingness to proceed thither and confer with Commodore Dewey to that end, should the latter so desire, I telegraphed the Commodore the same day as follows through our consul-general at Hongkong:

"Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with Commodore for general cooperation insurgents Manila, if desired. Telegraph.

"PRATT."

The Commodore's reply reading thus:

"Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible.

"DEWEY."

"I received it late that night, and at once communicated to General Aguinaldo, who, with his aid-de-camp and private secretary, all under assumed names, I succeeded in getting off by the British steamer *Malacca*, which left here on Tuesday the 26th.

"The General impressed me as a man of intelligence, ability, and courage, and worthy the confidence that has been placed in him."

A few days later Consul Pratt reported some conversations with Aguinaldo and closed with this:

"The General further stated that he hoped the United States would assume protection of the Philippines for at least long enough to allow the inhabitants to establish a government of their own, in the organization of which he would desire American advice and assistance."

In order to understand how this conference came about and the events leading up to it, Consul Pratt forwarded to the Department of State a clipping from the Singapore Free Press giving an account of the conference and some preliminary history, as follows:

"In order to understand and appreciate this interesting historical incident properly, it will be necessary to allude to the causes leading to the second rebellion in the Philippines, which was almost coincident with, though not instigated by, the strained relations between Spain and the United States.

"In December last General Primo de Rivera, who above all other Spanish generals has an intimate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, found the position untenable for both parties. Neither of these had the remotest chance of terminating the rebellion decisively—the rebels secure in their mountain fastnesses, the Spaniards holding the chief towns and villages on the coast. Primo de Rivera therefore sent two well-known Philippine natives, occupying high positions in Manila, to propose terms of peace to General Aguinaldo in Biac-na-Bato. A council of the revolutionary government was held, in which it was agreed to lay down arms on condition of certain reforms being introduced. The principal of these were:

- "1. The expulsion, or at least secularization of the religious orders, and the inhibition of these orders from all official vetoes in civil administration.

- "2. A general amnesty for all rebels, and guarantees for their personal security and from the vengeance of the friars and parish priests after returning to their homes.

- "3. Radical reforms to curtail the glaring abuses in public administration.

- "4. Freedom of the press to denounce official corruption and black-mailing.

- "5. Representation in the Spanish Parliament.

- "6. Abolition of the iniquitous system of secret deportation of political suspects, etc.

"Primo de Rivera agreed to these reforms in sum and substance, but made it a condition that the principal rebel leaders must leave the country during His Majesty's pleasure. As these had lost all their property or had had it confiscated and plundered, the Government agreed to provide them with funds to live in a becoming manner on foreign soil.

"The rebels laid down their arms and peace was apparently secured, but no sooner had they done so and returned to their houses than the intransigent religious orders commenced at once to again persecute them

and trump up imaginary charges to procure their rearrest. The Spanish Government, on its side, imagining itself secure, desisted from carrying out the promised reforms, thinking another trick like that played on the Cubans after the peace of Zanjou, arranged by Martinez Campos, might succeed. The Filipinos however, with their business before them, refused to be made dupes of, and have taken up arms again, not alone in the immediate districts around Manila, but throughout the archipelago, which merely awaits the signal from General Aguinaldo to rise en masse, no doubt carrying with them the native troops hitherto loyal, and for which loyal service they have received no thanks but only ingratitude."

This brief account of the events leading up to the last rebellion against Spanish rule preceded the story of how General Aguinaldo and his men came to be in Singapore to consult with the Filipino leaders there and the narrative of the conferences between the Filipino leader and the representative of the United States. The article sent by Consul Pratt concluded with the following terse summing up of the policy of the Filipinos:

"General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines, whose internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advisers. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba. The ports of the Philippines would be free to the trade of the world, safeguards being enacted against an influx of Chinese aliens who would compete with the industrial population of the country. There would be a complete reform of the present corrupt judicature of the country under experienced European law officers. Entire freedom of the press would be established, as well as the right of public meeting. There would be general religious toleration, and steps would be taken for the abolition and expulsion of the tyrannical religious fraternities who have laid such strong hands on every branch of civil administration. Full provision would be given for the exploitation of the natural resources and wealth of the country by roads and railways and by the removal of hindrances to enterprise and investment of capital. Spanish officials would be removed to a place of safety until opportunity offered to return them to Spain. The preservation of public safety and order and the checking of reprisals against Spaniards would, naturally, have to be a first care of the Government in the new state of things."

THE PHILIPPINE CENSORSHIP—PRESIDENT M'KINLEY DETERMINED TO SUPPRESS DAMAGING TRUTHS ABOUT HIS WAR OF AGGRESSION—PHRASES WHICH, IT IS SAID, WAR DEPARTMENT SUPPLIES—"SITUATION IMPROVING," "REBELS DISINTEGRATING," "ENEMY ROUTED WITH GREAT SLAUGHTER," "BETTER CLASS OF NATIVES FRIENDLY," ETC.

[Special to the New York World.]

WASHINGTON, *June 16, 1899.*

The President is determined to continue to enforce the censorship of private and press dispatches at Manila. Within a few days he has intimated forcibly to General Corbin that too much information is being made public from the War Department.

General Otis is in supreme authority over the Manila censorship, and it is not within the War Secretary's province to order its abatement.

NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS WARNED.

Newspaper correspondents are forbidden by General Otis to file press reports from Hongkong, and are warned that if they evade the censorship by this method their "usefulness to their papers will cease immediately."

Colonel Thompson, the first press censor at Key West, is now in charge at Manila. In a private letter to an officer here Colonel Thompson writes: "My duties are exceedingly trying."

Authentic information regarding the true situation in Manila can not be obtained from the dispatches posted at the War Department. Advices regarding the situation are suppressed. It is said that the War Department officials go so far as to insert phrases in the official reports as given out. Among the favorite expressions of the official editors of the advices from Otis are: "Situation improving; rebels disintegrating." "Enemy routed with great loss." "Rebels routed; do not think will make another stand." "Better class of natives friendly to Americans."

The World correspondent is informed on high authority that the President himself not only approves this method, but has directed it, so that the public shall not get the truth from Manila.

FILIPINOS DANGEROUS FOES—ADMIRAL DEWEY'S FLEET ENGINEER SAYS IT WILL BE HARD TO CONQUER THEM.

BALTIMORE, *June 16, 1899.*

Commander John D. Ford, who was Admiral Dewey's fleet engineer, has returned to his home here from Manila.

"When I left," he said to the World correspondent to-night, "we did not hold quite as much ground as during the first of August last year,

and our lines were restricted to the suburbs of Manila. The troops did push out into the country, but could not hold the ground they made by raids.

IT WILL TAKE IMMENSE ARMY TO CONQUER PHILIPPINES.

"It is impossible to conquer the people to gain the islands without more troops. If we send a great many more and bend all our energies to doing it we can beat them and take the islands, but it would mean a great loss of life. As it is now it is all we can do to hold our own.

"The line is always active and there is no relief. Men spend months in the trenches, subjected to great mental and physical strain and never knowing at what moment they may be assailed.

A LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLE, FULL OF COURAGE.

"The Filipinos pictured in the papers are not men we are fighting. The fellows we deal with out there are not ignorant savages fighting with bows and arrows, but an intelligent liberty-loving people, full of courage and determination. Their courage is undoubted, and they fight to the death.

FILIPINOS HAVE A GOOD GOVERNMENT, WHICH OPERATES SUCCESSFULLY

"They are stronger, more determined, and more skillful in the art of war than when the fighting started, and they have 11,000,000 of people to draw from. They are armed with Mausers, the best rifle in the world, and are far better marksmen than the Spaniards.

"They have a good government, which they are operating successfully, and preserve law and order. They certainly don't think theirs is a hopeless fight, and I don't think any one else does who knows anything about it."

TO PLEASE ENGLAND—THAT IS THE REASON M'KINLEY DECIDED TO KEEP THE PHILIPPINES—CAPTAIN O'FARRELL FURNISHES FACTS—THE IMPERIALIST CHARGE OF BRIBERY AGAINST AGUINALDO A CALUMNY.

In last week's Irish World Capt. Patrick O'Farrell furnished some interesting facts concerning the educational status of the people of the Philippines. He also gave documentary evidence amounting to proof that the Filipinos were led to believe that they were allies of the United States against Spain, and that they welcomed Americans as deliverers who came to give them freedom and self-government. Captain O'Farrell concludes his letter as follows:

"It must not be supposed that it was Aguinaldo who organized the

rebel forces in Luzon, for long before either Dewey or Aguinaldo reached Cavite there was a strong rebel force threatening Manila. Aguinaldo's arrival encouraged and increased this force."

Our consul at Manila writes, March 19, 1898:

"Rebellion never more threatening to Spain. Rebels getting arms, money, and friends. They outnumber the Spaniards—residents and soldiery. * * *

"OSCAR F. WILLIAMS,
"United States Consul, Manila."

He sends another dispatch later on:

* * * "The Crown forces are now building a cordon of small forts on city's outskirts for defense against natives. * * * Eight thousand native insurgents are encamped only 5 miles away.

"OSCAR F. WILLIAMS,
"United States Consul, Manila, March 27, 1898."

(Note that this was five weeks before Dewey got there.)

Let us now turn from the Navy to the Army, and what do we find? General Anderson was the first general to assume command of our military forces in front of Manila. On July 4, 1898, he wrote as follows:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE, UNITED STATES FORCES.

SEÑOR DON EMILIO AGUINALDO,
Commanding Philippine Forces, Cavite, Luzon.

GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that the United States of America, whose land forces I have the honor to command in this vicinity, being at war with the Kingdom of Spain, has entire sympathy and most friendly sentiments for the native people of the Philippine Islands.

For these reasons I desire to have the most amicable relations with you and to have you and your people cooperate with us in military operations against the Spanish forces.

THOMAS M. ANDERSON, *Brigadier-General.*

HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE, UNITED STATES FORCES.

Cavite Arsenal, Philippine Islands, July 19, 1898.

SEÑOR DON EMILIO AGUINALDO,
Commanding General Philippine Forces, Cavite, Luzon.

GENERAL: The bearer, Maj. J. F. Bell, United States Army, was sent by Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt, United States Army, to collect for him, by the time of his personal arrival, certain information concern-

ing the strength and positions of the enemy and concerning the topography of the country surrounding Manila.

I would be obliged if you would permit him to see your maps and place at his disposal any information you may have on the above subjects, and also give him a letter or pass, addressed to your subordinates, which will authorize them to furnish him any information they can on these subjects, and to facilitate his passage along the lines upon a reconnoissance around Manila, on which I propose to send him.

I remain, with great respect, your obedient servant,

THOMAS M. ANDERSON,
Brigadier-General, United States Volunteers, Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE,
UNITED STATES EXPEDITIONARY FORCES,
Cavite Arsenal, P. I., July 21, 1898.

Señor DON EMILIO AGUINALDO,
Commanding Philippine Forces.

GENERAL: I have the honor to request that passes and such other assistance as practicable be given to the bearer, Lieut. E. J. Bryan, and party, who are making a reconnoissance of the surrounding country. Thanking you for assistance given on previous occasions,

I remain, with great respect, your obedient servant,

THOMAS M. ANDERSON,
Brigadier-General, United States Volunteers, Commanding.

Any fair-minded man will see from the foregoing dispatches from our consuls, naval officers, and generals that we were in Luzon as the friends and allies of the Filipinos—especially as our declaration of war against Spain disclaimed any intention of land grabbing in Cuba. By a much greater force the "Teller" declaration should apply to the Philippine Islands on the other side of the globe.

MCKINLEY CHANGED HIS POLICY TO SUIT ENGLAND'S DESIGNS.

At first we did not intend to keep the Philippines. About the early part of June, 1898, the English papers began to publish articles urging the Americans to keep the Philippines. England became alarmed at the prospect of a republic being set up in the Orient. It would be like starting a prairie fire among her Malay subjects in Borneo, Singapore, Hongkong, and her other East India possessions. Hence President McKinley did not wish to start another Paul Kruger to set a bad example to the subjects of the Empress of India.

The London Spectator, on the Philippines, hoped the United States would keep them, saying: "The weary Titan needs an ally, and the only

ally whose aspirations, ideas, and language are like his own is the great American people."

"By their action the government has recognized the false principle that Canada is obliged to assist the empire in its wars, which do not interest us. This principle is full of menace to us; it may bring us to civil war."

The vigorous opposition among French-Canadians to the dispatch of the contingent was very strikingly illustrated in this city when the members of the Montreal unit left to take the steamer at Quebec. Not a solitary bugle note sped the volunteers on their way; not a single member of the city council was present at the railway station to give an official aspect to the occasion; not a flag or streamer floated from any of the city buildings.

It was a different scene that Montreal presented some thirty years ago, when a contingent of papal zouaves, enrolled from among the French-Canadians of the Province, left to fight the battles of the Pope.

(See General Greene's report, page 421, Senate Document No. 62.)

Aguinaldo is looked up to by his own people as a pure and unselfish patriot.

Our Government offered to bribe him with a commission in our Army, just as was done with the Sultan of Sulu and his chiefs, but he spurned the offered gift.

But it is said that we paid Spain for her sovereignty. Had Spain any sovereignty at the time we forced her to take twenty millions of our good American dollars? In the American Encyclopedia of Law, the doctrine is stated that "a state is sovereign when it has the supreme power of controlling its citizens or subjects."

I should like to ask what sovereignty Spain had at the time she sold out her interests to us.

The governor had previously "skedaddled" on a German ship, part of her army was besieged in Manila, and Aguinaldo had the rest of them in his possession as prisoners.

"WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE PHILIPPINES?"

Almost nine out of every ten imperialists say: "I wish we never had gone down there, but now that we are there we should support the Administration until we conquer or exterminate them."

Here is Christian logic. We admit that we are wrong, but we should keep on doing wrong. What would the world say if we commenced to do right now? At war! Congress has not declared war. This is McKinley's war.

Congress should appoint a commissioner to go to Aguinaldo and say that the American people are and always have been his friends; that we are going to withdraw our armies; that all we want is a good harbor for a coaling station; that we will leave a few of our ships to

keep our flag flying in the Philippines, so as to say to all the world, "Hands off!" Aguinaldo and his people can start a government of their own. We can remain as their allies and friends—not their protectors.

In a few years we would see a Philippine republic, with a new flag flying on the ocean's highway. A new republican nation born and brought forth by our efforts. We would then have a nation of friends, which would be much better, in every way, than a dominion of subjects who would be always our enemies.

PATRICK O'FARRELL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., —.

PRESIDENT AGUINALDO'S PROCLAMATION

The following is a translation of President Aguinaldo's proclamation:

[Official.]

Manifesto issued by the President of the Revolutionary Government.

To my brothers the Filipinos, and all accredited consuls, and foreigners:

The proclamation of his excellency General Otis, major-general of volunteers of the United States, published yesterday in the newspapers of Manila, obliges me to circulate the following manifesto in order to make known to all those who can read and understand it that the present document is my solemn protest against all that is contained in the proclamation hereinafter referred to, because my conscience compels me to do so in fulfillment of my pledges to my beloved country and the special and official relations with the North American nation.

General Otis gives himself the title in the proclamation in question of military governor of the Philippine Islands. I protest once and a thousand times and with all the energy of my soul against such authority.

I proclaim solemnly that I have not promised, either verbally or in written document, either in Singapore, Hongkong, or the Philippines, to recognize the sovereignty of America on this beloved soil.

On the contrary I say that I returned to these islands, transported on an American man-of-war, on the 19th of May last year, with the distinct and manifest intention of making war against the Spaniards in order to recover our liberty and independence. This is stated in my official proclamation of the 24th of the said month of May, and published in the manifesto addressed to the Filipino nation on the 12th of June last, when, in my native town of Cavite, I unfurled for the first time our blessed national flag as the sacred emblem of that sublime aspiration; and afterwards reasserted to the American General, General Merritt, the predecessor of General Otis, in the manifesto I addressed to the Filipino nation a few days before, demanding from the Spanish General

Jaudenes the surrender of the city of Manila, in which manifesto it is clearly and distinctly stated that the forces of the United States, on sea and land, came to give us our liberty and to overturn the corrupt Spanish administration. I declare, once and forever, that both natives and foreigners are witnesses that the United States forces on land and sea have recognized by this the belligerency of the Filipinos, not only respecting our national flag but according it public honors, as it was triumphantly navigated in our internal waters before all the foreign nations here represented by their respective consuls.

With reference to the instructions from His Excellency the President of the United States, alluded to in his proclamation by General Otis, dealing with the administration of the affairs of the Philippine Islands, I protest solemnly, in the name of God, the root and fountain of all justice, on behalf of my beloved brothers, against the intrusion of the Government of the United States in the sovereignty of these islands.

I thus protest, in the name of all the Filipino nation, against the intrusion referred to, because in reposing their confidence in me by electing me—unworthy though I may be—to the position of president of this nation they have imposed upon me the duty to maintain, even to death, the liberty and independence of the Filipinos as a nation.

Lastly, I protest against this unexpected act of the American Government in claiming sovereignty in these islands, in virtue of the documents in my possession dealing with my relations with the American authorities, the which state, in the most unequivocal manner, that the United States did not bring me here from Hongkong to make war against the Spaniards in the interests of the United States, but for the sake of our liberty and independence, for the preservation of which I received verbal pledges, together with a promise from them of help and efficacious co-operation. That is the position of affairs, and oh, my dear brothers, if we stand united throughout the country, they can not filch from us the idea of the liberty and absolute independence which has been our noble aspiration.

Help all of you to effect the end desired with the force that comes from conviction of the justice of our demands. There must be no turning back in the path of glory upon which we have already entered.

AGUINALDO.

MALOLOS, *January 5, 1899.*

The above proclamation was posted throughout the city this morning, but was torn down by order of the United States authorities.

I hear the Americans are sending out troops to protect the pumping station at the waterworks at Santolan. If they do this, I feel sure hostilities will commence. The natives will not make the first move, but they will resist any hostile move on the part of the Americans.

The situation is certainly very threatening. It is lamentable to

think that it is due to the procrastination of the Americans to declare a firm and definite policy with regard to the Philippines.

General Whittier, before the peace commission:

"On October 25, in the company of H. L. Higgins, general manager of the Manila Railway, Limited, I went to Malolos for an interview arranged the day before with Aguinaldo. I found his headquarters were in a very nice house, ten minutes drive from the railway station; a guard of twenty or thirty soldiers in the courtyard below. We were soon ushered to the waiting room upstairs by one of his officers who spoke English, and I met Buencomeno, a wise looking counsellor, whom I met at Ayuntamiento the day after the fall of Manila. He carried up to the presence of the insurgent leader and president, who was dressed, contrary to his usual daily garb, in a black smoking jacket of low cut, waistcoat, and trousers, both black, large white tie; in fact, the evening dress common at our clubs during the summer."

Lieut. John D. Ford, United States Navy, of the *Olympia*, in a Baltimore interview: "Aguinaldo is in every sense a patriot, and I believe he is sincere in his efforts for his people and means well. He is also a fighter, and says he means to keep on warring until the natives get a government of their own."

John Barrett, ex-minister to Siam, in Review of Reviews, July, 1899:

"When Manila was occupied on August 13, and Aguinaldo was not allowed to share the honors of occupation and he was asked to withdraw his forces from the neighborhood of Manila, he advanced the very logical argument that according to General Merritt's remarkable agreement with General Jaudenes it was possible that the American forces might withdraw from Manila and leave the Spaniards in possession; and hence he wished to be in a strong position in or about Manila to fight the Spaniards if necessary. This situation gave Aguinaldo a unique strength of argument in his discussions with the American leaders, of which he took full advantage. When he would say that he could not withdraw far from Manila, because the Americans did not themselves know then whether they would remain in possession of the islands, it was impossible for his statement to be refuted. In fact, from a logical standpoint, his conclusion was altogether wise, for if he had withdrawn and left the Spaniards in control of Manila they could have held out until the arrival of reinforcements, and prepared themselves to reorganize the island."

One of Dewey's officers, writing January 31, 1899, said:

"Aguinaldo reached Manila on May 20 of last year, at which time there was no evidence, that we knew of, of a native organization. He created an army in a short time, and immediately commenced to win

victories. These were to us at the time astonishing, for he defeated detachment after detachment of the Spanish army, took fort after fort, captured regiments with arms and ammunition, and in a short time had captured every Spanish soldier on the island of Luzon or had driven those not captured into Manila. Before August 31 these insurgents had actually captured the whole of Luzon, excepting Manila, from the Spaniards. After taking all of Luzon, with the exceptions named, they conquered the Spanish in the island of Negros and the city of Cebu, and before we reached Iloilo they had that city and the whole island of Panay."

Consul-General Pratt, of Singapore, to Secretary Day, April 28, 1898:

"General Aguinaldo impressed me as a man of intellectual ability, courage, and worthy of the confidence that had been placed in him. No close observer of what has transpired in the Philippines during the past four years could have failed to recognize that General Aguinaldo enjoyed, above all others, the confidence of the Philippine insurgents, and the respect alike of the Spanish and foreigners in the islands, all of which vouched for his justice and high sense of honor."

AGUINALDO AND HIS OFFICERS.

John Foreman, in *Contemporary Review*, July, 1898, with other papers published by Congress with the treaty of peace:

"Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo is a smart, intelligent man, of a serious mein, small in stature, and apparently a little over 30 years of age. He has served as the petty governor of his native town in Cavite province and speaks Spanish very well for a native. He is by no means an adventurer, with all to gain and nothing to lose, but a landed proprietor. He is a would-be reformer of his country, but, convinced that all appeal to Spain is futile, he has at last resorted to force. General Primo de Rivera is now safely back in Madrid, and the Philippine islanders and the treaty of Bac na Bato are laughed at. This is a repetition of Cuban policy. It is on these grounds that Aguinaldo holds himself justified in returning to the scene of his battles, not again to fight for reforms to be effected by those who have no honor, but to cooperate in forcing the Spaniards to evacuate the islands."

Joseph T. Mannix, in *Review of Reviews*, June, 1898:

"I was in Manila last autumn (1897), inquiring into the conditions—political, social, and industrial. * * * I met many kind-hearted and courteous rebel leaders in Manila. These men were holding regular meetings, raising money with which to prosecute the insurrection, and were in constant communication with Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo and the other rebel leaders, who were then quartered in the mountains immediately to the northward from Manila. * * * I went secretly beyond

the city walls and mingled with the natives at Malaben and elsewhere. The home of every rebel or rebel sympathizer was the hospitable resting place of any American or other traveler who was taking sufficient interest in these people to investigate the situation. That they are a law-abiding people and easily governed is evident from the fact that when the present insurrection began, in August, 1896, there were but 1,500 Spanish troops in the islands—about one-twentieth the number that the British Government has garrisoned in Ireland to-day. And these 1,500 troops were natives of the islands.

"That they are entirely amenable to discipline when they have confidence in and respect for their leaders and advisers is evident by the fact that for more than a year Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, their acknowledged leader, was able to maintain good order and comparatively good discipline among his 40,000 to 50,000 followers, and under circumstances where chaos and disorder would be the most natural conditions."

Rounseville Wildman, United States consul at Hongkong, to Assistant Secretary Moore, July 18, 1898:

"There has been a systematic attempt to blacken the name of Aguinaldo and his cabinet on account of the questionable terms of their surrender to Spanish forces a year ago this month. It has been said that they sold their country for gold, but this has been conclusively disproved, not only by their own statements, but by the speech of the late Governor-General Rivera in the Spanish senate June 11, 1898. He said that Aguinaldo undertook to submit if the Spanish Government would give a certain sum to the widows and orphans of the insurgents. He then admits that only a tenth part of this sum was ever given to Aguinaldo, and that the other promises made he did not find it expedient to keep.

"I was in Hongkong in September, 1897, when Aguinaldo and his leaders arrived under contract with the Spanish Government. They waited until the 1st of November for the payment of the promised money and the fulfillment of the promised reforms. Only \$400,000, Mexican, was ever placed to their credit in the bank, and on the 3d of November Mr. F. Agoncilla, late minister of foreign affairs in Aguinaldo's cabinet, called upon me and made a proposal, which I transmitted to the State Department in my dispatch No. 19, dated November 3, 1897. In reply the State Department instructed me 'to courteously decline to communicate with the Department further regarding the alleged mission.' I obeyed these instructions to the letter until the breaking out of the war, when, after consultation with Admiral Dewey, I received a delegation from the insurgent junta, and they bound themselves to obey all laws of civilized warfare and to place themselves absolutely under the orders of Admiral Dewey if they were permitted to return to Manila. At this time their president, Aguinaldo, was in Singapore negotiating through Consul General Pratt with Admiral Dewey for his return."

Rounsevelle Wildman, United States consul at Hongkong, to Mr. Day, November 3, 1897:

"Since my arrival in Hongkong I have been called upon several times by Mr. F. Agoncilla, foreign agent and high commissioner, etc., of the new republic of the Philippines. Mr. Agoncilla holds a commission, signed by the president, members of cabinet, and general in chief of the republic of Philippines, empowering him absolutely with power to conclude treaties with foreign governments.

"He is a very earnest and attentive diplomat and a great admirer of the United States."

Gen. Charles A. Whittier before the Peace Commission:

"From that time the military operations and the conduct of the insurgents have been most creditable. Positions taken and the movement of troops show great ability on the part of some leader. I do not say it was necessarily Aguinaldo, but he gave the directions."

E. Spencer Pratt, United States consul at Singapore, to Secretary Day:

SINGAPORE, *April 28, 1898.*

"I have the honor to report that I sent you on the 27th instant, and confirmed in my dispatch No. 211 of that date, a telegram, which, deciphered, read as follows:

"SECRETARY OF STATE, *Washington:*

"General Aguinaldo gone my instance Hongkong arrange with Dewey coöperation insurgents Manila.

"PRATT."

"The General impressed me as a man of intelligence, ability, and courage, and worthy of the confidence that had been placed in him."

Consul Pratt to Secretary Day, Singapore, June 2, 1898, with inclosure:

"I have the honor to submit inclosed a telegram from Hongkong of the 25th ultimo, on the situation in the Philippines, published in Singapore yesterday afternoon, the 1st instant.

"Considering the enthusiastic manner General Aguinaldo has been received by the natives and the confidence with which he already appears to have inspired Admiral Dewey, it will be admitted, I think, that I did not overrate his importance and that I have materially assisted the cause of the United States in the Philippines in securing his coöperation."

SECRETARY OF NAVY, *Washington:*

Receipt of telegram of June 14 is acknowledged. Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, with 13 of his staff, arrived May 19, by permission, on *Nanshan*. Established self Cavite, outside arsenal, under protection of

our guns, and organized his army. I have had several conferences with him, generally of a personal nature. Consistently I have refrained from assisting him in any way with the force under my command, and on several occasions I have declined requests that I should do so, telling him the squadron could not act until the arrival of the United States troops. At the same time I have given him to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government.

"MORE CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT THAN THE NATIVES OF CUBA,
AND I AM FAMILIAR WITH BOTH RACES."

Aguinaldo has acted independently of the squadron, but has kept me advised of his progress, which has been wonderful. I have allowed to pass by water recruits, arms, and ammunitions, and to take such Spanish arms and ammunition from the arsenal as he needed. Have advised frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has done invariably. My relations with him are cordial, but I am not in his confidence. The United States has not been bound in any way to assist insurgents by any act or promises, and he is not, to my knowledge, committed to assist us. I believe he expects to capture Manila without my assistance, but doubt ability, they not yet having many guns. In my opinion, these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.

DEWEY.

GENERAL ANDERSON ASKED AGUINALDO TO COÖPERATE WITH HIM IN
MILITARY OPERATIONS

When Admiral Dewey sent the above dispatch there were no American troops in the Philippines. The first detachment, under command of General Anderson, did not arrive until June 30, three days after the sending of the afore-quoted dispatch from Hongkong, and, landing in Cavite, General Anderson lost no time in putting himself in communication with Aguinaldo, whose forces had locked up the Spanish in Manila. On the 4th of July, anniversary of the great Republic's natal day, General Anderson wrote:

"Señor DON EMILIO AGUINALDO,
Commanding Philippine Force, Cavite, Luzon.

"GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that the United States of America, whose land forces I have the honor to command in this vicinity, being at war with the Kingdom of Spain, has entire sympathy and most friendly sentiments for the native people of the Philippine Islands. For these reasons I desire to have the most amicable relations

with you and to have you and your people coöperate with us in military operations against the Spanish forces."

ANDERSON SAID AMERICANS CAME "TO FIGHT IN THE CAUSE OF YOUR PEOPLE"

Now, clearly after receiving such communication Aguinaldo had good reason to believe that General Anderson, and as representing the United States, sympathized with the aspirations of the Filipino people. Or rather, would we say, there was nothing in such communication to disabuse Aguinaldo of such belief, but only that to confirm him in the undoubted impression that his negotiations with Consul-General Wildman and others had left upon him. Aguinaldo promptly rejoined to this communication of General Anderson in one of like friendly tenor, whereupon General Anderson, on July 6th, wrote to Aguinaldo, requesting him to set aside additional camping ground for American troops, as follows

"I am encouraged by the friendly sentiments expressed by your excellency in your welcome letter received on the 5th instant to endeavor to come to a definite understanding, which I hope will be advantageous to both. Very soon we expect a large addition to our forces, and it must be apparent to you, as a military officer, that we will require much more room to camp our soldiers and also storeroom for our supplies. [Cavite alone was then in control of the American forces. Over all the other territory around Manila Aguinaldo's forces held control.] For this I would like to have your excellency's advice and coöperation, as you are best acquainted with the resources of this country."

And three weeks later yet, before the arrival of General Merritt and when General Anderson was still in supreme command, we find him requesting Aguinaldo for assistance in procuring means of transportation for the American Army, "as it is to fight in the cause of your people." Clearly we have not done by Aguinaldo as we led him to expect.

APPENDIX II

SOME NEW ENGLAND ATROCITIES

The Senate having under consideration the Indian appropriation bill.

MR. BROWN: I move to amend the amendment, in line 8, page 72, by adding after the words "Secretary of the Interior" the words:

Unless such award has been paid to and accepted by the claimant.

I move this amendment because it was said here by the friends of the change that if it had been paid to and accepted by them of course that would be another question. I suggest that, if it has been paid to and accepted by a claimant, it ought to be a reason which the Indian may urge in a court of justice.

MR. PETTIGREW.¹ There seems to be great misapprehension with regard to the claim of these attorneys, exhibited especially by the remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire [MR. CHANDLER], who I supposed had become educated on this subject last year. We then discussed the merits of this case for days, and the Senate decided to distribute this money among the attorneys. Now we come in here with a provision to send it to the Court of Claims and allow the Indians to come in, if they have a claim, and have it adjudicated, and that is not satisfactory.

The facts are that twenty-five years ago these Old Settler Cherokees made a contract with one of their own number, Joel M. Bryan, to come to Washington and try to collect certain money which they claim was due them. They set apart 35 per cent of the fund to pay expenses and authorized him

1. Speech in the Senate February 24, 1897.

to employ other attorneys to assist him in securing it. He spent twenty years here. He advanced his own money, sold his farm, his home, and his mill, gave his entire attention, made more than a hundred trips back and forth in procuring testimony, and finally succeeded in securing a claim of about \$800,000. In the meantime, on account of the hardships which he had suffered, the large sums of money which he had expended, the dissipation of his entire fortune, they made a new contract with him and provided that if there was anything left of the 35 per cent after paying expenses of the attorneys it should go to Joel M. Bryan, their attorney and commissioner.

They made a contract hedged about by all the provisions of law; made a contract which was approved by the Interior Department. It was never questioned until about two years ago. Then, encouraged by the speeches and conduct of certain Senators who are always so solicitous about the poor Indian, the council of the Cherokee Nation got together and undertook to repudiate the contract with Joel M. Bryan. The contract is still in force. The Indians have no interest in this controversy, absolutely no interest whatever. If those attorneys are defeated whose contracts are included in this provision, Joel M. Bryan gets every dollar which is left, and not a penny will go to the Indians under any circumstances, unless the Court of Claims, taking everything into consideration, decides that a portion shall go to the Indians.

I contend, Mr. President, that the Indians have no right here, no claim here whatever; that whatever there is that does not go to other claimants goes to Joel M. Bryan, and that, as the matter stands today as adjudicated by the Secretary of the Interior, this whole amount belongs to Joel M. Bryan. Last year we divided it among the attorneys, giving Joel M. Bryan a portion of it; but Bryan consented to that division. He was 86 years old, and the ten or fifteen thousand dollars that he was to receive was sufficient, he believed, to support him the remainder of his life. Rather than be subject to a constant pursuit of this matter, he concluded to take a settlement and drop the controversy, and the Senate by a large majority de-

cided that way. Now we are trying to dispose of it again, and the same opposition is presented, and the day is spent in talk.

* * * * *

MR. LODGE. What became of it last year.

MR. PETTIGREW. The other House refused to agree to the Senate amendment in conference. It was finally agreed to drop it out. The House of Representatives, however, offered to send the matter to the Court of Claims, and I believe the Senate voted not to send it to the Court of Claims. That proposition had been presented. Now the committee propose to send it to the Court of Claims, and the same Senators who objected last year object again. They talk about the interest of the poor Indian. The people who would get this money, if it were undertaken to pay it to the tribe, are white men from the Indian Territory, unscrupulous men, men who would have lived off the Indians and have become rich plundering the so-called Indians of that country in securing legislation here. They are, after all, the poor Indians for whom New England pleads.

I have sometimes wondered why there was such a vast amount of anxiety from New England about the poor Indians; but it is easy to understand. It is in atonement for the past, for the wrongs of their ancestors; for I think it is well understood that after having made a saint of Miles Standish for murdering Indians in cold blood, those they did not sell to slavery they put on an island in Boston Harbor and starved to death.

* * * * *

MR. PALMER. I ask the Senator why he proposes this amendment, which provides that if those parties have accepted payment in full, substantially that there shall not be a bar to any further claim?

MR. PETTIGREW. I will answer the Senator. Joel M. Bryan, as the facts show, had returned to him simply the money he had paid out. He took it, but he did not relinquish any part of the equity and justice of his claim. He only received the money he had actually expended in prosecuting this

case, and received no salary, no fees for the twenty years of time which he had spent here. I do not think that an amendment should be placed in this bill to refuse him any further relief when every dollar of this money that does not go to these attorneys goes, under contract, to the Indians.

* * * * *

MR. WHITE. As I understand, this bill makes no provision for the payment of money back into the hands of the Secretary of the Interior in cases where a virtual rescission is sought here. Here the party to whom the Senator refers accepted the money; but the Senator says it was not enough, non constat, that the Court of Claims should award that much. Now, does the Senator claim that the party has a right to retain that money which he has received from a tribunal which he claims treated him unjustly and resubmit his case to another tribunal, and, in case of a judgment for a less amount than that rendered by the other tribunal, he will stand upon the judgment of the first?

MR. HOAR. I submit that a clear answer to that is to say, as the Senator from South Dakota says, that Indians were starved to death in Boston Harbor two hundred and fifty years ago.

MR. WHITE. That answer does appear conclusive.

MR. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, as far as I am concerned, I have no objection to an amendment on the part of the Senator from California covering the question which he asks. I presume that some of these people are satisfied. I understand that there were favorites in the distribution made by the Interior Department; that the full limit of all that was called for under the contract was awarded to some of these people, while to one man whom I have in mind there was paid but \$8,000, although he had spent nearly twelve years prosecuting this case, and the payment he received was less than a fifth of the amount to which he was entitled under his contract. I think he is entitled to relief, and I do not believe he should be barred by the arbitrary conduct of the Interior Department, made, perhaps, by an employee, without the

careful scrutiny and consideration of the Secretary of the Interior himself.

Of course, Mr. President, I presume the answer of the Senator from Massachusetts [MR. HOAR] made to the Senator from California [MR. WHITE] with regard to the starving by the Puritans of the Indians of that State, was one which satisfied him, but in that connection it is no more than fair to say that the blackest page in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race is the treatment of the Indians of Massachusetts by the early settlers of that colony. There is no chapter of slave hunting in Africa so black as that chapter in the history of Massachusetts.

* * * * *

MR. HOAR. I do not attribute to the Senator any intentional purpose to misrepresent, but he has been deceived by some rumor without an investigation of his own—rumor, lie.

MR. PETTIGREW. Well, we might go into that question, Mr. President. I do not know whether these are good authorities or not upon this question, but here is an extract from *American Pioneers and Patriots*, by J. and C. Abbott: also from "Miles Standish," in Allen & Appleton's *Bibliography*:

MILES STANDISH AND HIS PROMPT TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS

In 1623, word having been brought to Standish that certain Indians were plotting mischief and death to a small settlement of whites near Plymouth, he set out to that place with eight men. When he got there he enticed two of the chief Indian malcontents into a small room, together with a young Indian half brother of one of these chiefs. He was accompanied by two of his own people, and at a sign the door was suddenly closed. Standish threw himself on one of the chiefs, Pecksnot; one of his men jumped into the other, Wituwaumet, and the third white man held the Indian youth.

Standish killed his man at once by thrusting the Indian's own knife into its owner's bosom. The other Indian was treated similarly by the white soldier, who followed the example of Standish, while the young Indian was not killed at once; he was reserved for a hanging which took place soon after.

Standish then cut off Wituwaument's head and took it back to Plymouth, where it was stuck up on the stockade as a warning to all Indians afterwards.

It is said that Standish said, when reproached for this act and when

he was very much inflamed by the criticism which certain ministers of the gospel had visited on him for so doing, that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian."

Mr. President, I had supposed that phrase came from the far West, but, after all, we are forced to look to New England, and to ancient New England at that, for the phrase that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian."

The reverend and pious John Robinson, who was one of the ministers who rather tried to defend Standish at the time, declared that his clerical brethren ought to bear in mind the "exceedingly warm temper of their captain;" that on the whole, the chief regret that he, as a clergyman, felt, was that Standish had not given these Indians time in which to be converted before killing them.

This was the first Indian blood shed by the Pilgrims.

Not only that, Mr. President, but the general laws of Massachusetts Colony of 1660 contained this provision:

And it is ordered that no Indian shall at any time powwow, or perform outward worship to their false gods, or to the devil, in any part of our jurisdiction whether they shall be such as shall dwell there, or shall come hither, and if any shall transgress this law the powwower shall pay £5.

* * * Every town shall have power to restrain all Indians that shall come into their towns from profaning the Lord's day.

And it is also further ordered, that whatsoever Indians shall hereafter be taken Drunk, shall pay the sum of ten shillings or else be whipt, by laying on ten stripes, according to the discretion of the Judge, whether Magistrate or Commissioner, who shall have cognizance of the case: And in all towns where no Magistrate or Commissioners are, such cases shall be judged by the Select men or major part of them.

That is to be found on page 78 of the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts also contained this provision:

At A Council, held in Boston, August the thirtieth, 1675.

Also whereas it is the manner of the heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the practice of the Civil Nations, to execute their bloody Insolences by stealth and sculking in small parties, declining all open decision of their controversie, either by Treaty or by the Sword—

It is not much a matter of surprise that the Indians should pursue this method of warfare after the introduction which they had in European civilization by the treatment which Miles Standish had given their chiefs. No wonder that they skulked and crept upon those people who assassinated men in cold blood, and Massachusetts made a saint of Miles Standish——

The Council do therefore Order; That after the Publication of the provision aforesaid, It shall be lawful for any person whether English or Indian, that shall find any Indian traveling or sculking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the limits above named, to command them under their Guard, and Examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can.

In other words, they were to shoot Indians on sight, and although it was unlawful to fire a gun on Sunday, I expect that it was a sufficient defense that the gun was aimed at an Indian.

The council hereby declaring that it will be most acceptable to them that none be killed or wounded that are willing to surrender themselves into custody. (Page 223, Colonial Laws of Massachusetts.)

And also the following:

The court doth therefore order and declare:

Secondly. That there be a guard appointed at the end of the said town toward Roxbury, to hinder the coming in of any Indian, until application be first made to the governor, or council if sitting, and then to be admitted with a guard of two musketeers and to be remanded back with the same guard, not to be suffered to lodge in town, unless in prison: *Provided, That* if any Indian or Indians that shall be employed upon any public message or business shall come up to the said guard, they shall forthwith be conveyed to the governor or council, and be by him or them disposed of and secured during their necessary stay for the dispatch of their business, and then to be conveyed as above said. (Page 225, Colonial Laws of Massachusetts.)

But here, Mr. President, is the most interesting provision. On page 238 of the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts it was provided:

Whereas this court have for weighty reasons placed sundry Indians (that have subjected to our Government) upon some islands for their and our security:

It is ordered, That none of the said Indians shall presume to go off the said islands voluntarily upon pain of death, and it shall be lawful for the English to destroy those that they shall find straggling off from the said places of their confinement, unless taken off by order from authority and under the English guard.

In other words, if they should try to swim ashore in search of food, anyone, no matter who he was, was authorized to kill them on the spot.

And it is further ordered, That if any person or persons shall presume to take, steal, or carry away either man, woman, or child of the said Indians off from any of the said islands where they are placed, without order from the general court or council, he or they shall be accounted breakers of the capital law printed and published against man-stealing, and this order be forthwith posted and published.

If anybody tried a rescue while the Indians were calmly and quietly and submissively starving to death on this island in Boston Harbor, he was guilty of a capital offense, and punished accordingly.

MR. LODGE. I ask where the Senator finds the statement that the Indians were starving to death? They were undoubtedly prisoners in Boston Harbor, but where does he find the statement that they were starving to death?

MR. PETTIGREW. They were undoubtedly placed there for the purpose of having them starve to death.

MR. LODGE. That is merely your assertion; that is not history.

MR. PETTIGREW. Well, Mr. President, here is some history that will, perhaps, justify the supposition.

* * * * *

MR. PETTIGREW. In John S. C. Abbott's History of King Philip I find the following:

In a battle at Dartmouth, in 1675, in which Captain Church, of Narragansett Bay, commanded the colonists, they took 160 Indians prisoners, who had been induced by promises of kind treatment to come in and surrender themselves. To the extreme indignation of Captain Church, all these people, in most dishonorable disregard of the pledges of the capitulation, were sold by the Plymouth authorities into slavery.

This act was as impolitic as it was criminal. It can not be too sternly denounced. It effectually deterred others from confiding in the English.

It is remarkable that it deterred them from confiding in the English.

The historian gives this account of the scenes in a captured Indian palisade at South Kingston, in 1675 :

The interior was a large Indian village, containing 500 houses, stored with an abundance of corn and crowded with women and children. An awful scene of carnage now ensued. Though the savages fought with the utmost fury, they could oppose no successful resistance to the disciplined courage of the English. Flying from wigwam to wigwam, men, women, and children were struck down without mercy. The exasperated colonists regarded the children as but young serpents of a venomous brood, and they are pitilessly knocked in the head. The women they shot as readily as they would the dam of the wolf or the bear.

Of the South Kingston affair, Rev. Mr. Ruggles wrote (and is quoted by the historian) :

The burning of the wigwams, the shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yells of the warriors exhibited a most horrible and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers. They were in much doubt then, and often seriously inquired whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity and the benevolent principles of the gospel.

Abbott's history of King Philip, in commenting on the capture of Mrs. Rowlandson at the time of the massacre at Lancaster, in 1676, says:

When Mrs. Rowlandson was driven from the flames of her dwelling, a Narragansett Indian was the first to grasp her; he consequently claimed her as his property. Her children were caught by different savages, and thus became the slaves of their captors. The Indians, by the law of retaliation, were perfectly justified in making slaves of their captors. * * * The English made all their captives slaves, and women and children were sold to all the horrors of the West Indian plantation bondage.

The wife and son of King Philip were captured in battle at Bridgewater in 1677. The historian records this fact:

Philip had by some unknown means escaped. With grief and shame we record that his wife and son were sent to Bermuda and sold as slaves, and were never heard of more.

Princess Wetamoo, King Philip's brother's widow, was ambuscaded by the colonists in 1673. Of this affair the historian says:

The heroic queen, too proud to be captured, instantly threw off her clothing, seized a broken piece of wood, and plunged into the stream. Worn down by exhaustion and famine, her nerveless arm failed her and she sank beneath the waves. Her body was soon after found washed upon the shore. As faithful chroniclers, we must declare, though with a blush, that the English cut off her head and set it upon a pole in their streets, a trophy ghastly, bloody, revolting.

Mr. President, it is no wonder that after this introduction to the Anglo-Saxon race the American Indians have resisted the encroachments of the whites upon this continent—their children captured, sold into slavery, killed, ambushed, assassinated without the least reluctance or remorse. It was the common practice of the people of New England in their dealings with the Indians to sell into slavery all those they took prisoners of war. They said the Indians made bad slaves; that they were willful and stubborn, and so they traded them in the West Indies for negroes. They traded them in Cuba and the other islands of the Caribbean Sea for molasses, and returning home with the molasses, made it into rum, and sent the rum to Africa to trade for slaves in order to stock their plantations. So I say that the blackest page, not alone in our history, but in the history of the world almost, is that of the treatment of the Indians by the people of Massachusetts and the conduct of the early inhabitants of those provinces.

Here is another extract:

In 1643, Emanuel Downing, the foremost lawyer in the colony and a leader of commanding influence as well as high connections, made a written argument in favor of a war with the Narragansetts. He did not pretend that any wrong had been done; but he had a pious dread that Massachusetts would be held responsible for the false religion of the Narragansetts. "I doubt," says he, "if it be not synne in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maynteyne the worship of the

devil which their powwows often doe." "If," says he, "upon a just war, the Lord shall deliver them into our hand, wee might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors (negroes), which will be more gaynefull pilladge for us than wee conceive; for I do not see how wee can thrive untill wee get in a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business."

This is Downing's letter, in Moore, on page 10.

In a book written by Du Bois on the Suppression of the Slave Trade I find the following:

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were largely engaged in the slave trade, and New Hampshire to some extent. This trade declined very little till the Revolution. Newport was a mart for slaves offered for sale in the North and a point of reshipment for all slaves. It was principally this trade that raised Newport to her commercial importance in the eighteenth century. Connecticut, too, was an important slave trader, sending large numbers of horses and other commodities to the West Indies in exchange for slaves, and selling the slaves in other colonies. Owners of slaves carried slaves to South Carolina, and brought home naval stores for their shipbuilding; or to the West Indies and brought home molasses. The molasses was made into the highly prized New England rum, which was shipped to Africa and traded for more slaves. * * * Massachusetts annually distilled 15,000 hogsheads of molasses into rum. * * * Although in earlier times the most reputable New England people took ventures in slave-trading voyages, yet there gradually arose a moral sentiment which tended to make the business somewhat disreputable. * * * It was not until 1787-88 that slave trading became an indictable offense in any New England State.

I thought this related to the sale of Indians, but I see that it relates simply to the slave trade generally. I did not intend to read it, and will read no further.

I had often wondered why we had heard so much from New England in regard to the wrongs of the Western Indians. The Indian Rights Association are most active about the Indians who are most distant from them. This inquiry led me to look up the early history of the people of the colonies in connection with their treatment of the Indians, and it revealed to me the reason why tradition, carried from one to the other, crossed the continent and made the Indians so jealous of the

encroachments of the white and so earnest that the contact should not be near or close. I am not surprised.

Neither do I object to the philanthropy of New England. I wish it would bear fruit sufficient in some measure to compensate for the wrongs of the past in their conduct toward these people.

APPENDIX III

THE BOER WAR

Whereas from the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other people to free themselves from European domination: Therefore,

Resolved, That we watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the South African Republic against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

MR. PETTIGREW.¹ Mr. President, it is my opinion that the Senate should pass this resolution of sympathy for the people of South Africa. If we do not, it will be the first time in our history as a Republic that we have failed to express our sympathy and interest, in emphatic terms, for any race or people whatever who were striving to maintain free institutions.

We are parties to the agreement resulting from the conference at The Hague last year; and while I do not believe that America should take up the quarrels of other nations or become complicated in European controversies, it does not appear to me that the Administration has made an honest effort in good faith to comply with and carry out the terms of The Hague agreement. For that agreement provided——

ART. 2. In case of serious dissension or of conflict, before the appeal to arms, the signatory powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances will permit, to the friendly offices or to the mediation of one or of several friendly powers.

ART. 3. Independently of this resort, the signatory powers think it to be useful that one or more powers who have no part in the conflict may offer of their own volition, so far as circumstances may make it appropriate, their friendly offices or their mediation to the states en-

1. Speech in the Senate April 14, 1900.

gaged in the conflict. The right to offer these friendly offices or mediation is absolute in the powers which take no part in the conflict even during hostilities. The exercise of this right shall never be considered by either of the parties to the contest as an unfriendly act.

ART. 4. The duty of a mediator consists in conciliating the opposing claims and appeasing the resentment which may have sprung up between the states engaged in the conflict.

ART. 5. The duties of a mediator cease from the moment when it is officially declared by either party to the strife, or by the mediator himself, that the methods of conciliation proposed by him are not accepted.

I can not learn that we have proposed any method of conciliation. It is reported that, in a perfunctory way, our Government asked Great Britain if it could do anything to settle the quarrel. Our plain duty was to have acted before the first gun was fired, and then, if refused, to have at once expressed our disapproval of England's course by passing resolutions of sympathy for the South African Republics.

Instead of taking the most American course our Administration has allowed the world to believe we are in full sympathy with Great Britain. Even if there is not a verbal understanding between Mr. Hay, our Secretary of State, and the English Government, approved by the President, it is evident that as long as Mr. McKinley is in power England will have at least the moral support of the United States in whatsoever she may do. I believe that there is such an understanding, for in no other way can I explain the course and conduct of the President.

There is strong corroboration of this view in the visit of the Senator from Ohio, Mr. Hanna, to England last year, and his great admiration for the English Government, expressed on his return.

The struggle going on in South Africa is between the same despotic power, intensified a hundredfold, that over a century ago endeavored to destroy liberty on the American continent and a republic weaker in numbers than we were when we made our triumphant resistance to British tyranny.

Who can say that the Boers are not prompted by as lofty a patriotism, by as ardent a desire for freedom, as inspired

our forefathers in that Revolution which, in 1776, brought our own Republic into being as a model after which the liberty of the world has been fashioned.

Under the conditions and circumstances grouped about the origin of our Government and the historical events attending its course of development, the most unnatural alliance for us to make is an English alliance. Our most natural alliance would be one of sympathy with the heroic defenders of the Transvaal, who have been winning victories that take their places beside Marathon, Bunker Hill, and Lexington.

And in response, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a wave of enthusiasm moves across our continent, and in public meetings the hope everywhere finds expression that the Republic of South Africa shall not perish from the earth, and that the red uplifted hand of British greed may be stayed.

Why, then, did not our Executive take action in behalf of liberty and humanity, action that would have convinced the world that we still believed liberty and humanity should prompt nations in their dealings with each other? Simply because he is engaged in the same wretched business as that which is drenching the soil of Africa with the blood of martyrs. He is busy with an effort to rob the people of the Philippine Islands, and is slaughtering those who resist robbery because, forsooth, it will pay, because they are rich and are worth robbing, and because their island possessions will furnish a foothold for other robberies. The Executive has the power to intercede in behalf of the South African Republic, and if he had spoken as Cleveland spoke in the Venezuela case, there would have been no war in South Africa. But the President will not avail himself of the humane opportunity. The duty is then upon us to act.

Who are these people that excite our sympathy?

They are of our own race. The same blood courses in their veins and in our veins. They sprang from the Dutch, who drove Philip out of Holland, and from the French Huguenots, who fled to Holland rather than surrender their convictions. Their career in South Africa is a living, burning page in the history of the world, and the impress of their ear-

nestness comes down to the children of the thirteen colonies through the adoption of the alternative so eloquently voiced by the patriot Virginian, "Give me liberty or give me death."

I hope to enjoy the day when England shall have been driven from every foot of the soil of Africa and a republic of united and happily governed states constructed on the ruins of her despotic power. England has conquered no people but to rob them, has governed no race but to blight it with the curse of her presence. The Boers know her methods and their results better than any people in the world. Sixty-five years ago they left their homes in Cape Colony and fled into the wilderness, preferring to wander in the desert and fight for an existence against the savage tribes of that region than accept the pretended protection of a nation of canting hypocrites.

The South African Republic and the Orange Free State are in the interior of South Africa, and neither of these Republics touches the coast at any point. The South African Republic is separated from the Indian Ocean by a long, narrow strip of coast land, from 30 to 60 miles in width, owned by Portugal. The chief seaport is Lourenco Marques, on Delagoa Bay. Both of these Republics are dry, treeless, elevated plains, broken by mountain ranges, like Wyoming. They are naturally too dry for successful cultivation, but are covered with the rich grasses of semiarid growth. Farming is carried on through irrigation. Small patches of ground along the low river bottoms produce crops without irrigation, but their area is limited. Timber is scarce and is found only upon land contiguous to the streams. The principal industry is raising cattle, and the population is scattered over wide areas in isolated communities.

The area of the South African Republic (or the Transvaal) is 119,139 square miles.

Its population in 1898 was 336,400 whites—137,900 men and 107,450 women and 101,000 children—with a black population of 748,750 persons. Pretoria, the capital, has a population of 10,000.

Johannesburg, which is the gold-mining center, has a population of 108,263 people—79,500 men and 28,763

women; the white, 60,000; Chinese, 4,800; black, 42,500. In the Transvaal there are 10,000 Jews. The rest of the population are Protestants, mostly Dutch Reform and Lutheran. The Republic owns the railroads and telegraph lines. The total revenue is over twenty millions; but this includes railroads, telegraph, postal receipts, and the sale of explosives.

The government is a republic.

The legislature consists of two houses of 27 members each.

No person can be a member of either house unless he is 30 years of age and possessed of fixed property. The term of service is four years.

The first chamber is elected by the first-class burghers.

The first-class burghers are white male persons residing in the republic prior to 1876, or those who fought in the wars of the republic, including the Jameson raid, and the children of such persons over 16 years of age.

The second chamber of the legislature is elected by the first and second class burghers.

Second-class burghers are naturalized citizens and their children over 16 years of age.

Naturalization may be obtained after two years' residence by taking the oath of allegiance and paying \$10.

Naturalized burghers may become first-class burghers after twelve years.

Sons of naturalized burghers may become naturalized burghers at 18 years of age.

First-class burghers ten years thereafter.

The president and commanding general are elected by the first-class burghers only.

The executive authority is vested in a president, elected for five years, assisted by a council of four members.

The Orange Free State is south of the Transvaal, and has an area of 48,300 square miles, and in 1890 had a population of 77,700 whites and 130,000 blacks or natives.

The capital is Bloemfontein, with a population of 2,077 whites and 1,300 blacks.

The railroads and telegraph lines are owned by the government.

Exclusive of the railroads the revenue in 1897 was \$2,010,000, and the expenses \$1,905,000.

Government.—Written constitution. President elected for five years by voters. Executive council consists of the secretary and four others.

Legislature.—Popular assembly; 60 members, elected by popular vote for four years, one-half every two years; salary, \$10 per day; qualification, burghers 25 years old, owner of real estate valued at \$2,500. Voters, white burghers, by birth or naturalization, who own real property worth \$750 or pay a rent of \$180 per annum or have a yearly income of not less than \$1,000 or own personal property worth \$1,500.

Law.—Roman Dutch. Supreme court, composed of three judges. Circuit courts.

Religion.—Dutch Reformed, 68,940; English Episcopal, 1,353; Methodist, 753; Lutheran, 312; Roman Catholic, 416; Jews, 113.

Education, free, compulsory, and universal. Two daily and two weekly papers.

Every man over 16 years of age or under 60 is enrolled in the militia and trained to handle arms, but the standing army is very small, consisting of a few trained artillerymen. The total white population of these two Republics is less than 500,000, and they are to-day holding in check and have repeatedly defeated the greatest army England ever sent from her shores. Their army has no doubt received many recruits from Cape Colony.

Cape Colony is a British colony, and embraces the southern coast of Africa, possessing an area of 191,400 square miles, with a population of 956,900 people in 1891. Of these 336,900 are European, three-fourths of the white population Dutch, and those who first occupied Cape Colony were the ancestors of the Boers of the two Republics now at war with Great Britain.

Cape Colony was settled by the Dutch in 1652, when a number of Holland farmers were landed at Table Bay, now Cape Town, for the purpose of raising vegetables and cattle to supply the Dutch vessels engaged in trade with India, Java,

and Borneo. This trade was very profitable and the settlement prospered. The vessels of all nations trading with the East put in here to secure fresh supplies, and thus the farmers found a good market for all their crops. Families arrived each year from Holland, and the settlement spread along the coast and into the interior and engaged in all kinds of agriculture and stock raising. They made slaves and servants of members of the native tribes of blacks, compelling them to cease their wandering habit and establish themselves in permanent settlements.

In 1795 England, being at war with Holland, sent a fleet and an army to South Africa and captured Cape Town and garrisoned it. England held the colony until 1803, and then surrendered it to the Batavian Republic; but in 1806, the Batavian Republic having been conquered by Napoleon and erected into the Kingdom of Holland, with Louis Bonaparte upon the throne, England sent a fleet of ships and an army of soldiers and again captured Cape Town and resumed the government of the country.

In 1814, when Holland again became independent and the monarchy was restored, England refused to surrender Cape Colony, but annexed it to the British Empire and paid Holland \$30,000,000 for a quitclaim title to the colony.

England despised the Dutch and her officers treated them with contempt, and under her domineering rule the people were oppressed.

All semblance of a republican form of government was abolished.

Civil offices were filled from England with broken members of Parliament, with bad, if any, character.

Adventurers, worthless sons of distinguished men, were commissioned to rule the colonists, and places were even bartered away for money.

The English language was made the official language, and no man could serve on a jury unless he could speak English. In the country the people were not able to employ the English language. All trials, therefore, had to be conducted in Cape Town; and men charged with offenses were taken long dis-

tances from their homes and tried by a jury of foreigners, whose language the victims of so-called justice could not understand.

The vagrant laws were repealed, and the consequence was that the country swarmed with Hottentots, who begged from and robbed the settlers and became worthless, diseased tramps. They were rapidly becoming extinct under this loose system, although while the strict Dutch rules were in vogue these natives had been giving promise of rapid civilization.

The Dutch have demonstrated superior ability in civilizing inferior races and seldom go to war with them, while the English have developed no capacity in that direction. Where the contact is close and constant, English rule has resulted in ceaseless conflict, wearisome war, and the final extinction of the inferior race by the sword and by disease.

Finally England freed the slaves of the colonists under a proposition to pay about half their value to their owners. Payment for the slaves was to be made in London, and so the Dutch farmers found themselves the victims of claim agents, and, being under the disadvantage of inability to speak the language, many never presented their claims. Those who did were robbed by attorneys, agents, and middlemen, so that they realized only one-quarter of the value of the property.

The Dutch, had they been accorded proper treatment, would have been contented and would have made loyal citizens. They would have united in marriage with English settlers who had begun to locate in the colony, for they were of the same family or race as the English. But England treated them as conquered subjects, as an inferior race, as people fit only to be trampled upon. Thus, after almost a century, she is reaping the fruits of tyranny in a war waged in self-defense by the descendants of those people who should and would have remained loyal under the beneficent management of a humane government.

Great Britain is gathering the harvest of a policy that is testing the strength of the Empire and may accomplish its overthrow. One thing is certain: England's prestige is gone and the limit of her aggressive empire has been reached. De-

day, rapid decay, will now set in. The reflex influence of a century of wrong practiced upon others has destroyed the manhood and the character of the people at home, and the ranks of her armies are no longer filled with the sturdy farmers of the days of Drake and Howard.

In discussing the events that follow I have drawn my information from British sources alone.

South Africa, by George M. Theal, page 175:

It is not a pleasant admission for an Englishman to make, but it is the truth, that it would be difficult to find in any part of the world a people with so much cause to be discontented as were the old inhabitants of Cape Colony for many years after the fall of the ministry of the Earl of Liverpool.

Page 196, Theal gives the cause of the Dutch leaving Cape Colony:

First. There was subjection by a foreign and unsympathetic government.

Second. There was prohibition of their language in the public offices and the courts of law.

Third. There was the superintendent of the London Missionary Society, their ablest and most relentless opponent, in possession of boundless influence with the British authorities.

Fourth. There were the slanderous statements made by the philanthropic societies of England concerning them.

Fifth. There was the sudden emancipation of their slaves without adequate compensation.

Sixth. There was the whole mass of the colored people placed upon a political footing with them, and that without a vagrant act being put in force.

Seventh. There was no security for life or property in the eastern districts, which were exposed to invasion by the Kosas, as the secretary of state took part with the barbarians.

These were the chief causes of the great emigration, and there were many others of less importance.

Froude, *Oceana* (page 39), sides with the Boers and gives the same reason for their departure.

Bryce, M. P., in *North American Review*, December, 1899:

She [England] altered the system of courts and local government, reducing the rights which the people had enjoyed. She insisted on the

use of the English language to the exclusion of Dutch. In undertaking to protect the natives and the slaves whom the Dutch were accused by the English missionaries of treating very harshly, that the missionaries sometimes maligned them and greatly resented the attention which was paid to the charges. Finally she abolished slavery and allotted a very inadequate sum as compensation to the South African slaveholders, much of which sum never reached their hands because it was made payable in London.

For these reasons, in 1836 thousands of the Dutch abandoned their homes, took their cattle and personal property, made domiciles of their wagons, and started northward into the wilderness, fighting their way or making their peace with the savage tribes. They crossed the Orange River and then considered themselves beyond English dominion, for over and over again England had declared that she would not enlarge her possessions in South Africa. Here the settlers established a rude republic, and enjoyed the freedom implanted in their natures generations ago. To these descendants of the men who let the sea in upon Holland rather than submit to the hateful rule of the Duke of Alva, liberty was dearer than life.

That portion of Africa to which these people had gone in search of a land where freedom might thrive without restraint was dry and fit only for grazing purposes. It lies in the high plains region at the head of the Orange River. Along the east coast of southern Africa there is thrown a chain of high mountains parallel with the sea.

Some of the migrating settlers crossed the mountains and found their eastern slopes plenteously clothed with rich vegetation. Near the coast semitropical plants grew in luxurious abundance. Rains gave the soil an adequate supply of moisture, and the streams plunged over great precipices down to the sea. At what is now Durban was found a fine harbor. Many of the emigrants followed the transmountain explorers and settled along the east slope, contiguous to the sea. Here, however, the Dutch home seekers ran counter to England's scheme of benevolence toward mankind (for we of the United States are not the originators of governmental desire to make all people happy), and the sturdy wanderers were forced by

British bayonets to recross the mountain chain and occupy the inhospitable plateaus of the semiarid belt. The country about Durban, the colony of Natal, the coast line the Boers had hoped to make lodgment upon, was promptly annexed to the Empire of Great Britain, and England thanked God that the circumference of the sea was safe from the occupancy of any other power.

The Boers, determined not to submit to British rule, went back over the mountains and located upon plains between the Orange River and the Vaal River, some of their number crossing the Vaal and settling in what is known as the Transvaal. England, however, adhered to the dogma that "Once a British subject, always a British subject;" that by migrating to and subduing new land these sturdy farmers, fleeing from English oppression, were extending the domain of the Crown, and so in 1846 England affirmed her title by arbitrarily annexing all the country between the Orange and the Vaal rivers, embracing what is now the Orange Free State. A war ensued. The Boers were defeated at Bloemfontein by an army dispatched from Cape Town to enforce the merciless edict of an implacable sovereign.

Froude (an Englishman) has truthfully written that England always hates those whom she has injured. But with the aid of the Boers beyond the Vaal the republic maintained the contest, with varying success, until 1852, when England made a treaty with the Boers by which she recognized the Dutch settlement beyond the Vaal as a free and independent state. In 1854, by treaty, England also recognized the independence of the Orange Free State. The treaty of 1852 was confirmed by the cabinet of Lord Derby, and the treaty of 1854 was confirmed by the cabinet of Lord Aberdeen. Thus both of the English political parties participated in the recognition of these two Republics as independent states.

Following the treaty of 1852, peace reigned for seventeen years.

In 1869 a dispute arose concerning the boundary between the Orange Free State and the native tribes. England interfered and after some fighting decided in favor of the Orange

Free State, and a treaty was signed, called the treaty of Aliwal North, fixing the boundary of the Orange Free State so as to embrace all the territory in which the South African (or Kimberley) diamond mines were located.

Froude may tell the story of English duplicity and treachery. I read from pages 45 and 46 of his *Oceana* :

The ink on the treaty of Aliwal North was scarcely dry when diamonds were discovered in large quantities in a district which we had ourselves treated as a part of the Orange territory before our first withdrawal, and which had ever since been administered by Orange Free State magistrates. There was a rush of diggers from all parts of the country. There was a genuine fear that the Boers would be unable to control the flock of vultures which was gathering over so rich a prey. There was a notion also that the finest diamond mine in the world ought not to be lost to the British Empire. It was discovered that the part of the country in which it lay was not a part of the Free State at all and that it belonged to a Griqua chief named Waterboer. The chief, in past times, had been an ally of the English. The Boers were accused of having robbed him. He appealed for help and in an evil hour we lent ourselves to an aggression for which there was no excuse. Lord Kimberley gave his name to the new settlement.

The Dutch were expelled. They did not resist, but they yielded under protest to superior forces, and from that day no Boer in South Africa has been able to trust to English promise. The manner in which we acted or allowed our representatives to act was insolent in its cynicism.

We had gone in as the champions of the oppressed Waterboer. We gave Waterboer and his Griquas a tenth of the territory. We kept the rest, and all that was valuable, for ourselves. What could the Dutch have done worse? We have accused them of breaking their engagement with us, and it was we who taught them the lesson. A treaty but a few months old was staring us in the face. Even if Waterboer's title had been as good as his friends pretended, we had pledged ourselves to meddle no more in such matters, in language as plain as words could make it.

Our conduct would have been less entirely intolerable if we had rested simply on superior strength—if we had told the Boers simply that we must have the diamond fields and intended to take them; but we poisoned the wound and we justified our action by posing before the world as the protectors of the rights of native tribes whom we accuse them of having wronged.

And we maintained this attitude through the controversy which afterwards arose. I had myself inquired subsequently into the details

of this transaction, perhaps the most discreditable in the annals of English history.

Theal (an English writer), South Africa, page 325, finishes the story in the following language:

President Brand, of the Free State, then went to England and laid the case before the imperial authorities. In brief it was this: That Great Britain had taken the land from the Free State under pretense that it belonged to Waterboer, and that a British court after a careful examination had decided that Waterboer had no right to it. The reply which Brand received was to the effect that it was a necessity for the paramount power in South Africa to be in possession of the diamond mines, but he would receive \$450,000 for Griqualand West, which contained the diamond fields, as a solution. This sum President Brand accepted. There was no other way.

English honor went for naught. The Boers had long since found that out, and hatred of England and of Englishmen had become an inherited trait of Boer character.

The country beyond the Vaal was loosely governed. The Boers did not like to pay taxes, so each community would meet occasionally in mass meeting and make their own laws, being better satisfied with the home product than with the kind sent them from the charnel house of corruption across the seas.

The blacks outnumbered the whites and the disparity in numbers emboldened the natives. Conflicts between roving bands and the settlers were a result of this condition. The situation furnished the excuse, and in 1877 England marched an armed force into the Transvaal and declared that it was annexed to the British Crown as a colony, under the pretext of establishing a stable government for the protection of life and property.

The Boers did not at first resist this usurpation of government and seizure of territory. They were scattered over wide areas, were poor, and it was not easy to mobilize for defense. In order to avert any tendency toward resistance, the robber government promised the Boers a system of local self-government. It happened, as usual, that the English officials failed to keep their promises, and they became arrogant, insolent,

and offensive in the collection of taxes. This condition, forced upon the Boers, continued until 1880, when they revolted, made prisoners of the English garrison, occupied the passes leading to Natal and in three engagements defeated their oppressors, killing over three hundred and wounding as many more. The loss of the farmer warriors in these encounters was 17 killed and 28 wounded.

Following these bloody events came the famous and historic battle of Majuba Hill. During the darkness of the night of February 26, 1881, a force of 600 British troops occupied a high hill which commanded the Boer position. With the dawn of the succeeding day the Boer commander, General Joubert, discovered the presence of England's fighting force on the crest high above him. It was an advantage that must be overcome, as its retention involved grave consequences to the cause for which General Joubert had armed his followers. The emergency demanded prompt action and the general called for volunteers to storm the height. In response 150 intrepid Dutchmen stepped forward and offered themselves as a forlorn hope to scale the hill and drive the British away. They were placed under command of Nicholas Smit. After several hours of laborious ascent, Smit reached the top of the elevation at noon with about 80 of his followers. In the face of this heroic success the enemy gave way to panic and fled, suffering the loss of 92 killed, 134 wounded, and 59 prisoners. It was the charge of the old 600 reversed. Theirs not to question why; theirs but to run or die. And they went, leaving among the slain the body of their commander, General Colley. The loss to the Boers was 1 killed and 5 wounded in this sanguinary affair. English historians who belong to the ruling oligarchy of Great Britain say that they were defeated at Majuba Hill by an overwhelming force of Boers, but they give no figures.

The paternal home Government now hurried reinforcements to Africa to wipe out the disgrace of Majuba Hill, but up to date the account has not been squared, unless the surrender of Cronje, with his 3,000 men, to Lord Roberts's army of 78,000, after killing and wounding more English than he

had men in his command and holding the British army at bay for months, can be considered as squaring the account.

Gen. Sir Evelyn Wood was in command of the new levy of 12,000 men who took the field against the Boers. It appears, however, that he deemed discretion the better part of valor, for on the 5th of March an armistice was concluded between Sir Wood and the former triumvirate, Paul Kruger, M. W. Pretorius, and Peter Joubert, and this was soon followed by peace, with independence restored to the South African Republic.

The terms agreed upon included a provision recognizing England's suzerainty and the right of that Government to regulate the foreign affairs of the Transvaal, so that no treaty could be made with any foreign state (excepting only the Orange Free State) without England's consent.

Having thus recovered their internal independence, the Boers began immediately to plan for complete sovereignty, involving an abandonment of English suzerainty over them, and in 1884, as a result of their efforts, a new convention was signed by Lord Derby on the part of England, by which the South African Republic was granted full recognition. The British resident was withdrawn from Pretoria and a council appointed. In 1885 a new element of discord escaped from the Pandora box of Boer destiny. Gold was discovered. The richest and most remarkable mines in the world were exposed to British cupidity. They were apparently inexhaustible, yielding an even average of gold to each and every ton of ore. As a result of this discovery immigration poured into the Transvaal from all parts of the world. England, Russia, France, Germany, the United States, and Canada sent their quotas of fortune seekers, and many of them were mere adventurers. They invaded the Boer domain, not to found homes and transport their families thither, but to wrest wealth from the soil and send their gains to distant climes.

The Boers soon realized that the newcomers, gathered from every quarter of the globe, would some day outnumber them, and, by the force of numbers, take control of their government and turn their country over to some foreign power.

And thus their freedom, so long sought amid dangers and suffering, and for which they had sacrificed so much, would be taken away forever. There were two preventive courses, either of which they had a perfect right to adopt. One was to forbid the opening of more mines, and the other was to limit the franchise and extend the time of residence required before an alien could secure citizenship. The latter course was pursued, and the length of residence required to entitle an immigrant to citizenship was extended to fourteen years.

England was determined, in pursuance of her historic habit, to possess herself of the Transvaal gold fields. Cecil Rhodes, the president of the South African Chartered Company, and at that time prime minister of Cape Colony, who had made many millions out of diamond mines at Kimberley, devised a plan for the consummation of England's scheme of greed. His plan involved a rebellion on the part of the English residents of Johannesburg and the overthrow of the Dutch government. In pursuance of this plan arms were secreted in the city. Dr. Jameson, administrator of the territories of the South African Company, who had at his disposal a body of mounted police, was brought into the conspiracy and a day fixed for an uprising. On that day Dr. Jameson was to march in with his raiders and assist in accomplishing the overthrow of the Dutch Republic. For some reason the Uitlanders changed the date of the demonstration; but Dr. Jameson, impatient over the delay and believing that his allies in Johannesburg would fly to arms on the appearance of his force, determined to spring the plot. So, late in December, 1895, with a force of about 800 men, he entered the Transvaal and advanced toward Johannesburg.

The Boers had been warned, and Jameson was soon surrounded and compelled to surrender.

Jameson's force consisted of 512 well-mounted men and a strong quota of artillery, including 8 Maxim guns. The Boers had not over 700 men, and only 50 were at any time actually engaged. The last charge of the English was met and overcome by 7 Boers. Jameson lost 50 men and the Boers 4. On every previous occasion and on each subsequent occasion the

British have failed utterly to prevail over the untrained citizen-soldiers of the Dutch Republic.

It is believed, and I believe, that the British foreign office had full knowledge of the contemplated raid and approved it. The affair exhibited all the marks of identification of the time-honored English method as described by Morley, a method that provokes resistance and then assumes that the Queen's forces have been attacked. But in this case the overthrow of Dr. Jameson was so sudden and so complete, and his operation so barefaced, infamous, and unjust, that even the English Government did not dare defend the raid or follow it up, although no one was punished for participating in it.

Jameson's revolutionary act caused great indignation among the Dutch of all South Africa and unified them in a determination to resist English aggression. It convinced the most conservative among the inhabitants that there was no limit to English perfidy and English dishonor. The Boers began at once to arm themselves and to fortify and to organize and drill all men between 16 and 60 years of age. Pretoria was fortified and works were constructed to command Johannesburg. Guns and ammunition were bought in Europe, and the miners were taxed to pay for these weapons of war. A treaty was made with the Orange Free State, offensive and defensive.

Members of the English Parliament have said recently that Kruger began his armament before the Jameson raid, with a view to driving the English out of South Africa entirely.

Mr. Drage, M. P., at Derby, December 7, 1899, said:

I charge conspiracy among the Dutch to overthrow English rule in South Africa. The armaments which have been accumulated for many years past, even before the Jameson raid, and the efficient drill and equipment of the Boers, alone showed what their ambitions have been.

The Boers have for nearly eighteen years been accumulating artillery, rifles, melinite, German and Hollander officers with which to oust England from South Africa.

This statement is untrue, but it illustrates the English method of falsehood to justify crime.

In 1895, just before the Jameson raid, Cecil Rhodes sent Major White to Pretoria to see what arms Kruger had, in order to judge what force to send to make the raid successful.

White's diary was afterwards found with a memorandum of the guns he found at Pretoria.

1. One-half dozen very old pieces of ordnance.
 2. One bronze gun of the date of the Second Empire.
 3. A broken Maxim Nordenfelt.
 4. A small muzzle-loader in bad condition.
- Three Maxims and six other guns.

He says:

None of the guns I saw were fit for much work.

Captain Young visited Pretoria for the Times early in 1896, just after the Jameson raid, and he reports:

Orders for batteries of field guns, quick-firing guns, and Maxims, and for sufficient rifles to arm every Dutchman in South Africa were being sent to Europe; European drill inspectors were being imported and forts were being constructed around Pretoria on the most improved designs. One attempt had been made to take their country from them; they were thoroughly convinced that the attempt would be renewed at some future date, so the Boers were determined to be thoroughly on their guard the second time.

For 1892 the military expenditures of the Transvaal were \$150,000, and for 1893 they were less than \$100,000. In 1894 they were less than \$150,000. In 1895, the year of the raid—and there were rumors of the raid for weeks before it occurred—the military expenditures were \$435,000, and in 1896 the expenditures were \$2,500,000.

The St. James Gazette of the 29th of August, 1899, says that in September, 1895, President Kruger asked why the Chartered Company was buying hundreds of horses for presentation to the new Volunteer Rhodesian Horse.

The truth is that the Boers armed only for defense, and after the Jameson raid, and they have continued to arm ever since. They had good reason to prepare for protection, for they saw Chamberlain was still foreign secretary and had

whitewashed Cecil Rhodes in Parliament, and England treated Jameson and his raiders as the heroes of the Empire.

Proof is abundant that English spies have been engaged in mapping all the roads, rivers, and defenses in both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State for the past two years. In 1899 England determined to make another effort to secure the gold mines, for their richness had been further demonstrated by the production of over \$80,000,000 in one year.

To accomplish this covetous design excuses must be produced for a quarrel. The English papers began to publish daily editorials rehearsing alleged wrongs perpetrated upon her subjects in the Transvaal. It was said they were taxed without representation, and a demand was made that the time required by the Dutch law to acquire the right to vote for members of both houses should be reduced to five years.

These assertions were formulated by Chamberlain, the minister for the colonies, and presented by the British representative at Pretoria, and then the British Government, for the first time in its history, presented the curious spectacle of one government endeavoring to compel another government to make it easy for her English citizens to renounce their allegiance to the Queen.

After negotiations had continued for several months, the government of the Transvaal surrendered to all the demands of the English, and sent the following communication to Mr. Chamberlain, through the English representative at Pretoria, who said there was no doubt it would be accepted:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OFFICE,

Pretoria, August 19, 1899.

SIR: With reference to your request for a joint inquiry, contained in your dispatches of August 2 and 3, the Government of the South African Republic have the honor to suggest the alternative proposal for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, which this Government trusts may lead to final settlement.

1. The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the people a five years' retrospective franchise, as proposed by his excellency the high commissioner at Bloemfontein on June 1, 1899.

2. The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that 8 new seats in the First Volksraad and, if necessary, also in

the Second Volksraad be given to the population of the Witwatersrand, thus, with the 2 sitting members of the gold fields, giving to the population thereof 10 representatives in a Raad of 36, and in the future the representation of the gold fields of this Republic shall not fall below the proportion of one-fourth of the total.

3. The new burghers shall, equally with the old burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and commandant-general.

4. The Government will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the franchise law as Her Majesty's Government, through the British agent, may wish to convey to it.

5. In putting forward the above proposals the Government of the South African Republic assumes:

(a) That Her British Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place.

(b) That Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on this subject being allowed tacitly to drop.

(c) That arbitration (from which foreign element other than Orange Free State is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become law.

The Government trusts that Her Majesty's Government will clearly understand that in the opinion of this Government the existing franchise law of this Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration which induces them to go further, as they do in the above proposals, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled; and, further, to put an end to the present strained relations between the two Governments and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war, from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all.

Mr. Chamberlain rejected the reasonable proposals, and, instead of coming to a fair understanding, he increased his demands. The Boers were disheartened and grieved. Consequently the South African Republic withdrew its proposals and asked Her Majesty's Government to stand by the original ones.

Mr. Chamberlain replied by breaking off negotiations in the form of an ultimatum, saying:

The Imperial Government are now compelled to consider the situation afresh and formulate proposals for a final settlement of the issues which have been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for many years by the Government of the South African Republic (the Transvaal).

They will communicate the result of their deliberation in a later dispatch.

It was then September 22. The promised proposals were not forthcoming. The efforts of Mr. Green, the consular agent in Pretoria, were in vain. In the meantime and previous to these negotiations war preparations were going on, and a cry for war was heard in the English Parliament. To gain time was the scheme for the present until the British Government had a sufficient army landed, so as to dictate terms. The Boers waited until October, and then sent an ultimatum demanding that no more troops be sent to Africa pending negotiations and offering to arbitrate.

Mr. Chamberlain now replied that the Dutch were not an independent nation and that they were in revolt against their sovereign, the Queen of England. This was a position Mr. Chamberlain could not sustain, for after the Jameson raid, when he was criticized in Parliament, on May 20, 1896, he made the following statement:

In some quarters the idea is put forward that the Government ought to have issued an ultimatum, which would have certainly been rejected and which must have led to war. Sir, I do not propose to discuss such a contingency as that. A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be in the nature of a civil war. It would be a long war, a bitter war, and a costly war. It would leave behind it the embers of a strife, which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish. To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which secretaries of state, standing in this place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise.

That declaration bears great similarity to the talk of our President when he announced that forcible annexation would be criminal aggression.

It is very appropriate that, as we should be trying to de-

stroy a republic in partnership with England, the President's own words and Chamberlain's own words are sufficient to expose the duplicity of both.

In February, 1896, in a speech, Mr. Chamberlain made the following statement:

The answer which has hitherto been given, not on the part of the Transvaal, but on the part of some of its friends, was that to grant this request was to commit suicide, inasmuch as the moment the majority got the franchise the first use they would make of it would be to turn out the existing Government of the Transvaal and substitute a government of their own liking. [Hear! Hear! and laughter.] I confess I thought there was some reason in that objection. It is difficult to attempt to persuade any one so capable as President Kruger that it would be desirable that he should proceed to his own extinction, and accordingly I brought before him an alternative suggestion, which, at all events, would relieve him from that difficulty. The question is whether President Kruger will consider that that proposal will endanger the security of the Transvaal Government. If he does, he will be perfectly justified in rejecting it.

James Bryce, M. P., in the *North American Review*, December, 1899, says:

Under the convention of 1884, which fixed the relations of Britain and the South African Republic, the latter had the most complete control of its internal affairs, and Britain possessed no more general right of interfering with those affairs than with the affairs of Belgium or Portugal. The suzerainty which has been claimed for her, if it existed (for its existence under the convention of 1884 is disputed), related solely to the power of making treaties and did not touch any domestic matter.

That which caused the war was the discussion of another matter altogether, which was admittedly not a grievance for the redress of which Britain had any right to interfere, and which therefore could not possibly amount to a *casus belli*. This matter was the length of time which should elapse before the new immigrants into the Transvaal could be admitted to citizenship, a matter entirely within the control of the Transvaal legislature.

It is the story of the diamond mines over again, with this exception: The Transvaal after the Jameson raid began to buy arms, and has become an arsenal of modern war equipment. Paul Kruger announced to the nations of the earth

that, if they must surrender their liberties, England would pay a price in human life that would stagger humanity.

But was there oppression in the Dutch Republic, of the Uitlanders or miners, as they are called?

Thael says, on page 350 in his work on South Africa :

The great majority of the people engaged in the mining industry are English speaking, while the farming population is Dutch. The intercourse between them is, upon the whole, friendly, and each section certainly exercises considerable influence upon the other. In the legislature, however, the English-speaking section is almost powerless, and taxation is arranged so as to fall lightly upon agriculture. In other respects no one has anything to complain of.

Andrew Carnegie, in the *North American Review* for December, 1899, says :

In the Transvaal there was scarcely any people but the Dutch until the discovery of the mines, which have attracted foreigners from all nations, until to-day, by counting all foreigners as British, there may be a small majority against the Dutch ; but these are not all British. Some estimate that there are not more than 6,000 British among the miners. Those of all other nationalities do not side with the British as against the Dutch. The vast majority of these, as well as of the British, are opposed to the present attack upon the Transvaal. Of this there can be no doubt. The people are working the mines, receiving enormous wages and only wish to be let alone. They do not wish to become burghers in order to vote ; especially is this true of the British. I have peculiar means of knowing this. Several of the tenants upon my Skibo estates have sons or brothers in the mines, and I have from time to time been informed of the letters which they write home. There is one now in charge of an important mine whose letters are most significant. He stated to his father in one of these what I have already said, and that the Britons liked the Boers and did not wish to become burghers. They were there as Britons to make money and finally to return to their homes. They wanted no franchise. He stated that the petition to Her Majesty praying her to interfere was not generally signed by the Britons, and that many of the foreigners signed the petition believing it had reference to some dreaded temperance legislation in which they were deeply concerned.

H. A. Rose, formerly superintendent of the Homestake mine, in South Dakota, now engaged in mining in the Transvaal, writes a friend at Deadwood that the sympathies of

most American miners there are with the Boers, and that many of them will fight in the ranks of the Dutch army. The miners are of the opinion that if the British conquer and get possession of the gold mines, which are the richest in the world, the miners' wages will at once be reduced.

William Adan, who left Sioux Falls, which is my home, some years ago for South Africa, writes that he left Johannesburg just three days before hostilities between England and the Boers commenced. He says that the war was uncalled for and that the so-called injustice of the Boer laws was greatly exaggerated by the British press. The Boers, he says, are a very temperate class of people, and the foreigner who behaved himself and acted like a man was respected by them and had no more trouble than in any other civilized community in the world.

Froude thus describes the Boers in his book *Oceana*, on page 42:

The Boer, as we call him, is a slow, good-humored person, not given to politics, occupied much with his religion and his private affairs.

The Boers of South Africa, of all human beings now on this planet, correspond nearest to Horace's description of the Roman peasant soldiers who defeated Pyrrhus and Hannibal. There alone you will find obedience to parents as strict as among the ancient Sabines, the severa mater whose sons fetch and carry at her bidding, who, when those sons go to fight for their country, will hand their rifles to them and bid them return with their arms in their hands or else not return at all.

They arrange their disputes with the natives with little fighting.

In the Transvaal a million natives live peaceably in the midst of them, working with them and for them. There has been no uprising of the blacks against whites in the Transvaal.

I have presented this evidence to show who the Boers are. Now, who are the Uitlanders? They all, or nearly all, live in Johannesburg, which is a city of 108,000 people, 28,000 women and 80,000 men. The whites number 60,000 and the blacks 43,000. There are 5,000 Chinese. Very few white women live in Johannesburg, and nearly all who are there are harlots. Chamberlain and the English Government pretend to the world that Great Britain was forced to go to war against

the Boers to redress the wrongs of these unmarried men who are living there without family ties or social restraints, intending to remain only long enough to make their fortunes and then depart. These foreigners were not asking for the franchise, and now this young Republic is to be destroyed by England's mighty army because Paul Kruger would not turn his government over to this band of adventurers, to these men without families and the consorts of harlots.

Mr. President, it was not the alleged wrongs of the Uitlanders that caused the war. We must look for another reason. Any person familiar with English history for the past century will experience no trouble in reaching the cause.

I find the following in Reynolds's Newspaper, London:

1. The taxes in the Transvaal are levied on the rich and not on the poor. The Uitlander worker who earns from £5 to £10 a week is only taxed to the extent of 18s. per annum.

2. Wages at the Kimberley mines, under Rhodes & Co. and the British Government, are less by one-half than those of the Transvaal mines.

The Johannesburg capitalists have declared in print that so soon as Britain has annexed the Transvaal wages will be lowered by 40 per cent.

3. In the Transvaal Sunday labor is prohibited, and the authorities fine any employer who permits it.

In Kimberley, under the British flag, the mines are kept going seven days a week.

4. In the Transvaal the working day for both black and white men is eight hours by law.

At Kimberley black men are worked for twelve hours a day.

5. In Kimberley what is called the "compound" system is in force for colored men. This is slavery by another name. The Government of the Transvaal Republic will not allow the system to be introduced into the Transvaal.

6. At the meeting of the South African Chartered Company the other day, Earl Grey said that our—the British—Government would support the company in the introduction of native (black) and Asiatic (yellow) "labor" because of its "cheapness" as compared with white or British "labor."

The real motive for the war against the Boers is founded in English greed, in English cupidity, and in English dishonor.

Labouchere, M. P., in his paper, the London Truth, of January 18, 1899, says:

The real fact, as every day is becoming more clear, is that Mr. Rhodes wished to reacquire power in the Cape in order to sell his chartered company to us with the aid and approval of the Cape Colony, and that the mine owners in the Transvaal wanted to convert its government into an organization to crimp blacks and to force them to work in the mines. Admitting that we had cause to complain of the treatment by the Transvaal of our citizens in not allowing them to make a sufficient number of blacks work for them, we ought to have consented to arbitration, as suggested by President Kruger. The only reason we did not was that any independent investigation would have blown to the winds the fabrications of the South African League and of the Transvaal mine owners which were circulated by Mr. Chamberlain in order to arouse the passions of Englishmen at home to war point.

Mr. Frederic Harrison, one of the foremost men of England, has to say about this question of the franchise in the Transvaal. In an open letter to Lord Salisbury, the premier of Great Britain, published in the London Chronicle August, 1899, Mr. Harrison said:

"Measured by the compromises with foreign nations which you may justly claim to have brought to a successful issue, the concessions already accepted by the Republic are indeed decisive. From nine years to seven years, from seven to five years, from one demand of the outlanders to another, the Boers have given way. They have already conceded the whole of the original demand made upon them and have even added more. And at every fresh concession Sir Alfred Milner is instructed to make further demands, until throughout the Transvaal, and we may well add at home, the impression prevails that it is not concession of claims which is sought from the Republic, but submission, humiliation, and loss of independence. Is this how negotiations have been carried on, when you, my lord, as head of the foreign office have dealt with Russia, Turkey, France, or the United States? This is not negotiation. It is war, war of naked aggression, war wherein the Boers will not yield without a desperate struggle and after bloody combats, a war which can not be closed by a few victories nor the traces of it wiped out by a few promises or proclamations, a war wherein many true and patriotic Englishmen devoutly trust that the Boers may not be ultimately crushed."

Mr. J. A. Hobson, in the London Speaker, asked "What are we fighting for?" And he then asserted that the mine owners in the Transvaal desired to overthrow the Republic so they could enact the same slave-labor laws in force at Kimber-

ley; so that they could repeal the eight-hour law and compel the black laborers, at least, to work twelve hours a day; so that they could repeal the Sunday laws and run the mines seven days each week, as they do at Kimberley. Mr. Hobson says:

The attitude of the mining industry toward the Transvaal Government in respect of the labor question is instructive. Witnesses before the industrial commission at Johannesburg were unanimous in maintaining that it was the duty of the Government to procure a steady and sufficient supply of Kaffirs for the mines. The Government was called upon to accredit and assist agents of the mining industry to obtain native labor, to pay premiums to Kaffir chiefs, to furnish extra pay to the native commissioners for the same object, and to convey this labor "under supervision" to the mines, erecting "compounds" along the road, reducing railroad fares to one-third of the existing rate, and in a dozen other ways spending further money in serving the private interests of the mines. Why politics and economics are so closely connected that the public purse should be used to keep down the wages bill of the mines is not intelligible to English people. But it is perfectly clear that under a "reformed" government the mine owners will take every care to press these claims.

The testimony of Mr. Albu before the industrial commission at Johannesburg throws a great deal of light upon this feature of the case:

"The native at the present time receives a wage which is far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. The native earns between 50 shillings and 60 shillings per month, and then he pays nothing for food or lodging. In fact, he can save nearly all that he receives. If the native can save £20 a year, it is almost sufficient for him to go home and live on the fat of his land. In five or six years' time the native population will have saved enough money to make it unnecessary for them to work any more. The consequences of this will be most disastrous for the industry and the State. This question applies to any class of labor and in any country, whether it be in Africa, Europe, or America. I think if the native gets enough to save £5 a year, the sum is quite enough for his requirements and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time.

"You say the native does not require luxuries, and if he has worked for a year he has saved enough to go back to his kraal and remain idle?

"Yes.

"Can you suggest any remedy for this?

"The only remedy which I can suggest is that we pay the native a wage which, while enabling him to save money, will hinder him from becoming exceptionally rich.

"Is it in the control of the mining industry to regulate the wages of Kaffirs?

"To a great extent—that is, if the Government assists us in bringing labor to this market."

Here, Mr. President, is the gist of the whole controversy. If the English Government conquer the Transvaal, they will take those people, as they did at Kimberley, to assist in bringing labor to the market. In fact, to-day there are four English colonies where the contract-labor system is in force—Jamaica, British Guiana, Mauritius, and Trinidad. There a system of slave labor exists enforced by the British Government, the laborers being imported under contract and driven to toil by their slave masters, punished if they are idle, fined, and compelled to have the hours which they shall toil regulated by the labor contractor; and an English writer announces to-day that this is the proper system for labor in the Tropics; that no matter what country holds colonies in the Tropics, the labor system adopted by the English at Kimberley, in British Guiana, in Jamaica, and in Trinidad is the system for the best interests of the laborer and of the employer.

Mr. Hobson says:

If this war can be successfully accomplished and a settlement satisfactory to the mine owners can be reached, the first fruits of victory will be represented in a large, cheap, submissive supply of black and white labor, attended by such other economies of cost as will add millions per annum to the profits of the mines.

The blood and the money of the people of Great Britain are being spent for this purpose. No other definite, tangible result of the conflict can be shown. The men who, owning the South African press and its political organizations, engineered the agitation which has issued in this war are the same men whose pockets will swell with this increase. Open-eyed and persistent, they have pursued their course, plunging South Africa into a temporary ruin in order that they may emerge victorious, a small confederacy of international mine owners and speculators, holding the treasures of South Africa in the hollow of their hands.

Any person who will examine this disgraceful chapter of English history will find that the more closely it is looked into,

the more shocking it becomes, and he will be led to marvel that the world looks on while the infamy is being accomplished.

The argument employed to silence the consciences of the small number of English people who are possessed of that moral faculty is that they propose to confer the blessings of English rule upon these people.

Is English rule such a blessing?

In India to-day 75,000,000 of enforced British subjects are starving, and Moreton Frewen, a prominent English writer, with an estate in Ireland, says the chief cause of this condition was the closing of the India mints to silver coinage, thus destroying the value of the savings of these people, which were in silver ornaments and bullion. We may add to this cause the vast sums taken annually from India by taxation to support a foreign army and a great foreign pension list.

Before English occupation a native farmer could not be deprived of his title to his land. No matter how deeply he might become involved in debt, the title to his home was sacred and could not be taken away. England changed the law and allowed the title to pass by foreclosure or by judgment for debt, and the result has been the same as it has been in every other place where similar practices exist—the usurers are acquiring vast estates, the independent land owners are becoming tenants and hence slaves, forced to take what is left of the product of their toil after their landlords are satisfied. These causes, all the result of English rule, have produced starvation in India every year, and in bad years, like the present, people die by millions. What is given in compensation for this horrid condition? The people of India have not adopted anything that is English. They are not Christians. They can not speak the language of their conquerors. In fact, England has never tried to Christianize them or teach them the English language. England's only incentive to the improvement of the Indian has been, how much money can our favored classes make out of India by exploiting the country for franchises and by taxation?

MR. MASON: I would not interrupt the Senator but for the fact that he is just leaving the question as to the cause of

the famine in India; and I wish to ask him, is it not also true that one of the principal causes of that famine is that the cereals of India which the natives raise are exported and taken away to England—that the very food they themselves raise is taken away from them?

MR. PETTIGREW: Oh, yes, Mr. President. I say that, added to the fact that silver has been demonetized in India, comes the shipping away of vast sums to feed the British army and an enormous civil pension list. The food supply of India to the amount of \$150,000,000 a year is shipped away and sold for the purpose of paying a vast army of pensioners in England who have been engaged in the Indian service—either the civil or the military service. The balance of trade is in favor of India \$150,000,000 each year, but no money goes to India to square the account. It is squared by the pretended philanthropic services of the English civil service and the English army, who are there simply to advance the interests of English capital.

MR. MASON: There are more people starving in India than the English are losing in the South African war.

MR. PETTIGREW: There are fifty-odd million people in India to-day who are starving. In fact, 80 out of every 100 of the people of India never have enough to eat. Some few of the people have plenty of food, and 4 out of each hundred live in luxury. That is the effect of caste in India, and we are approaching the same condition of things in this country. It has been accomplished in India by ages of progression, but is being accomplished in this country by a few years of a different system.

* * * * *

Mr. President, the coal miner in Ohio in 1898 received \$192 for his yearly wage; and, with a family of five, that would leave \$39 per capita to furnish a home, education, food, and raiment for an American citizen and his family. Last year the coal miner in Ohio received \$241 for his yearly wage: which was about \$48 per capita to feed, to clothe, to educate, and to house his family. Whether they had enough to eat or not I have not investigated. I presume they would

have been glad to have had more and better food than they could buy with such a wage. Further than that, the wages of the Ohio coal miner were less last year and the year before than were the wages of miners in Austria.

I have previously described Johannesburg, in the Transvaal.

It is a typical English foreign settlement.

There are two other English colonies to which I will call your attention—Singapore and Hongkong. The latter is a city of 222,000 people (1891 census). The white population is 8,553, of whom 6,468 are males and 2,085 are females. The Asiatics number 151,100 males and 61,800 females. There are therefore 3 white males to 1 female, and almost three colored males to each female. Even the Asiatics recognize the character of the settlement.

In Singapore there are 184,500 people, 4,312 of whom are white males and 942 white females. There are 135,000 Asiatic males and 40,500 Asiatic females. The white males outnumber the white females more than 4 to 1, and the Asiatic males outnumber the Asiatic females more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. In both of the typical English colonies even the Asiatics will not live with their families because of the vile character of the settlements. These colonies are little better than brothels, and these Englishmen are there only for purposes of trade. Their golden rule is to keep all they get and get all they can, as the first and the last and the whole duty of man, and the thought of benefiting the people over whom they rule never enters into their calculations.

The person would be simple indeed who believed these soulless adventurers were there to teach or practice the golden rule. Yet Kipling says they are there to "bear the white man's burden." At Singapore benevolent assimilation has done its work and has left its impress upon the morals of the people.

The Statesman's Year-Book says that in Singapore there are 3,600 Eurasians. I looked to see what a Eurasian was and I found it was a person born of a European father and an Asiatic mother, and through further investigation I learned that not one in twenty was born in lawful wedlock.

The English army and the English police protect property and trade in these colonies, and that is the only boast England can lay claim to wherever her infamous heel has poisoned the earth.

England must rise or fall in her boast of power to govern others and confer the benefits of a Christian civilization upon them by the success or failure of her effort in India; by the success or failure of her effort in Singapore; by the success or failure of her effort in Hongkong, in Jamaica, in Trinidad, in fact, wherever she has planted her flag; and I defy any person to find a colony under English rule, not composed of Englishmen, where they have not been miserably cursed by her presence.

Nothing that is good, nothing that is beneficial, nothing that is of advantage to those people has been conferred by England's presence, until to-day she is hated wherever she is, and it would be a blessing to mankind if she were driven from those countries.

Mr. President, there are many noble Englishmen—Matthew Arnold, John Stuart Mill, John Morley, James Bryce are examples which would honor any land or any race; but these men have no influence and exercise no force in shaping the political and industrial elements that control the English Government. The governing classes of England are governed by but one motive—greed—and to satisfy greed they engage in plunder. They have no higher aim than that which rules the highwayman. They hate and despise all other nations and all other races of men. If they bestow the flattery of friendship upon any nation or any man, it is to enable them to use the intended victim of their mercenary attentions. They scheme to reap an advantage by a pretense of friendship. That is the pretense they are trying to play upon the people of the United States to-day, and I am sorry that they have found a foothold with a so-called American Administration.

Through all time, with what brutal contempt they have looked down upon and despised the Irish people. Just now they find it to their advantage to extol Irish bravery. You may travel around the world and make it a point to associate

with the English residents and travelers in every country, and you will find that, which I have found, to be the fact.

In this connection I quote from a letter written by a graduate of Harvard College, who has been in almost every country upon the globe. He says:

I was brought up in an atmosphere of great admiration for England—

If he was brought up in Massachusetts, that is pretty hard on Massachusetts—

and I was an ardent admirer of Great Britain, but after I have traveled in almost every country of Europe and Asia, and met the Briton at home and abroad, I came to know that in Germany the British spent their time cursing the Germans. In France they cursed the French. In their own colonies they curse the natives. In Japan they loathe and despise the Japanese. In China no words are too strong to express the British contempt for the average Chinaman. In India they kick and cuff and swear at the natives of India. By mere contact with the British race I have got so I can scarcely speak of them without intense prejudice. I believe that the average Briton, unless you entirely sympathize with him in his prejudices, is the most prejudiced and meanest man in the world. He will have nothing to do with you unless you swing in line with his prejudices.

He must be exceedingly gratified with the present condition of this country, for the Englishman writes our treaties; and when we amend them, they are submitted to him to ascertain whether or not he is willing to accept the amendment previous to our action. I will quote further from this letter of my friend:

As for the boasted freedom of the English courts, from actual experience I think it is all humbug. The British courts are settled in injustice. I had rather be tried by a German or even a Russian court than by an English court. I saw a woman tried in an English court in one of the countries of Asia, and it was utterly shocking to me to see what that woman had to endure. She was charged with having given poison to her husband. I believe her to be innocent to-day, yet the whole community had not a single Englishman who did not vent his British prejudice against this poor woman.

She was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and there it will end. I don't believe that the British

Government, in its most generous mood, ever mitigated a sentence beyond life imprisonment when it concerned a woman. I should judge that there was solid satisfaction in the whole of England whenever a woman was condemned by the court. Of course the ultimate quality of an Englishman is hypocrisy. Wherever he goes he criticizes from his peculiarly hypocritical point of view. If he goes to a French colony, he has unlimited sympathy for the natives who are crushed by the French Government. But if he goes to an English colony, he loathes and despises the natives. I have read in a number of books where Englishmen have traveled in the colonies of foreign nations. Never once have I seen the slightest evidence of fair judgment toward the governing power. It is only the English who understand liberty, and yet they are the most utterly illiberal people toward others in their mode of government on the face of the earth. God help those who are under British rule!

The English Government is organized to promote the getting of property, no matter who produced the property, and to the protection of that property after it has passed into English hands.

This force moves England's navies and sends her armies into distant lands to murder and to rob the weaker nation of its share of the earth.

The rights of man have no place in England's moral or legal lexicon. This is true to such an extent that even in England her courts punish for offenses against property ten times more severely than for offenses against the person. For years London Truth has published in parallel columns the punishments administered for petty thefts and trespass and for brutal assaults, in order to try and correct this abuse, but to no purpose, for English thought has been directed so long to the idea that property is sacred above all things and that the things man produces are more important than the man, that only a revolution in English sentiment can work the needed change; and that revolution can and will come only when the English Empire is dismembered and destroyed, and from its embers shall arise the new Englishman, believing in the rights of his fellow-men in place of the long-existing belief that no people have rights an Englishman is bound to respect.

During the reign of Victoria England has evicted from their homes in Ireland 3,668,000 Irishmen, and 4,185,000

Irishmen have left Ireland and gone to seek homes elsewhere, while during this reign over 1,200,000 people have died of starvation in Ireland. Yet in the midst of the most acute famine experiences vast quantities of food produced in Ireland were shipped to England to appease the appetites of English landlords, while the men, women, and children whose labor produced the food in Ireland died of starvation for the want of what their toil had earned, and the same thing is seen every year in India and is intensified to-day. Irish evictions were always made in the Queen's name. Gladstone said in Parliament: "We are particeps criminis. We with power in our hands look on." Taxation in Ireland to-day is very much higher than it is in England. Moreton Frewen, who is an English landlord with an estate in Ireland, is my authority for this statement.

Mr. President, I hope the day will come, and I hope the Transvaal war will furnish the opportunity, when Ireland will rise in her might and drive every English soldier into the sea and every English landlord from her soil. That island belongs to the people who till it. Confiscation of the rights of the non-resident landlord would be eminently justifiable in their case.

But how fares it with India? In the reign of the present monarch over 12,000,000 people have perished from starvation, and this year, the worst of all, that number is likely to be exceeded, as efforts for relief are almost suspended while the English nation spends its money and sheds the blood of its people in an effort to steal the Transvaal gold mines, so that her overrich may reap greater profit and employ slave labor to work the mines. But the opium trade flourishes and is profitable, for that is a government monopoly in India, and over the factories the English flag floats, and upon every package of the deadly drug is the stamp of Victoria and her coat of arms.

During the reign of Victoria, England has been engaged in forty wars, and in every one she was the aggressor. These have been wars of conquest and of plunder. During all this bloody and terrible reign the sun has arisen each morning to be greeted in its course around the world by the shrieks of her

victims and the sound of English guns employed to murder those who resisted her oppression and gave up their lives in the vain effort to stay the course of English greed.

But the reflex influences of this half century of wrong to others have worked the ruin of the English race at home. One-tenth of her people are paupers; 66 per cent are without property and do not own the shelter over their heads or one foot of the earth on which they live.

Her yeomanry of the last century have disappeared forever. The lands they tilled are in pastures and in parks.

For the first time in history the English troops were beaten in and turned back by the people of central Asia in 1897.

Soldiers are not bred in the slums of cities; they are not recruited from the families of paupers; and if it were not for the contingent furnished by Ireland and Scotland and the recruits from the farms of Canada and Australia, the English armies in South Africa would long ago have been driven into the sea. The English soldier from England will no longer fight. Four hundred and fifty Boers attacked Spion Kop and killed and wounded 2,000 and drove those who were left to their defenses. The same story, wherever England has met white men for years, has been told. Fighting naked savages has become her business, the only business at which she is successful; and yet this work is the white man's burden, which we are asked to help bear.

England carries on these wars against the poorly armed people of Asia and Africa with the most cruel and savage barbarity. First the foe, often armed with old muzzle-loading rifles or spears, crowded together, without artillery, are mowed down by rapid-fire guns, and the survivors are demoralized. Then English mounted lancers charge the fleeing mass, overtaking individuals here and there and running them through the backs with their lances, keeping count of their victims and boasting of the number slain. Those left upon the field who are wounded are then murdered in cold blood. In the Soudan, in 1898, Kitchener fired upon crowds of women and children and killed hundreds at Omdurman.

Why is the lance longer used in modern warfare? Why

are English horsemen armed with lances, the remotest relic of barbarism in connection with war? It is simply for the fun of what they called, when the war opened with the Boers, "pig-sticking." Is it not time that the civilized nations of the world rose and stayed the course of this nation which carries the black flag and is engaged in the murder of our fellow-men throughout the world?

Here is a picture of the Soudan campaign of 1896, from Winston Churchill, in the *London Post*, September 29, 1898:

We had not gone far when individual dervishes began to walk toward the advancing squadrons, throwing down their weapons, holding up their hands, and imploring mercy. The laws of war do not admit the right of a beaten enemy to quarter.

The victor is not obliged to accept surrender. This is the new English doctrine of war. Churchill does not say what was done, but there is no doubt these supplicants for mercy were murdered on the spot.

Mr. E. N. Bennett, in the *January Contemporary Review*, related what he saw in the Soudan campaign:

All the wounded were killed and then robbed.

This slaughter of the wounded was not confined to Arab servants. It was stated that orders were given to kill the wounded. Certain it is no protest was made when scores of wounded were dispatched. The dervishes, who were stretched on the sands within a few yards, were bayoneted. Arabs, who lay further out in the desert from the line of march and happened to move or turn over in their agony, were instantly pierced with bullets. On some occasions shots were fired into the bodies of wounded men at such close quarters that the smell of burning flesh was sickening.

After the battle of Omdurman, dervishes, who lay with shattered legs or arms, absolutely without weapons, were bayoneted and shot without mercy. Our own British soldiers took part in it. On the west slopes of Surgham I noticed a fine old Dervish, with a gray beard, who was disabled by a wound in his leg. About 8 yards from him was his son, a boy of 17, whose leg had also been lacerated by a bullet. Both were without arms, yet an Englishman stepped out of the ranks and drove his bayonet through the old man's chest. The old man begged in vain for mercy and clutched the soldier's bayonet, reddening his hands in his own blood in a vain attempt to prevent a second thrust. No

effort was made by officers or men to prevent the murder, and the report was that General Kitchener had given orders to kill all wounded.

This is from an English correspondent, who relates what he saw with his own eyes:

No attempt was made for two days to do anything for the wounded dervishes.

Except to murder and rob them.

General Kitchener returned from these terrible scenes with the blood of thousands of murdered men, women, and children on his hands, and urged Christian England to forget his barbarity and subscribe a fund to build a college at Khartoum to teach Christianity and English civilization. I can imagine the children, whose fathers and mothers had been thus barbarously murdered, flocking in numbers to become students of a civilization and a religion that had deprived them of their parents—and the justification for all this was that their purpose was to benefit and bless mankind.

Hear the canting Salisbury, at a dinner of the Constitutional Club, London, December 16, 1898. Referring to the Soudan campaign, he said:

The Empire is advancing and must advance. The great strength you have must be used unflinching, unsparingly, but still prudently, for the advancement of the interests of the Empire and for the benefit of mankind. That we have used the force intrusted to us not violently, not sentimentally, but with calm and courageous calculation for the advancement of the interests of the Empire and the benefits of the civilization of mankind.

The cargo of an English ship starting to the Tropics on a mission of civilization and Christian mercy is made up of an assortment of merchandise, among which may be found rum and opium, with the Queen's stamp upon them. There are Bibles, English harlots, and the missionary to go before and open the way for the introduction of the rest of the cargo, until a colony is built up like Singapore and Hongkong. No wonder, with these experiences fresh in their minds, that the Asiatics do not embrace Christianity.

Our imperialistic friends and the President favor taking tropical colonies and holding them, after the English model, on the plea of duty to mankind, and the President employs fine passages of hypocritical cant borrowed from England's long experience. We are told we should join England in her work and help bear the white man's burden. We are told that now is the moment when the destiny of Anglo-Saxon civilization hangs in the balance, and we must take up the burden and spread civilization and enlightenment and Christianity, after the English fashion, over that portion of the world not yet cursed by the blight of English presence; that England has been doing the work for a century, and now she falters and finds the burden too great to bear. Jealous rivals covet her empire and her dominions; that the great prize at stake for mankind is Anglo-Saxon dominion and lordship over the world; that dominion after the English fashion it is our duty to uphold; that it is God's work, and that He desires we should make England's struggle our own. And so imbued has the President become with this idea that he has pursued a course that has led the whole world to believe he has made at least a verbal alliance with Great Britain to render aid, if occasion requires. The effect of our attitude has been to prevent the nations of Europe from helping the South African Republics.

Therefore our duty is plain. We should pass this resolution of sympathy with these struggling Republics. We should show the world that England can not rely upon us for support in any form. We should encourage and counsel with her enemies. We should show to the whole world that we condemn her course in South Africa.

I spurn an English alliance and English sympathy. I want nothing to do with that nation of robbers and murderers, unless it be to join the other nations of the earth in a notice to England that she must close her career of piracy, must pull down her black flag, and withdraw her armed forces from all her colonies and allow them to be free. Rather than join in this unholy work, called by that poet of blood "the white man's burden," let us emulate the example of our forefathers and be again the champions of all men struggling to be free, the

example to the world, the proof to mankind that a nation of freemen can do right, can be just, can resist the temptation to conquer and oppress, and that we hate injustice. Let us exhibit the example of a government conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and demonstrate that this Government, so conceived and so dedicated, a government of, for, and by the people, shall not perish from the earth.

APPENDIX IV

THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO

MR. PRESIDENT,¹ if I were opposed to the river and harbor bill I should yet feel bound to vote against sustaining the President's veto, because I believe it is based upon wrong principles and a violation of the Constitution.

I believe the time has come when Congress should propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States limiting the veto of the President to those rightful subjects contemplated by the Constitution itself, or by proposing an amendment to annul a veto by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress. The veto is a relic of despotism, and was incorporated into the European constitutions to protect the monarch's prerogative from legislative encroachment, and was never intended to serve any other purpose; and therefore has no place in a free government based on the fundamental principle that the will of the majority is supreme.

I am of the opinion that the Constitution as it now stands does not confer any power upon the President to defeat with the veto the will of the majority of Congress when properly expressed upon any rightful subject of legislation. The President has no legislative discretion conferred upon him by the Constitution, for if he has, then legislative responsibility is also imposed. If the President has legislative discretion and responsibility, he has no right to sign any bill without that care and attention, investigation, and knowledge which are exercised by and incumbent upon the two Houses of Congress—a duty which it would be physically impossible for him to perform.

If it is urged that the President has the right and that it is

1. Speech in the Senate June 3, 1896.

his prerogative to veto any bill Congress may pass, a usurping President, having secured one vote over one-third of one House of Congress, could veto all measures, and representative government would be at an end and the Constitution overturned. As well might it be argued that the two Houses of Congress have a right under the Constitution to refuse to pass any act appropriating money for the courts or the Department of Justice or the Army, thus making it impossible for the decree of the court to be enforced, and so destroy a coördinate branch of the Government created by the Constitution. The power exists in Congress to do so, but to exercise it would be unconstitutional and destructive of the Constitution itself. So if the President shall undertake to exercise legislative discretion in the use of the veto. The power may exist, but the Constitution would be violated and the will of the majority defeated. Section 1 of Article I of the Constitution provides that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives."

The framers of the Constitution only intended to confer the veto power upon the President for the purpose of protecting the executive office from encroachment by the legislative power, or to protect the Constitution. Any other use of the veto is unconstitutional and should be resisted.

Senator Davis, of Minnesota, for the majority of the Senate Committee on Pensions, on April 28, 1888, in a report to the Senate on some recent vetoes, took this view of the matter, as will be seen from the following extracts from this report:

The right to so use the power of executive disapproval as to change the ordinary methods of legislative action by a majority vote upon proper subjects of legislation, merely because the Executive differs from Congress upon the sufficiency of proof or the expediency of relief, does not, in the opinion of your committee, exist. Such a misconception of the extent of executive power, making it limitless, is fraught with dangers to the independence and to the constitutional powers of Congress, and it clearly implies that a factious or usurping President, who proposes to subordinate to his will that department to which the Constitution has confided the principal powers of Government, can right-

fully do this, and prevent the will of the people from taking statutory form, except by two-thirds vote of each House of Congress.

Senator Platt, of Connecticut, in an able speech on this subject, delivered in the Senate on August 3, 1888, used the following language:

All legislative power is vested in Congress, and if it be established that the President of the United States may properly veto any and every bill which is submitted to him for approval which as a legislator he might not "approve," then the legislative power which is declared to be vested in Congress is a snare and a delusion. If it be established that the President can veto any and every bill which is passed by the two Houses, having at his back a faction of one-third of each House, prevent legislation, then the day of majority rule in this Government is over with us and the day of minority legislation has been ushered in.

At about the same time Mr. Gear, now a Senator from Iowa, but at that time a Representative in Congress, took the same position in a speech in the House of Representatives. In fact, this is the doctrine of the Republican party, as opposed to the usurping policy of Grover Cleveland as represented in his numerous vetoes, exceeding in number that of all other Presidents.

This view of the Constitution in relation to the veto power is well sustained by the various Presidents previous to Grover Cleveland, only 109 acts of Congress having been vetoed from 1789 to 1885. It is also sustained by the opinions of the ablest men in all times. Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State, in an official opinion delivered to President Washington, said:

It must be added, however, that unless the President's mind, on a view of everything which is urged for and against the bill, is tolerably clear that it is unauthorized by the Constitution, if pro and con hang so as to balance his judgment, a just respect for the wisdom of the legislature would naturally decide the balance in favor of their opinion. It is chiefly for cases where they are clearly misled by error, ambition, or interest that the Constitution has placed a check in the negative of the President.

Mr. Madison says:

The primary inducement, in conferring the veto power upon the President, is to enable him to defend himself. Indeed, even in England,

where the King is considered a part of Parliament, and therefore possessing a share of legislative power, the royal negative would only be permitted in cases where encroachments were attempted upon the royal prerogative.

Daniel Webster, in a speech at Worcester, Mass., October 12, 1832, said:

The power of the veto is exercised—

Speaking of Jackson's veto of the bank bill—

not as an extraordinary, but as an ordinary power, as a common mode of defeating acts of Congress not acceptable to the Executive. This practical innovation on the mode of administering the Government so much at variance with its general principles, and so capable of defeating the most useful acts, deserves public consideration. Its tendency is to disturb the harmony which ought always to exist between Congress and the Executive, and to turn that which the Constitution intended only as an extraordinary remedy for extraordinary cases into a common means of making executive discretion paramount to the discretion of Congress in the enactment of laws.

Again, Webster, in his speech in the Senate on the veto of the bank bill, referring to the question of expediency and of policy, says:

This power, if constitutional at all, is only constitutional in the hands of Congress. Anywhere else its exercise would be plain usurpation. If, then, the authority to decide what power ought to be granted to a bank belongs to Congress, and Congress shall have exercised that power, it would seem little better than absurd to say that its acts nevertheless would be unconstitutional and invalid if, in the opinion of a third party, it had misjudged on a question of expediency in the arrangements of details. If Congress decides right its decision may stand; if it decides wrong its decision is nugatory, and whether its decision be right or wrong, another is to judge, although the original power of making the decision must be allowed to be exclusively in Congress. This is the end to which the argument of the message will conduct its followers.

Von Holst, in his *Constitutional History of the United States*, volume 2, pages 46 and 47, in speaking of the veto of the bank bill by Jackson, says:

Since the President, as already said, is not to be considered as a power coördinate with Congress in the matter of legislation, we may call it running counter to the spirit of the Constitution that the President should think himself, the moment any provision in the details of a bill did not entirely suit him, to exercise his veto power. The President, if he were consistently to carry out this new doctrine, should endeavor to prevent all legislation which did not in every particular entirely correspond with his views, and he might do it in all instances in which he could count on one-third of the members of both Houses of Congress.

Mr. Clay, in discussing the veto power in 1832, said:

The veto is an extraordinary power which, though tolerated by the Constitution, was not expected by the convention to be used in ordinary cases. It was designed for instances of precipitate legislation in unguarded moments. Thus restricted, and it has been thus restricted by all former Presidents, it might not be mischievous. During Mr. Madison's Administration of eight years there occurred but two or three cases of its exercise. In a period of little upward of three years the present Chief Magistrate has employed the veto four times.

What would have been Clay's thoughts and comments if instead of four times it was four hundred times in the space of three years, as in the case of the present occupant of the White House during his first Administration?

Kent, in his Commentaries, says:

This qualified negative of the President has become a very grave power and applied in a way not anticipated by the generation which adopted the Constitution.

Two Democratic Presidents of the Republic at least have expressed their opinion on this question—Pierce and Polk. These Presidents far surpassed the present Executive in character and ability.

The unusual and unconstitutional exercise of the veto power by Grover Cleveland should receive the attention of Congress; for, during his two administrations up to May 1, 1896, he had vetoed 542 pension bills alone. Washington, in his two full terms, vetoed but two bills, and the veto power was not exercised by Adams and Jefferson at all. It was exercised by Monroe but once. John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, Tay-

lor, and Fillmore did not veto any measure passed by Congress; while Lincoln vetoed but one act of Congress during the exciting epoch through which that great statesman conducted this country in safety.

The average number of vetoes since the adoption of the Constitution has been about one a year up to the time Grover Cleveland became President of the United States.

* * * * *

If it were not for this usurpation on the part of the President, regarded with such indifference by our people, the question of finance, which is not and should not be a party question, would not enter into and vex our contests for the election of a President. If the people could feel that the President would execute the laws—would obey the Constitution, so that the majority should rule—the financial questions which now tear asunder and threaten to destroy the great political parties of this country would be determined by the two Houses of Congress untrammelled by Executive interference. The people of this country would embrace with great satisfaction the assurance in the platforms of both political parties that the judgment of Congress in relation to all questions of finance shall be accepted as conclusive and binding, and that the exercise of the veto by the President to overturn the will of the majority is a violation of the Constitution.

Mr. President, the present occupant of the White House is not content with the violation of the Constitution by the exercise of the veto power alone, but with an utter disregard of his sacred oath of office, as well as the Constitution, he overrides the laws, influences Congressmen with patronage, enriches his favorites at the public expense—in fact, permits no restraint but his imperial will. I think he might fairly be charged with high crimes and misdemeanors. He has exercised the veto power in direct violation of the Constitution. He has appointed men to office without the advice and consent of the Senate. He has defied the Senate and the Constitution alike by appointing men to official positions after the Senate had twice refused its consent, and still retains them in office.

During his first term he openly used his appointing power to intimidate members of Congress, and during his second term he has given appointments to members of Congress for the purpose of securing their votes upon measures pending in the two Houses.

On his own motion he has undertaken to overthrow the Hawaiian Government, doing acts in direct violation of the Constitution. He has borrowed money in violation of law for the ordinary expenses of the Government, and then falsified the facts in relation thereto in a message to Congress. He has refused to remit taxes as required by law, and has collected taxes unlawfully. He has refused to enforce the laws of Congress so often that the list of violations is next only to the list of his vetoes. He has sold bonds at private sale to his favorites and former associates upon terms and at a price many millions of dollars below the market price of the bonds on the day of such private sale. In view of these facts it is time for Congress to give some attention to these usurpations. If this Government is to survive we can no longer look with indifference upon the shameful autocracy of Grover Cleveland.

APPENDIX V

CENSORSHIP IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE¹ following is the letter to the general manager of the Associated Press from the correspondent in the Philippines, called forth by a request for an explanation of his reason for signing the protest of the correspondents against the censorship. It was written for the information of the general manager of the Associated Press:

MANILA, P. I., July 30, 1899.

MELVILLE E. STONE, ESQ.;

General Manager the Associated Press, Chicago, U. S. A.

MY DEAR MR. STONE: Your request for a detailed record of all circumstances leading to the statement cabled to the newspapers by all the correspondents in Manila is just received. In the beginning, it should be explained that the correspondents had the question of taking some united action to secure the right to send the facts about the war, or, failing in that, to explain to our papers and the public why we were not telling the facts two months before the cablegram was released.

The censorship enforced during the war and before the beginning of it was, according to newspaper men who had worked in Japan, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, and Russia in war times, and in Cuba under the Weyler régime and during our war, so much more stringent than any hitherto attempted that we were astonished that the American authorities should countenance it, and were confident that public opinion would be overwhelmingly against it if its methods and purposes became known.

For a long time we submitted to the censorship because of appeal to our patriotism and a feeling that we might be accused of a lack thereof if we made any trouble for the American authorities here.

But when General Otis came down in the frank admission that it was not intended so much to prevent the newspapers from giving information and assistance to the enemy (the legitimate function and, according to our view, the only legitimate one of a censorship), but to keep the knowledge of conditions here from the public at home; and

1. Speech in the Senate, June 4-5, 1900.

when the censor had repeatedly told us, in ruling out plain statements of undisputed facts, "My instructions are to let nothing go that can hurt the Administration," we concluded that protest was justifiable.

Otis had gained the idea from the long submission by newspaper men to his dictation that it was a part of the Governor-General to direct the newspaper correspondents as he did his officers. Much of the censorship was conducted by him personally, the censor sending a correspondent to the General with any dispatch about which he had doubts. The process of passing a message was identical with the correction of a composition by a schoolmaster, Otis or the censor striking out what displeased him and inserting what he thought should be said, or, what came to the same thing, telling the correspondent he must say certain things if his story was to go.

In this way the entire American press was made the personal organ of Otis; we were compelled to send nothing but the official view of all events and conditions, even when the official view controverted the opinions of the great mass of the officers in the field and of intelligent residents and was a falsification of events which passed before our eyes. In this way every fight became a glorious American victory, even though every one in the army knew it to have been substantially a failure, and we were drilled into writing quite mechanically wholly ridiculous estimates of the numbers of Filipinos killed, knowing that if we wrote any other description than the sort being telegraphed to the War Department our work would be wasted.

Repeated appeals made by all the correspondents to their papers to secure change in censorship methods had been fruitless, and as conditions steadily grew worse and failure was piled upon failure while we were sending rose-colored pictures of successful war and inhabitants flocking to the American standard, the repeated suggestions of correspondents that "we must do something" resulted in a formal meeting.

All were agreed that their work was being made a farce; the papers were wasting money in keeping them there, that Otis might as well detail some of his own clerks to do the work. Each had his own idea of what should be done. I proposed they protest to the President against the censorship, with the request that all matter should be passed except military movements which would assist the enemy, and I thought it had better be signed by the names of the organizations and papers represented than by our names, because their display might be construed into a desire for personal advertisement. The others thought we should send a statement of the conditions, with an explanation to the public why our reports had been so misleading.

On comparing notes we found that we had among us learned the views of all the American generals and most of the other prominent men in Manila whose opinions were worth consideration, and that there was a practical unanimity of opinions of the situation. The dispatch prepared

was an epitome of those opinions. These men had told us continually that our reports were misleading the people at home, and that it was our duty to tell them how affairs were going; indeed, the pressure upon us to "tell the truth" from Army officers of high rank and men of all classes has been something tremendous, and we have been accused of cowardice and all sorts of things.

Before taking any steps we concluded to talk with Otis, and he made vague promises of greater liberality in the censorship, as he had done before, and assured us, as he had done times innumerable since the beginning of the war, that the insurrection was on the verge of collapse; that he was about to administer the final blow, and that he knew these things from invaluable private sources, which would be absolutely convincing if he was at liberty to reveal them to us.

Then followed a month of history repeating itself. Before the movement of Antipolo, Taypay, and Morong we were told that it must inevitably result in the capture and destruction of Pilar's army of 2,000 or 3,000 men; then the same predictions were made of the movement to the south of Cavite Province; next, the collapse was about to come through the surrender of General Trias, who would bring over his army.

About the middle of June I wrote a conservative review to the effect that every one here was convinced that it would be impossible to end the war during the rainy season and for some time thereafter, unless heavy reinforcements were sent.

The censor's comment (I made note of it) was: "Of course we all know that we are in a terrible mess out here, but we do not want the people to get excited about it. If you fellows will only keep quiet now, we will pull through in time without any fuss at home."

He took the story to General Otis, who said: "Tell Collins that if he will hold that for a week or ten days, he will thank me for not letting him send it," and when I went to see him repeated the same old story about the insurrection going to pieces, and hinted so portentously about having wonderful things up his sleeve that I almost believed him in the face of past experiences of the same sort. The other men had practically the same experience, each one trying to get through a story of how matters stood at the beginning of the rainy season, then on.

So, after waiting a month for the General's predictions to materialize, we decided to send the statement we had framed without changing it, as the conditions had not changed since it was written. Its form was not what I wanted, because I thought a correspondent of the Associated Press should not assume to give his own views upon any question; but, on the other hand, it was that or nothing. The views were not our personal views, but the views of Lawton, MacArthur, Funston, Wheaton, et al., and we could not be accused of prejudice against the Administration, because the strongest Administration organ

in the country was committed to the plan; and, moreover, the attempt to hold the newspapers by the throat was so unusual that unusual action seemed to be justified and demanded.

As a matter of form, we took the message to the censor. His comment was practically the same that he had made on my message. He did not question the accuracy of the statement of conditions, but said: "This is just the sort of matter the censorship is intended to suppress." He, of course, took it to Otis, who in turn sent a messenger requesting Davis, of the New York Sun, to go and see him, doubtless thinking that he had treated the Sun as his organ, and its correspondents being under obligations to him for special favors, he could work them to give up the plan. Thompson said he (Thompson) thought Collins and McCutcheon should go also, as their views had always been conservative, etc. A committee was chosen—Davis, McCutcheon, Bass, and I.

When we were ushered into Otis's room he said with some anger: "Gentlemen, you have served an extraordinary paper upon me. You accuse me of falsehood. This constitutes a conspiracy against the Government. I will have you tried by a general court-martial and let you choose the judges." We knew from experience with threats to "Put you off the island" that there was nothing to be frightened about, and also knew that all the officers who would be on a court-martial would know we told the truth.

Three hours of exceedingly plain talk followed. The general did not contradict our statements that the purpose of the censorship was to keep the facts from the public, but said that what we wanted was to have the people stirred up and make sensations for the papers. We told him that there had never been any subject furnishing more good material for sensations than this war, and that he should be exceedingly grateful to the papers for handling it so temperately.

In that connection we reminded him that the stories of looting in soldiers' letters home had been little, if any, exaggerated. Davis and Bass told him they had personally seen our soldiers bayoneting the wounded, and I reminded him that the cutting off of the ears of two American soldiers at Dasmarinas had been merely retaliation for similar mutilations of dead Filipinos by the Americans. (No one could possibly tell stronger stories of the looting and blackmailing by our soldiers than Otis has told, although he charges it all to the volunteers.)

We told him that we had refrained from sending these things and others of similar nature because we did not wish to make sensations. We told him that the censorship was purely for the purpose of giving the impression at home that everything was lovely here, otherwise he would suppress the local papers, which print all sorts of clippings from the American papers, denouncing the Administration, and which keep the enemy posted on the position of every company in our Army and even give advance notice of intended movements.

Dealing with the specifications, we said that the hospital officers refused to give us any information as to the number of sick, on the ground that he had instructed them to withhold such facts from the papers; also that he had reported to Washington a percentage of $7\frac{1}{2}$ sick when the surgeons agreed that from 20 to 30 per cent. of the command was sick; that not more than 10 per cent. of some regiments were fit for duty, and that the hospital force was entirely inadequate, as well as the hospital room, so that they were compelled to discharge hundreds of men who were really sick to make room for more urgent cases.

His reply was that the hospitals were full of perfectly well men who were shirking and should be turned out. To send home figures of the numbers in hospitals would be entirely misleading.

We reminded him that while he had been reporting to Washington that "the volunteers will render willing service until relieved," the same volunteers were sending regimental petitions to the governors of their States to use every influence to secure their recall; that some regiments had petitioned him to relieve them from duty; that the members of various regiments had at certain stages of the war been in a frame of mind closely resembling mutiny; that the members of the Third Artillery, who had enlisted for the war with Spain, had threatened to stack their guns on the 4th of July unless discharged.

In the matter of prejudice against the Navy, it was stated on the part of the correspondents that all were compelled to change their accounts of the taking of Iloilo to make it appear that the Army had done the work with immaterial assistance from the war ships, and that only a few houses were burned. The unquestioned facts, told in the original stories, were that the soldiers did not land until three hours after the marines had raised the flag and chased the insurgents out.

General Otis explained that the Navy was so anxious for glory that it disobeyed instructions by landing before the proper time, etc., although the correspondents would not have been permitted to send that explanation had they known it, and were forced to give an entirely false account of what occurred. The fact is questioned by no one that almost all of the business quarter and much of the other sections were burned.

I reminded him that two stories by Dunning describing the work of the Navy in patrolling the coast and taking prizes were "killed" without reason, and the others agreed that the entire attitude of the censorship toward the Navy has been one of prejudice and discrimination. There seemed to be a childish fear that the Navy would get some advertising. The censor and Otis himself always made us refer to the gunboats operated by Captain Grant as "Army gunboats," in their eagerness to keep the Navy from getting any credit not its due.

Regarding the suppression of the reports of field operations which were failures, we told the General that the whole purpose of most of

the important movements, beginning with the advance from La Loma Church in March, had been to round up and capture or force the surrender of various divisions of the Filipino army; that all of them had failed to accomplish this, yet we had been obliged to represent that Otis was accomplishing just what he intended and winning a series of glorious successes and administering no end of final crushing blows.

Otis is a hard man to argue with or to pin down to any definite proposition, and his explanation of the failure of Hall's expedition the first week in June was characteristic. He said: "But how could we capture them when they were not there? They all got out the night before we started, and there were not 2,000 we found, but only 600."

We rehearsed in detail the objections to the censorship, which I have outlined in the beginning of this letter. There was no question of the fact that he had not allowed us to send full reports of the conditions here unless those reports were reflections of his own views. We asked that when there were different views held by people whose opinions were worthy of consideration we should be allowed to explain the various views and phases of the question, instead of echoing his opinions as though they were rock-ribbed and unimpeachable facts.

Davis said: "When I returned to Manila, I asked what I would be permitted to send, and you told me all facts, news about military operations not helpful to the enemy, and my opinions as opinions." All of the committee agreed that the fulfillment of that rule would be satisfactory, and I disclaimed any desire to send my personal opinions for the Associated Press. General Bates was present throughout the interview. At the close General Otis turned to him and asked, "What would you do with these gentlemen, General?"

Bates promptly replied: "I would do what I said."

"Court-martial them?" Otis asked.

"No, let them send what you promised, the facts, and opinions as opinions," Bates said.

The next morning Otis sent for Davis and tried to talk him over. Among other things he complained that he did not clearly understand what we wanted. Wishing to give him a chance to establish a reasonable censorship, we sent another committee with a written request that we be allowed to send all facts not useful to the enemy and describe the different views of the situation when it was open to differences of opinion. The committee thrashed over the same ground several hours, and the result was a statement in effect that we might send anything which in his opinion was "not prejudicial to the interests of the United States."

That did not change our position in the least, because he had always construed as damaging to the Government any story tending to carry the smallest inference that his acts and policies were not entirely successful and indorsed by the whole army. He also appointed

a new censor, although we had told him that would not be the slightest relief unless the system was changed, and he promised to keep the censor fully posted on all events, an arrangement which he has not carried into execution.

There were two or three days of improvement and greater liberality in the censorship; then it dropped into the old rut. One of our complaints had been that Otis himself was practically the censor; that whenever we presented stories which the censor had doubts concerning the policy of, or dealing with matters he was ignorant of, he would send us to Otis, and we often wasted hours waiting in an anteroom and then perhaps were unable to secure an audience. We asked him to give the censor exclusive jurisdiction in the field and keep him posted on all events, giving him access to official reports from the front. This he declared would be impossible. Therefore we sent the telegram.

General Otis had complained of the language as an accusation of deliberate falsehood. We assured him we had no intention of conveying the idea that he had reported to Washington anything he did not believe to be true, and we softened the language to avoid the possibility of any such construction. He also said that the War Department had made public only the more optimistic of his reports, and we amended the dispatch to make plain that we referred only to those reports which the Department had given out. I inclose a copy of the original version.

We were entirely ignorant when we sent the message that something like an agitation against the policy in the Philippines was then afoot in America. So far as I can learn our action met the entire approval of every one in Manila except Otis and the members of his personal staff who would feel bound to support him under any conditions.

The position of the newspaper correspondents here is, as it has been from the beginning, most difficult.

Otis had closed to us every possible source of information. Only yesterday when I attempted to send a report of the bombardment of Paete, the truthfulness of which was unquestioned, he immediately sent for Lawton, and demanded to know how it had been made public, and told Lawton to jump on the members of his staff.

Such strict orders against talking to newspaper men have been repeatedly issued that when we go about headquarters the officers avoid us as though we had smallpox, because they are afraid to be seen talking with us. Otis refuses to give us passes to go about the city after the closing hour (8.30) although such passes are given to the reporters on local papers and to business men of all nationalities, even Filipinos. All of the privileges extended to newspaper men in Cuba, like the privilege of the Government telegraph wires and access to tele-

grams from the front which are not of a confidential nature, are denied us. It is impossible to maintain any system of correspondence from Iloilo and the other islands except by mail, as the officials in those places, under orders from headquarters, exercise a censorship practically prohibitive over the cable.

Instances of the suppression of news to prove that the sole intent of the authorities is to suppress accounts of the real situation here could be multiplied if it was necessary, but the repeated assertions of the censor that he was instructed to permit nothing to go of a political nature—nothing that could reflect upon the Army or “create a bad impression at home”—leaves no doubt on that point. Such items as courts-martial have been ruled out, with the explanation: “I am here to protect the honor of the Army.”

Recently I filed what I thought a most inoffensive statement that the business men who had appeared before the commission had advocated the retention of the existing silver system of currency. The censor said: “I ought not to let that go. That would be a lift for Bryan. My instructions are to shut off everything that could hurt McKinley’s Administration. That is free silver.” I explained that the silver system here was not 16 to 1, and with seeming reluctance he O. K.’d the item.

The charge that we cared for nothing but to make sensations for our papers is most unjust, for I doubt if ever a body of newspaper men were more conservative in the presence of unlimited provocation for sensationalism. There have been three or four instances which I now recall of conduct by our soldiers resembling the episode of the Seventy-first New York in Cuba, which were matters of common knowledge here, and which none of us has attempted to cable nor desired to.

There has been, according to Otis himself and the personal knowledge of every one here, a perfect orgy of looting and wanton destruction of property and most outrageous blackmailing of the natives and Chinamen in Manila, and various incidents like the shooting down of several Filipinos for attempting to run from arrest at a cock fight, not to mention courts-martial of officers for cowardice, and the dismissal of General ——— for getting hopelessly drunk on the eve of two important battles—all of which the correspondents have left untouched by common consent.

Also, there are the usual number of Army scandals and intrigues which we have not aired, foremost among them the fact—it is universally considered a fact in the Army—that Otis is deeply prejudiced against and jealous of Lawton, and has done everything in his power to keep Lawton in the background and prevent him from making a reputation.

As a correspondent of the Associated Press, I am supposed to have no opinion, but in writing of events like this war one must necessarily,

to convey any idea of the trend of affairs, go somewhat into the field of description of conditions, etc., which are in the final analysis matters of opinion. In doing so I have endeavored merely to reflect the views of the great majority of well-informed people. Whether I have done so correctly you can easily judge by referring to the stories I sent "via Hongkong" soon after my arrival and afterwards (one on the 7th of April saying that notwithstanding the optimistic official view the war was likely to be a long one and that 100,000 men would be needed to end it). You will notice also that the tone of the Hongkong dispatches was decidedly different from those sent from Manila direct. The only time General Otis has given us any freedom was during his row with Schurman over the peace negotiations, when (by insinuation and those attempted diplomatic methods which public men seem to think newspaper men do not see through) he was encouraging us to roast Schurman and take his side.

The secret of the whole trouble here is that the Government has left a small man to deal with the most delicate problems, requiring broad statesmanship. Every one agrees that Otis is honest, and that counts for much in a position affording such chances for dishonesty, but everybody agrees also, with most remarkable unanimity, that he has bungled affairs from the beginning; that the war might have been avoided by tact, and might have been ended before now by some other plan of campaign than slashing aimlessly about, taking a town to-day, deserting it to-morrow, retaking it the next week—and by diplomacy.

The Hongkong press, which has always championed the American side of the Philippine question, reflects the feeling of most people here in an editorial beginning: "It is not difficult to imagine the disgust and indignation that would be felt and expressed in the United States when once the country awoke to the real condition of affairs in the Philippines. There has been mismanagement of the grossest description."

I wish the etiquette of officialdom might permit Dewey and Schurman to speak to McKinley and the public concerning Otis as freely as they have to newspaper men. Those two are the only men of the caliber of statesmen the Government has sent here, and Schurman has the college professor's weakness of believing that all other men, including Malays, were as sincere in what they said as himself.

Otis is a bureaucrat who never leaves his desk, has never seen his soldiers in the field, and insists upon managing both the civil and military branches of the government, although either one would fully occupy an able man, because he trusts no one but himself, and withal has a faculty for antagonizing every one with whom he has to deal, as he has antagonized the newspaper men.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT M. COLLINS.

APPENDIX VI

WHAT IS A PROTECTIONIST?

MR. PLATT, of Conn.* Mr. President, it is true that the business of grinding fuller's earth is carried on in Connecticut. It is also true, I suppose, that there has been a bed of fuller's earth found in Florida. What I understand the Senator from South Dakota wants—who is not a protectionist except in spots, when he has some particular thing that he desires to have protected—is that the Connecticut mills shall be obliged to buy the fuller's earth, which it is said has been found in Dakota, in its raw state, and transport it by rail to Connecticut and grind it there, and then send it back to Dakota for use, or as far back as it can find purchasers. Now, I do not think there is very much inconsistency in that.

MR. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, the deposit of fuller's earth in South Dakota would not go to Connecticut to be ground, nor to the Eastern market. It would go, however, into the markets of the West, to Kansas City, where it would be used to clarify lard-oil, cotton-seed oil, etc. But the clays of Florida can come into the New York market if you give them a chance to do it, and there is no reason why they should not be allowed to come. There is no argument, except an effort to create a prejudice in the mind of somebody why the Connecticut mills should not buy the Florida earth and grind it, and be obliged to buy it or else go unprotected themselves.

Further, Mr. President, I do not know that I care to disclaim or admit the charge as to whether I am a protectionist or not. I believe that the Nation should do its own work. I believe that a varied industry is necessary to the development of the best traits of character, and the highest civiliza-

* Debate in the Senate June 26, 1897.

tion among any people. I believe that it is the Nation's duty to encourage that varied industry which will enable every talent among its people to be developed to its fullest extent.

Because I refused to vote for 185 per cent. duty on woolen goods, the Senator from Connecticut stands up here to say that I am a protectionist only in spots. Because I refused to vote for 700 per cent. duty on the lower grades of silk, used by the poor people of this country, the Senator from Connecticut says I am a protectionist only in spots.

Well, if to be a protectionist all over a man must vote for 700 per cent. duty on the cheaper articles and for 10 per cent. on the higher priced articles that are used by the rich, I am only a protectionist in spots. If to be a protectionist I must vote for an extra duty on sugar purely and absolutely in the interest of the most corrupt and demoralizing trust ever organized in this country, at the behest and dictation of a political caucus, then I am a protectionist only in spots. If I must vote for every trust, if I must vote for every combination, vote special privileges to the few, high rates of duty, differential duty, in order that they may be encouraged in their raids upon the people of this country, then, Mr. President, I am not a protectionist all over.

Is the Republican party a protection party? Why, Mr. President, the issue of protection has departed from our politics. When New England made her trade with the cotton Democrats of the South for the purpose of putting a duty on cotton, thinking to break up the solid South, she abandoned the only principle, the only issue, that gave the party character, and it has left you nothing with which to fight the next campaign. All the Republican party stands for to-day, inasmuch as protection is no longer an issue and the South is broken up, is as the champion of the trusts and the gold standard, as the special representative of the classes against the masses.

APPENDIX VII

CIVILIZATION—TWO LETTERS

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS

20th Century Department

WALTER L. PHILLIPS,
General Secretary, Bridgeport, Conn.

Rooms 1524-26-28 St. James Building

MISS CLARA BARTON, President.
MRS. ELLEN SPENCER MUSSEY,
Counsel and 3rd Vice-President,
Washington, D. C.

FRANK D. HIGBEE,
Director 20th Century Dept.,
New York.
Cable Address "HIGBEE"
Telephone 960, Madison Square

New York, Nov. 21st, 1900.

Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew,
Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
Sir:—

The Red Cross regards your position and standing to be such as to make your views on the progress and value of the 19th century, in comparison with other countries and your prophecies regarding the 20th century of great value, and we respectfully request you to forward to us at your earliest convenience from 40 to 70 words in your own handwriting, giving your thoughts in that connection. We shall read them at all of our meetings throughout the United States, and afterwards allow the United States Government to take them and forever exhibit and preserve them in the Congressional Library at Washington.

An engraved invitation is being prepared, one of which will be mailed to you, but the time is short, and we take this method to expedite matters, and hope you will send in your "Greeting" before December 1st, if you can do so.

We prefer to have the "Greeting" in your own handwriting rather than typewritten because we wish to have each "Greeting" in autograph form when turned over to the government for preservation for all time.

Thanking you in advance, I am,
Very truly yours,

FRANK D. HIGBEE,

Approved: *Director 20th Century Watch Meetings.*
CLARA BARTON, *President.*

To the American National Red Cross:

During the century just closed, mankind has made marvelous progress in his control over the forces of Nature, and in the production of things which contribute to his physical comfort.

The early years of the century marked the progress of the race towards individual freedom and permanent victory over the tyranny of hereditary aristocracy, but the closing decades of the century have witnessed the surrender of all that was gained to the more heartless tyranny of accumulated wealth. Man's progress has heretofore been material and not spiritual or ideal and the future alone can demonstrate whether any real progress has been made.

I believe the new century will open with many bloody revolutions as a result of the protest of the masses against the tyranny and oppression of the wealth of the world in the hands of a few, resulting in great progress towards socialism and the more equal distribution of the products of human toil and as a result the moral and spiritual uplifting of the race.

R. F. PETTIGREW.

Washington, D. C.,
Nov. 22, 1900.

APPENDIX VIII

THE PRESS

When * the reduction in the cost of refining sugar since 1886 is taken into consideration, when we take into consideration the cheaper labor, cheaper material of every kind, which can be had to-day than in 1886, this increase between the cost of raw and refined sugar shows how perfectly and how completely the trust have been able to manipulate and control the market.

Everybody knows the facts; and yet, Mr. President, the great newspapers of this country constantly circulate the story that the trust has caused a decline in the price of sugar, knowing, as they do, that their statement is untrue; but the trouble is that the great corporate newspapers of this country are owned by special interests and run in those interests, or they sell their editorial columns for cash for any interest that may come along.

They are anonymous; they have no character; no one is behind them. They hire men to write editorials who write against their convictions, the same as a man hires a lawyer to try his case. They retail these falsehoods for the purpose of influencing the people of this country in behalf of the special interests which they always represent, sometimes because their stock is owned by men whose interests are promoted thereby; and their editorials are ordered from the business office, oftentimes by men who do not and can not speak the English language; and again the editorial columns are sold, purchased, for the purpose of promoting an interest for which they receive pay. The people of this country are rapidly finding out this fact. The great newspapers of this country are gradually losing the influence which they never had the right to possess in any particular.

* Speech in the Senate, June 10, 1898.



INDEX

A

- Adams Express Company—Rates of, compared with postal rates, 440-443.
- Aggression—America guilty of, 235.
- Aguinaldo—American promises to, 220; Character of, 236; Confidence of, in the United States, 259; Defense of, 235-6; Efforts of, to stop the War, 202-3; Estimate of, 612; Financial dealings of, 237; Negotiations with, over independence, 257.
- Alameda Sugar Company—Organization of, 59.
- Alaska—Possibilities of, 159; Protection of salmon fisheries, 24; Provisions for annexation of, 351.
- Aleutian Islands—Coal in, 137; Commercial advantages of, 138; Strategic value of, 138.
- Aleutian Route—Feasibility of, 150.
- America—Early promise of, 356; Influence of, in Hawaii, 46.
- American Army—Aggressions of, 262; Atrocities of, in the Philippines, 280-4; Dealings with the Filipinos, 210, 267; Friction with the Philippines, 268-70.
- American citizens—Heritage of, 525.
- American colonists—Treatment of Indians by, 621.
- American commerce with Hawaii, 28.
- American conquest of the Philippines unjustified, 328.
- American diplomacy and the Paris Tribunal, 25.
- American expansion—Jefferson's ideas on, 170-1.
- American government—Moral force of, 187; Theory of, 165.
- American imperialism—Demand for honesty in, 338-9.
- American interests in Hawaii, 78.
- American officials—Duplicity of, in report on Filipinos, 223.
- American plutocracy—Bribery as a weapon of, 473.
- American Republic—Hope of, 164; Influence of, upon the world, 342.
- American residents and Hawaiian politics, 85.
- American Sugar Refining Company—History of, 512; Organization of, 481.
- American Tobacco Company—History of, 513.
- American traditions and Hawaiian annexation, 163.
- American warships—Coal capacity of, 148.
- American wealth—Distribution of, 166.
- Americans in Hawaii—Character of, 125.
- Annexation of Danish West Indies—Negotiations for, 178-9.
- Annexation of Hawaii—Reasons for opposition to, 75.
- Annexation of San Domingo—Argument for, 174-6.
- Anthracite Coal Trust—Agreement to raise prices by, 503; Composition of, 501; Costs and prices of, 505; History of, 500-3; Price fixing by, 502-3; Production agreement of, 501.
- Anti-Trust Laws—Effect of, 572-3.
- Army—Increase of—Inadequate reasons for, 275.
- Army legislation—Demand for, 272.
- Asiatic competition—Danger of, 52; Effect on American industry, 73, 74.
- Asiatic labor—And European labor, 64-5.
- Asiatics in Hawaii, 11.
- Atrocities—Committed by Americans in the Philippines, 282-3.
- Atrocities in the Philippines, 272; Accounts of, by American soldiers, 284-5.

B

- Bank currency—Validity of, 546-7.
 Bankers' profits—Injustice of, 464;
 On bond sales, 462-4; Through currency issue, 545.
 Banking interests—And government bonds, 450; In New England, 52.
 Beet Sugar—Bounties on, in Europe, 53; Production of, in Europe, 53.
 Beet Sugar industry—And Hawaiian competition, 34, 58; California, 54-7.
 Bering Sea—American property in, 19-20; Fisheries of, 19.
 Bering Sea Tribunal—Failure of, 21.
 Big Business—Influence of, in politics, 529.
 Boer Independence—Effect of gold discovery on, 644.
 Boers—Characteristics of, 652; Defense of, against Jameson raid, 646-7; Effect of diamond discovery on, 640; Grievances of, against England, 637; History of, in South Africa, 638; Migration of, from British possessions, 637-8; Struggle of, for liberty, 630-1; Treatment of, by England, 650-1; War of, for independence, 639.
 Boer War—Causes of, 654-5; Events of 642-3; Resolutions on, 629.
 Bond issues as a source of government revenue, 451.
 Bond sales—Bankers, profits on, 462-4.
 Bribery as a weapon of American plutocracy, 473.
 British colonialism—Effects of, on British population, 659-60.
 British rule—Characteristics of, 657; Effects of, on native populations, 327.
 British seizure of Hawaii, 113.
 Bryan—As an opponent of trusts, 506-7.
 Business men for annexation of Hawaii, 86.

C

- California—Sugar industry in, 28.
 Campaign contributions—As a factor in politics, 529; and government contracts, 543; by vested interests, 542-3.
 Campaign funds — Misappropriation of, 530.
 Cape Colony—England conquest of, 635; History of, 634-5.
 Captain Cook—Experience of, in Hawaii, 1.
 Capital—Increase of, with civilization, 564.
 Censorship during the Philippine War, 207-8; In the Philippines, 230, 273, 604, 678; On public documents, 309-11; On public information, 200; Purposes of, in the Philippines, 681.
 Centralization of power—Opposed to American traditions, 165.
 Cessions of territory—International laws on, 243.
 Chinese labor—Effects on Hawaiian family, 10.
 Citizenship in acquired territory, 351-3.
 Civilization—Effects of, on Hawaiians, 2; In Japan, 168.
 Civilized warfare—Methods of, in the Philippines, 295-6.
 Cleveland Administration—Bond issues of, 457-62.
 Climate—And civilization, 182; And Republican institutions, 3.
 Coffin, James—Quoted, 55-9.
 Colonialism—A form of slavery, 335; And Manifest Destiny, 180; Dangers of, to the United States, 170; Failure of, in Great Britain, 329-30.
 Competition—Effect of sugar trust on, 488-90; Opposition to, by trusts, 473; Theory of, in American industry, 473.
 Concentration Camps—In the Philippines, 300.
 Concentration of population, and social decay, 167-8.
 Congress—Power of sugar trust in, 498.
 Conquest—And the Declaration of Independence, 276; As a denial of liberty, 341; As a destroyer of liberty, 361; Danger of, to Republican institutions, 167; English method of, 247; Financial advantages of, 333; Pretexts of morality in, 359-60.
 Conquest of the Philippines—Success of, 246.
 Constitution of the United States—Effect of, on other countries, 186.
 Contract labor—In Hawaii, 65; Treatment of, in Japan, 69-71.
 Corruption and American railroads, 397.

Credit as a basis for banking power, 560.
 Currency—Danger of private issues, 562-3; Profit through issue of, 545.
 Currency issues—Private control over, 546-7.

D

Danish West Indies—Negotiations for annexation of, 178-9.
 Declaration of Independence—Interpreted by Henry Clay, 348; Judge Douglas on, 345; Lincoln's estimate of, 343-4.
 Diamonds—Discovery of, in South Africa, 640.
 Distribution of wealth in the United States, 166, 548.
 Divine Right of Kings as a basis for government, 342-3.
 Dole, S. B.—On the Hawaiian Revolution, 120.
 Domestic virtues in Hawaii, 9.

E

Economic influences and the Hawaiian Revolution, 89.
 Economic reasons for Hawaiian annexation, 91.
 Education—Establishment of, by the Filipinos, 298-9.
 England—Conditions of home population, 664; Distribution of wealth in, 554; Fear of, over-emphasized, 17; Investments of, in New York, 18; No danger of war with, 17; Opposition to alliance with, 631; Record of, in Ireland, 660-663.
 English colonialism—Failure of, 329-30.
 English colonies—Description of, 629.
 English diplomats—Menace of, 23.
 English method of conquest, 247.
 Executive influence and the Hawaiian Treaty, 189.
 Exploitation—Based upon watered stock, 412; English method of, 324-5.
 Express business—Extent of, in 1890, 435.

F

Family, Hawaii—Status of, 9.
 Federal finance and bond issues, 451.
 Federal government as a land proprietor, 390.

Filipino government—Conditions under, 233.
 Filipinos—Abilities of, 595; Achievements of, during the war, 242; Achievements of, in self-government, 248; American alliance with, 244, 254; American proclamation to, 609; Arts of, 596; As allies of United States, 199, 220; Attitude of farmers toward, 301; Capacity of, for self-government, 233, 584-5; Character of, 247, 582; Conduct of, during the war, 254; Culture of, 297; Deceived by American officials, 205; Declaration of War with, 204; Demand of, for independence, 258, 277, 294; Demand of, for recognition, 254; Economic activities of, 590; Enlistment of, in the American Army, 277-8; First battle with, 268; Friction of, with American Army, 268-70; Homogeneity of, 293; Literacy of, 586; Personal Qualities of, 586-7; Policy of, 603; Presidential proclamation to, 204; Protest of, against American policy, 609-10; Recognition of, by Admiral Dewey, 226; Treatment of, at Manila, 264; Treatment of, by Americans, 283-4; Treatment of prisoners by, 298-9; Unity of, 287, 292.
 Financial Reforms—Importance of, in United States, 559.
 Foreign investments in Hawaii, 77-8.
 Franchise Qualifications in Hawaii, 92.
 Freedom—Test of, 341.
 Free Land—And the early settlers, 367; Disappearance of, in the Middle West, 372.
 Free trade—Effect of, on sugar prices, 496-7.
 Freight costs—On railroads, 447-8.
 Frightfulness—Practice of, in the Philippines, 269-70.
 Fur seals—Destruction of, 20; Habits of, 25; Property in, 24.

G

Gold—Contract for purchase of, 457-8; Effect of discovery on Boer independence, 644; Exports of, from the United States, 452, 568; Importations of, from Europe under contract of 1895, 460-1.

Gold corner—Established by Morgan & Company, 463-4.
 Gold exports—Federal finances, 450-55.
 Gold reserves—Contract for replenishment of, 457-8; Depletion of 1894-5, 453-6.
 Gold standard—As a breeder of trusts, 476-8; Effect of, on banking power, 560.
 Gold supply—Monopoly of, 568.
 Government bonds—And the gold standard, 450; Sales of, to the bankers, 450.
 Government bond sales—Cost of, under Cleveland Administration, 462.
 Government—Control of, by the trusts, 472.
 Government bonds—Possibilities of popular distribution, 556.
 Government expenditures — Increase of, 523.
 Government ownership of railroads, 396.
 Government railroads—Relative efficiency of, 408.
 Grazing lands—Improvident use of, 390-2.
 Great Britain—Misrule of, in Cape Colony, 637; Record of aggression, 234; South African policy of, 636; Success of, in India, 326-7.
 Guam—Use of, for political prisoners, 300.

H

Hague agreement and the Boer War, 629-30.
 Hanna—Method of election of, to United States Senate, 531.
 Hard times and the gold standard, 570.
 Hawaii—Advocate of annexation, 33; American capital in, 5; American influence in, 46; American interests in, 78, 80; American labor in, 27; American population of, 11.
 Annexation of—And beet sugar industry, 34; And England, 17; And imperialism, 163; And Japanese Peril, 57; And organized might, 46-7; And Republican pledges, 62; And sugar planters, 68; And Sugar Trust, 32, 38; Arguments for, 190-1; Attitude of natives, 135; Attitude of organized labor, 40; Attitude of

Senators, 189-90; A war measure, 164; British precedent, 115; Favored by United States minister, 86; Misinformation regarding, 21-22; Opposed, 1; Real reasons for, 131; Reasons for opposition, 75; Un-American, 163.
 Argument for reciprocity with, 45; Area and population, 6; As a defense for San Francisco, 159; As a protection to Alaska, 152; Asiatic labor in, 35, 71; Asiatic and European labor in, 64-5; Attitude of Minister Stevens toward, 85; Business men for annexation, 86; Cause of depopulation, 8; Character of Americans in, 125; Christian churches in, 7; Classification of government lands, 35, 36; Commercial advantages of, 137; Competition of, and beet sugar, 58; Composition of population, 14; Contract labor in, 10, 65; Contract labor and sugar planters, 67; Controversy of, with Japan, 192; Decrease of Americans in, 46; Decrease of native population, 2; Disadvantages of, as a coaling station, 85; Disturbances in, fostered by Americans, 85; Domestic virtues in, 9; Drunkenness introduced by whites, 9; Duty on sugar from, 30; Economic life in, 3; Election of new government in, 124; Emigrants to, 1; Exports to United States, 44; Foreign control of land in, 76; Foreign investments in, 77-8; Free trade with, 13; Geography of, 4; Geology of, 3; Growth of sugar industry in, 39; Imports of sugar from, 50; Incapable of self-government, 7; Investment opportunities in, 51-2; Labor in, 64; Methods of handling labor in, 66-7; Military value of, 139; Missionaries in, 7; Native churches, Failure of, 8; Nativity of population, 66; Ownership of, 76; People of, 6, 8, 10; Plans made for revolution in, 92; Plantation labor in, 79; Politics of, and American residents, 85.
 Population of—14; Asiatic element in, 11; By nationality, 13-15; Nativity of, 16; Sex distribution of, 15.

Portuguese labor in, 11; Productivity of, 36; Prosperity of, and sugar, 37; Prerequisite for office holding in, 123; Property qualification for franchise in, 91, 133; Real estate values in, 82; Reasons for annexation, 18; Reciprocity with, 28; Reasons for Reciprocity Treaty, 41.

Revolutionary government — Instability of, 122; Recognition of, 116; Supported by force, 123.

Revolution—An act of piracy, 101; Causes of, 126; Conspiracy for, 94; Consummation of, 99; Deposition of Queen Liliukalani, 111; Detail of, 102-111; Dole, S. B., on, 120; Economic causes of, 89; Misrepresentation of, 117; Preliminaries of, 88; Request for United States troops in, 97; Revolution of 1893, 84; Treasonableness of, 121.

Seizure of, by Great Britain, 113; Seizure of, Disgrace to United States, 115; Shipping interests in, 27; Slavery in, 69; Stockholders in sugar plantations, 77; Strategic value of, 26, 137; Sugar industry in, 26; Sugar production capacity, 35; Taxable values in, 82; Total sugar imports from, 51; Trade with, 26; Trade with, Decrease in, 27; Trade with, in 1891, 33; Treaty of 1776, 31; Wages in, 27, 29, 64; White man in, 2; Work of Missionaries in, 126.

Hawaiian government—Conspiracy to overthrow, 119; Overthrow of, by the United States, 116.

Hawaiian labor—Occupations of, 12.

Hawaiian Republic—Constitution of, 131; Election of the President, 132; Establishment of, 123; Qualifications for Senators, 132; Torture practised in, 130.

Hawaiians—As viewed by missionaries, 127-9.

Hawaiian sugar—Effect of competition on American labor, 60.

Holmes—Tables on wealth distribution, 550.

Homesteaders—Difficulties of, on arid lands, 379-80.

Homesteading—Conditions of, 362.

Homestead lands—Need for changing

conditions of, 387; Purchase of, from the Indians, 373-5.

Homestead laws—Original of, 363.

Homesteads—Need of irrigation for, 389; Pledged by Republicans, 381-3.

I

Imperialism—American doctrine of, 351; And the annexation of Hawaii, 163; As a political issue, 350; Beginnings of, in United States, 115; Danger of, to national integrity, 195; Distinguished from expansion, 347; Effect on home populations, 180; Failure of, 317; Methods of, in the Philippines, 296; Methods of, 666; Practice of, in Great Britain, 324-5; Religious excuse for, 336-7.

Imperialists—Attitude of, 242.

Independence as the price for peace, 233.

India—Famines in, under British rule, 663.

Indian claims—Adjudication of, 617.

Indian lands—Difficulties of settlement on, 376-7; Disposal of, 374-5; Purchase of, 374-5.

Indian reservations — Conditions of settlement upon, 369.

Indians—Difficulty in securing claims of, 615; Legislation against, by Mass. colony, 123; Massacre of, by Mass. colonists, 625; Sold into slavery by colonists, 624-5.

Information—Withholding of, by Administration, 319.

Internal improvements vs. conquest, 389.

International commerce — Laws of, 329-31.

International finance—Gold basis of, 560-1.

Investment opportunities in Hawaii, 51-2.

Irish independence—Struggle for, 234.

Irrigation—Methods of, 392; Possibilities of, on government land, 388; Possibilities of, in South Dakota, 393-4.

J

Jameson Raid—Plan for, 645.

Japan—Civilization of, 168; Relation of, to Hawaii, 192; Treaty of 1895, 71-2.

- Japanese in Hawaii, 11.
 Jefferson on American expansion, 170-1.
 Judges—Financial interests of, 520-1.
 Jury system in Hawaii, 8.

K

- Kauai, Island of—Geography, 4.
 Kiska Island—Advantage of, as a coaling station, 149; Distance of, from commercial centers, 143; Geography of, 144; Harbor in, 144; Strategic advantage of, 142; Temperature of, 145.

L

- Labor competition—Hawaii, 27.
 Labor—In Hawaii, 64; Numbers in Hawaii, 12.
 Lanai, Island of—Geography, 6.
 Land—Anglo-Saxon greed for, 74.
 Land ownership—Hawaii, 76.
 Land reclamation through irrigation, 388.
 Large estates—Growth of, in Hawaii, 80.
 Liliukalani—Deposition of, 111.
 Louisiana—Provisions for citizenship, 352.

M

- McKinley—Charged as a lobbyist, 63; Letter of acceptance quoted, 62; On the Philippines, 236, 239.
 Mail cars—Character of, 427; Cost of, 427-8; Equipment of, 430.
 Mail compensation—Decrease in, 425.
 Mail transportation—Cost of, and cost of cars, 428; Compared with express service, 413; Compensation to railroads for, 412; Cost of, and express rates, 413, 415, 416, 426, 440-3; Costs of, over the New York Central, 413; Difficulty of securing facts on, 435; Necessity for investigation of, 433-4.
 Mail weighing—Deceit in, 416-7.
 Males—Predominance of, in Hawaii, 10.
 Manifest Destiny and the Philippines, 319; An Imperial excuse, 180.
 Manila—Agreement for surrender of, 259; Battle of, 263-4; Method of

- capture, 260; Surrender of, by the Filipinos, 265.
 Massachusetts—Early Indian legislation, 622-3.
 Maui, Island of—Geography, 5.
 Mercenaries—Enlistment of, in American Army, 278-9.
 Military censorship in the Philippines, 678.
 Missionaries—Work of, in Hawaii, 126.
 Mitchell—Quoted, 41.
 Molokai, Island of—Geography, 5.
 Money—Quantitative theory of, 564.
 Monopolies—Disadvantages of, 478-9.
 Monroe Doctrine—Dependence upon isolation, 169-70.
 Morgan—Quoted, 18-19.
 Morgan & Co.—Activity of, in Anthracite Coal Trust, 501-2; Contract of, to supply gold, 457-8; Establishment of gold corner, 463-4.
 Morrison—Quoted, 48.

N

- National defense—Hawaii as an asset in, 160.
 National Linseed Oil Company—History of, 513.
 Native Hawaiians—Decline, 8.
 Native morality—Effect of whites on, in Hawaii, 9.
 Neehau, Island of—Geography, 4.
 Negritos—Origin of, in the Philippines, 289.
 Newspaper correspondents—Position of, in Philippines, 682.
 Newspapers—Failure of, to give information, 691; Subsidy of, by vested interests, 691.
 Nineteenth Century—Progress during, 689-90.

O

- Oahu, Island of—Geography, 5.
 Oath of allegiance in Hawaii, 123.
 Occupations of Hawaiian workers, 12.
 Over capitalization—And excessive profits, 510-11; Instances of, 509-10; Object of, 509.
 Orange Free States—Economic conditions, 633; Government of, 634.
 Organized labor and Hawaiian annexation, 40.
 Ownership of land in Hawaii, 76.

P

- Pacific commerce—Northern route for, 141; Routes for, 137.
- Pacific Ocean currents and navigation, 155.
- Paris Tribunal—Failure of, 22.
- Patriotism as an excuse for war, 234.
- Peace—Offered by Aguinaldo, 233; With Filipinos, demand for, 232.
- Philippine Army — Alliance with American Army, 227; Triumph of, over Spanish, 253.
- Philippine Independence — Movement for, 221-2.
- Philippine insurrection — Aguinaldo on, 229.
- Philippine Revolt—Detail of, 232.
- Philippines—American atrocities in, 272; American commerce with, 358; American interest in, 320; American title to, gained by conquest, 242; As a source of cheap labor, 333; Censorship in, 230, 273, 604, 678; Change of policy on, 607; Church membership in, 588; Concentration camps in, 300; Conquest of, by United States, 245; Culture in, 589-90; Demand for facts regarding, 317-8; Dialects of, 290-1; Deportations from, by Americans, 300; Difficulties of conquering, 294, 605; Educational system of, 589; Impossibilities of return to Spain, 251; Inventory of, by Admiral Dewey, 320-1; Justification of seizure, 321-2; Native life of, 592-3; Native tribes of, 288-90; People of, 288-93; Political divisions of, 290-2; Possibilities of trade with, 332-333; Promise of independence to, 255-6; Proposed method of government, 240; Provisional constitution of, 587; Self-government for, 334; Struggle for freedom in, 251; Title to, how secured, 243; Wrongfulness of American conquest, 328.
- Philippines tribes — Facts regarding, 288-93.
- Philippine War—American censorship during, 230; Americans as the aggressors, 273, 303; Attempts of Aguinaldo to avoid hostilities, 215; Beginnings of, 212, 263, 268; Begun by Americans, 209, 245-6; Censorship during, 208; Colorado soldier on, 268-9; Demand for cessation of, 241, 277; Duplicity in, 205; First shot in, fired by Americans, 214; Gen. Otis on, 213; Lack of publication on, 218-9; Methods used in, 295; Origin of, 199; Reasons for, as seen by Filipinos, 301-2; Responsibility for, 198; Partial information concerning, 220; Use of mercenaries in, by American Army, 279.
- Pioneering—Difficulties of, 366-7.
- Plantation labor in Hawaii, 79.
- Plebiscite—Demanded for Hawaiian people, 122, 134.
- Plutocracy—Defeat of, in South Dakota, 559; Development of, in United States, 472-3; Establishment of, in America, 166.
- Political prisoners—Deportation of, to Guam, 300.
- Politics—Influence of Big Business on, 529.
- Portuguese labor in Hawaii, 11.
- Postal cars—Costs of, 416.
- Post office Department—Control of, by railroads, 423.
- Post Office—Express competition with, 438; Protector of the railroads, 441.
- Poverty and Riches—Growth of, in the United States, 550-2.
- Power—Concentration of, in the Federal government, 165.
- Presidential proclamation to the Filipinos, 204.
- Presidential veto—Arbitrary character of, 674-5; Constitutionality of, 669; Misuse of, 672; Necessity for limitation of, 669; Purposes of, 670-71; Theory of, 672-3.
- Price-fixing by Anthracite Coal Trust, 502-3.
- Prices—Effect of sugar trusts on, 495-6; Increase of, by trusts, 473; Influence of Standard Oil Co. on, 507-8.
- Prisoners—Treatment of, in the Philippines, 295; Treatment of, by Filipinos, 298-9.
- Private banks—Profits of, from bond sales, 460-2.
- Private postal system—Establishment of, by railroads, 418.
- Progress during the nineteenth century, 690.
- Property qualifications for Hawaiian franchise, 91, 133.
- Protection and Hawaiian sugar, 49.

- Protectionist—Definition of, 687.
 Protective tariff, 687; meaning of, 688.
 Public domain—Average rainfall on, 377; Desirability of state ownership, 390-1; Difficulties in settlement of, 371; Disposal of, 362; Early settlers on, 376-7; Reservation of timber rights demanded, 372; Mineral deposits, 362; Need of irrigation on, 388.
 Public Information — Withheld by State Department, 309.
 Public land—Difficulty of selling, 365; Policy toward, in United States, 363-4.
 Public land ownership—Improvvidence of, 390-1.
 Public officials—Influenced by railroads, 440-46.
- R
- Race inferiority—Doctrine of, as a reason for conquest, 357.
 Race inequality—Rejection of, 355.
 Railroad influence on government officials, 440-46.
 Railroad rates—Decline in, after 1882, 443; In United States and Europe, 409.
 Railroads—Discriminations of, 408; Efficiency of, under government control, 408; Excessive charges on, for carrying mail, 449; Experience of the government with, 411; Failure of private management, 403; Freight costs on, 447-8; Government ownership of, 396; Mail transportation on, 412; Power of, over mail rates, 421; Private postal system of, 418; Purchase of, by United States, 396; Record of, in American politics, 397.
 Railroad wastefulness, 448-9.
 Reading Coal Company—Agreement of, with Anthracite Coal Trust, 501-2.
 Real estate values in Hawaii, 82.
 Religious Orders—Difficulties with, in the Philippines, 250.
 Republic vs. Empire, 336.
 Republican institutions—Menace of imperialism to, 336.
 Republican Party—Attitude of, toward protection, 688; Failure of, 384; Reasons for leaving, 384-5.
 Republican pledges and free home-
- steads, 381-3; Hawaiian annexation, 62.
 Republics—Limited area of, 164.
 Retail dealers—Control of, by sugar trust, 486-7.
 Revolution in Hawaii, 84; Organization of, 95.
 Rich and poor—Taxes paid by, 555.
 Riches and poverty in United States, 554-5.
 Right of self-government, 341.
 Roman Republic — Destruction of, through imperialism, 166-7.
 Rome—Concentration of wealth in, 365-6.
- S
- San Domingo—Arguments for annexation of, 174-6.
 Savages—Use of, by Americans in the Philippines, 286-7.
 Seal fisheries—Costs of, 20-1; Protection of, 18-9; Revenues from, 20.
 Seizure of the Philippines—Justification of, 321-2.
 Self determination demanded for the Philippines, 334.
 Self-government — American doctrine of, 354; Basis for, in individual intelligence, 341-2; Climatic basis for, 3; Right of, 341; Test of, 343; The Declaration of Independence, 344-6.
 Shearman—Tables on wealth distribution, 551.
 Sherman Anti-Trust Act—Justification of, 525.
 Slavery—Forms of, existing among Sulus, 310, 312, 313; In Hawaii, 69; Protection of, in Sulu, 308.
 Social forms—Difficulties in adoption of, 129.
 Soudan campaign — Slaughter of wounded during, 665-6.
 Sovereignty—Right of self-determination, 335.
 Spahr—Tables on wealth distribution, 552.
 Spain—Agreement with, for surrender of Manila, 259.
 Spreckles, Claus—Interests in Hawaii, 30; Quoted, 27-30.
 Standard Oil Company—Influence of, on prices, 507-8; Profits of, 480.
 Stevens, J. L.—Recognition of Hawaiian Revolution, 118.

Stewart Syndicate—Purchase of government bonds by, 452-4.
 Stock issues—Object of wide distribution, 511.
 Stock ownership and the producers of wealth, 412.
 Stock watering on western railroads, 398.
 Subject peoples in the Philippines, 353.
 Sugar interests and the Hawaiian Revolution, 90.
 Sugar prices—And the trust, 495-8; Controlled by the trust, 38.
 Sugar production—Hawaii and Louisiana, 37; Of Hawaii, 50; Possible production in Hawaii, 41-4.
 Sugar trust—Activities of, 29; And Hawaiian annexation, 32; Business of, 38; Capitalization of, 481-2; Competition of beet sugar with, 56, 61-2, 484-5; Composition of, 480-1; Control of, over retail trade, 486-7; Effect of, on industry, 479; Effect of, on prices, 495-8; Extent of control by, 486; Interest in sugar trade, 38; Methods of business, 486; Newspapers and, 33; Over capitalization of, 508-9; Plants operated by, 482; Political power of, 38; Power of, in Congress, 498; Price-fixing by, 487, 491; Profits of, under protection, 498; Profits of, 491-2; Relation of, with independent refiners, 487; Reorganization of, 481; Typical of trust methods, 500.
 Sultan of Sulu—American dealings with, 305; American Treaty with, 306-8; Contract with, concealed, 274; Dealings of Spain with, 305; Political power of, 305-6; Salary of, paid by United States, 308.
 Sulu—Forms of slavery in, 310, 312, 313; Government of, in 1894, 314-5; Perpetuation of slavery in, 350; Religious beliefs in, 312.
 Sulu Islands — American relations with, 307-8; History of, 305.

Taxation—Incidence of, 545.
 Taxes—Amount of, paid by rich and poor, 555.
 Temperature—Effect of, on population, 185.
 Territorial acquisition—Gen. Grant on, 174; Tradition of, in the United States, 172-3.
 Territorial aggrandizement — Limitations of, for America, 171.
 Timber rights—Reservation of, demanded on public domain, 372.
 Torture—As practised in Hawaii, 130; Detail of, as employed by Americans, 282-3.
 Trade—And the flag, 328-9; With Hawaii, 27-8.
 Transportation—Costs of, mail and express, 436-7.
 Transvaal—Economic conditions in, 653; Natural character of, 632; Population of, 632-3.
 Treason and the Hawaiian Revolution, 121.
 Tropical colonies—Failure of Europeans in, 182.
 Tropical populations — And representative government, 163; Density of, 181.
 Trusts—Control of government by, 472; Control of prices by, 577; Definition of, 474; Development of, in United States, 476; Effect of, on employment, 516-8; Extent of control by, 523-4; Free trade as a remedy for, 472; Future of, 524; Historic opposition to, 478-9; Increase of prices through, 473; Methods of, in destroying competition, 527; Objections to, 478; Opposition of, to competition, 473; Price-fixing by, 508; Provision for elimination of, 474; Purpose of, to limit production, 476-7; Relation of, to political campaigns, 506; Results of, on prices, 477; Statistics of, 518-9; Suggested methods for dealing with, 526.

U

Tariff—As an aid to the Trust, 492-3; Rates of, on important items, 521-2; Unimportance of, as a political issue, 528.

Unalaska—Geography of, 158; Strategic position of, 138; Temperature of, 145.
 Union Pacific Railroad—Early business methods, 401; Finances of, 406;

Plan for government purchase, 400-1; Proposed capitalization of, 398; Proposal for purchase of, 396; Rehabilitation of, by the government, 405; Reorganization of, and the public interest, 400; Reorganizers of, 399.

United States—Beginnings of imperial policy, 169; Change of policy of, 178; Distribution of wealth in, 548; Marines and the Hawaiian revolution, 100; part played by, in Hawaiian Revolution, 84; Position of, in East, 187.

United States Leather Company—History of, 514.

United States Rubber Company—History of, 515.

V

Vested interests—Control of, over the press, —; Presence of, in political campaigns, 558.

Volunteer Army—Difficulties of raising, 278.

W

Wages—In Hawaii, 64.

Warfare—Methods of, in the Philippines, 295.

Water Cure in the Philippines, 281, 285-6.

Watered stock—As a source of exploitation, 412; Issue of, by sugar trust, 481.

Wealth—Accumulation of, and exploitation, 573; As a source of power, 567; Labor as the source of, 412, 516; Protection of, by Congress, 557.

Distribution of—Causes of, in United States, 578; Detail of, in United States, 550-1; In England, 554; In United States, 548; Inequality of, 581; Inequality of, in ancient society, 579; Tables of Holmes on, 550; Tables of Shearman on, 551; Tables of Spahr on, 552.

Wealth estimates — Inaccuracies of, 549.

Wood—Quoted, 48.

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